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DRAMATIC CHANGES IN HUNGARY

The Kádár-regime, since it has been imposed upon the country by the occupying Soviet Military forces, went through very significant changes; the most important one occurred, however, during the last month, proving that Communist rule is still unstable in Hungary. Harsh measures have been taken against the peasantry and the Catholic Church, while individuals and the intellectuals were wooed to support the regime.

I. Béla Kovács' Views on Socialism

The fact that in the 'parliamentary elections' last fall Béla Kovács headed the list of the Baranya County, aroused a great deal of attention throughout the world. Béla Kovács was one of the most outstanding personalities in the October 1956 revolutionary government and it was strange that he should play such a prominent role in the 1958 elections, a mere formality, bringing into the Parliament the candidates of the Party. At that time some doubt was expressed as to the identity of Béla Kovács, heading the Baranya County list, since the name is a rather common one in Hungary. However, the riddle has been solved by Béla Kovács himself as he emerges now as the author of an editorial in the Magyar Nemzet, official organ of the Patriotic People's Front, giving account of his experiences and the events preceding his membership in the Parliament.

In 1945 Béla Kovács was one of the leaders and Secretary General of the Smallholders Party which at that time polled first with a 58 percent majority. In 1947 the Soviet occupation forces took him to the Soviet Union from where he returned 9 years later in the spring of 1956. He retired to his farm in Baranya County where he lived a very quiet life. It was a natural consequence of his exceptional popularity, his unblemished past and his often demonstrated integrity, that he became a member of the October 1956 revolutionary government.

He was given the post of Minister of Agriculture which he had already held before in 1945 and 1946. After the crushing of the Revolution he was under house arrest on The reason why the regime wants to place him again into the center of public attention is quite obvious : the Communists need his name and his prestige to carry out the hated collectivization program which has recently reached a decisive stage. Not a single peasant in Hungary will believe that the courageous anti-Communist, Béla Kovács, has suddenly become the enthusiastic supporter of the detested collectivization program. But his statement will be interpreted as a warning to the peasantry : do not resist because your opposition is futile. And that is all what the regime needs!

Following are excerpts from his article:

' I received the resolution of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the socialist reorganization of agriculture while sick in bed. I am in agreement with its guiding principles and substantial statements. I am also in agreement with the conclusion that the two-fold task of raising the standard of agriculture and, parallel with it, the development of the cooperatives, can be solved by sensible political and economic work. I was glad to hear the news that, following the Party resolution, masses of peasants have stepped on the cooperative road. In this I see also the fulfillment of my own ideas.'

' Peasants and rural peoples who remember my work in the Peasant Federation, the Chamber of Agriculture, and the Smallholders Party, will still remember that I saw at a rather early age where the system of small farms and the breaking up of peasant estates, which assumed an increasingly menacing character as the years went by, would lead the country, the Hungarian agriculture, and the peasantry. At that time I recommended to my peasant friends the Danish cooperatives. I had information and knowledge about them. In those days I could imagine economic and social life only in capitalistic forms. The Danish form of cooperation seemed suitable for this idea...'

' I have read several thousand books during these years and I felt already in the spring of 1956 that I had become a Socialist. I made a careful study of the opposing socialist and capitalist systems, the various problems of historical evolution and three years ago I recommended socialist cooperative farming to the peasants of Baranya County. Not with a great success... I saw the working people united and after returning to my country I could imagine the well-being of the Hungarian people only on the road of socialism; on the Socialist road, the shortcomings of which I was then able to weigh in the same manner as I was able to rejoice over its achievements in friendship and cooperation with the peoples who have also chosen the socialist road. I had no hostile feelings toward the capitalist countries and even less toward their peoples. But I was already seeking friends on

this side, in the socialist countries, and could only pity those Hungarians who drifted away from here and did not and could not understand the changes taking place in Hungary for the benefit of the people.¹

¹ I expressed my socialist conviction formed and crystallized within me without ambiguity in October 1956 in Pécs and in the Parliament building in Budapest when I was invited to accept a ministerial post. I went to Budapest; I wanted to work. In my radio statement in Budapest I defined the restoration of friendly, trustful relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union and the establishment of friendly relations with other powers as one of the principal tasks of the government of those days. This statement was altered and the definite reference to Hungarian-Soviet friendship was omitted. When it was read over the radio it was already too late to do anything about it. I regret that this has happened and I expressed my opinion about it in very definite form immediately at that time.¹

¹ I disapproved the return to the multi-party system. I said it at that time in the Semmelweis-Street where I found, in general, a mixed gathering struggling against each other for office desks and power; longing for the return of the old world, so hated by me, and who said that 'they are organizing a Smallholders' Party'. I expressed my anxieties to my friends and to the Ministers in the Parliament building and the following hours and days fully warranted my misgivings...¹

¹ I would have liked to work among the peasants, my old friends, for the socialist village, the cooperative. However, my health deteriorated gradually and it became more and more impossible to carry out my intentions to maintain direct contact with peoples. I would have liked to work in the Patriotic People's Front movement but my illness prevented it again.¹

¹ It was with a good feeling that I accepted my candidacy and election to the Parliament which was entrusted upon me by the confidence and the votes of the people of Baranya County. I consider only and exclusively the People's Front movement, not the multi-party system or any of its forms, suitable to be a permanent and solid mass basis of government in our people's democratic system, in our country which is building Socialism. [Magyar Nemzet, February 20, 1959.]

Radio Kossuth, in a broadcast entitled 'My Fatherland', in Hungarian for Hungarians living abroad, deals with the response of the free world to the article and also with the charge that the article was obviously written under duress:

¹ ... Why did he think of it now, why in this form and why of all the people Béla Kovács? These are the questions posed by the Hungarian commentator of London Radio who is Hungarian only in so far that he speaks the language rather poorly. This commentator would probably expect that Béla Kovács ask him for permission as to when and what to write on the pages of the Magyar Nemzet.¹

' But the Viennese Hapsburg-party newspapers argue also over the Béla Kovács article. The Voice of America takes exception to it and even the Vatican's paper ' Osservatore Romano is unable to accept it simply. Yet, how they used to praise Béla Kovács in the past. They praised him and were claiming for his return, as long as they believed that Béla Kovács was an enemy of the people's democracy and that at the bottom of his heart he was longing for a capitalist Hungary. Now, that the fallacy of this assumption came to light, he seems to have lost the good will of these Western press organs and what they say about him is anything but good.'

' The outraged Western voices unwittingly betray what it is that hurts them so much. This is not a matter concerning Béla Kovács alone, it is of far greater importance because Béla Kovács merely expressed the views of the Hungarian peasantry; a change obviously unwelcome to the West.'

' The enemies of our nation are greatly disturbed by the fact that thousands and thousands of peasant families choose voluntarily the socialist form of farming. This wonderful upsurge of peasant enthusiasm inspired Béla Kovács to write and any enlightened peasant would have written the same - even if in a less polished style...' [Kossuth Radio, February 26, 1959.]

It is characteristic that Béla Kovács' article appeared in the Magyar Nemzet which used to be the organ of the opposition led by Imre Nagy. Furthermore, through the voice of Béla Kovács, the multi-party system receives another blow while the role of the People's Front is extolled. Recently this role has been limited almost exclusively to the support of the collectivization drive.

II. New Collectivization Drive.

The collectivization process was completely paralyzed by the October Revolution. The Kádár regime assumed an attitude of advocating collectivization and fighting for it in word and in the press but not doing anything drastic to give new impact to the stagnating project. Consequently, at the end of 1958, the collective movement in Hungary was far from having recovered the damage done by the Revolution. In January 1959 a dramatic change took place ; the regime has suddenly decided to increase the pressure with even greater vigor than during the Rákosi regime. According to reports, government organs, local councils, state security organs [political police] and party organizations have all been recruited to assist in the new drive. The reasons behind the change are the following :

1. Economic. - The Kádár regime abolished compulsory deliveries to the state which brought a considerable economic relief to the independent farmers who form the majority of all peasants [75 percent]. The independently farming peasants shape their

production plans primarily to their own needs and requirements and only after these have been met do they consider the plans and requirements of the State. Thus the regime is convinced that the realization of planned farming and the much needed increase of production can only be achieved through the much criticized large-scale farming system.

2. Social. - It is feared that should the peasant achieve a higher standard of living he would be an easy prey for petty bourgeois views, anxiety which was expressed already during the Imre Nagy regime, particularly by Jozsef Révai. Such a bourgeois-influenced peasantry would be even further alienated from the Party. The aim is to industrialize the peasantry and also to bring it closer to the proletariat by making it more similar ideologically.

3. Political. - The village, should the independently working peasants continue to dominate it, would become the hotbed of inner resistance. Would the kolkhoz system be expanded throughout the country it would be much easier to control the rural population.

Lajos Fehér, the chief agricultural expert and confidential friend of János Kádár previously an associate of Imre Nagy and editor-in-chief of the agrarian paper Szabad Föld, summed up the situation and the demands under the new collectivization drive in the official Party daily :

'... Our experiences at home and those gained by other socialist countries clearly indicate that the struggle for the socialist reorganization of the village can only be successful if it is headed, organized and directed by the Party. This is an issue which concerns the whole party, including every party organ and organization, every communist in the country and in the cities as well. Within this total scope, naturally, most important tasks await the rural party organizations. The most important links in the chain of progress, more stepped up development continue to be the increased activity of the Party in the villages, the improvement of rural party leadership, in general, leadership in the villages, so that, while guided by party resolutions, leaders may demonstrate greater initiative, independence and versatility and thus achieve greater results under particular local conditions.'

' However, the establishment of socialist agriculture is not only the concern of the Party, of the Communists alone. The complicated task of the reorganization requires a harmonious, organized effort, which, necessarily, involves the whole society. The desired success can only be achieved if we make the cause of collectivization supported by our whole society. Mass organizations will play an important role; they will be able to render valuable services, if each of them, according to their particular characteristics, will find the proper way of activity in the implementation of the Central Committee's resolution.'

' The councils will be responsible - through their various standing committees - to the State in the improvement of farming methods and for more extensive development of the existing kolkhozes. '

' Our party organizations will assist the People's Front committees in the patriotic effort to extend the activities of the People's Front to the kolkhozes. In this field we have already made great progress, for instance in the county of Komárom, a worker-peasant meeting under the auspices of the People's Front, proved to be a great success. . . '

' The expansion of Socialism naturally does not please reactionary elements neither within, nor without the country. Therefore, parallel with the expected expansion of the kolhoz movement it is natural to anticipate an increase in the anti-kolhoz subversive activity of hostile elements, kolaks and others. There are already indications for this trend. Both Communists and non-Communists must be prepared to meet this challenge and a campaign must be launched to expose and isolate them. '

' Similarly, we must fight more vigorously and persistently against the capitalist elements in agriculture, with an aim of thwarting capitalist tendencies. According to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the main purpose of the worker-peasant alliance is the creation of Socialism also in agriculture. This necessitates that during the time of the building of Socialism the alliance between the working classes and the peasantry should be based on the common struggle against capitalist elements in the peasantry. There are such capitalist elements in the peasantry even today; in fact, a certain intensification of the capitalist tendencies had to be expected under the system of free marketing. To offset this certain measures were taken during the last two years, such as making 25 acres the upper limit of peasant farms or the levying of progressive special taxes in the case of the employment of permanent hired labor. The tightening of market regulations brought about a certain repression of the profiteering elements. This project was completely successful in the field of state purchasing of grain and cattle, but was not so effective in the vegetable, fruit and poultry market. . . ' [Népszabadság, February 8, 1959.]

Concerning the present income of kolhoz peasantry, the February 11 issue of Népszabadság gives valuable informations:

' . . . The shaping of the work units indicate a further increase in ambition and a tightening of discipline. While in 1955 one member performed an average of 290 work units, in 1957 the figure rose to 298.9 and to 324 during last year. However, the value of one work unit dropped slightly; it is an average of 32 Forints. The income of an average kolhoz family, including the bonuses, land allotment and the income derived from the

household plot, was around 20,000 Forints. Of course, this is the average figure, which means that in the more prosperous kolkhozes the income of families is much higher while in less well-to-do kolkhozes it is less...¹

According to this the source of income of kolkhoz families divided into two categories: basic income and special bonuses, etc. The latter is usually the share of the small group of reliable party members, while the basic income is very low. It is about 950 Forints per month, which has a purchasing power of approximately \$ 30.--.

The main task in collectivization is allotted to the Patriotic People's Front, a sort of a disguised party organ to rally those who are not willing to join the party but have no objections to the Patriotic People's Front or for those who are not considered reliable enough to be accepted as party members. Gyula Ortutay, Secretary General of the Patriotic People's Front spoke of the organization's major role in the collectivization drive in an address to Parliament.

'... The Patriotic People's Front considers it one of its most important tasks to support with all its means the socialist reorganization of agriculture. We do not consider this work as an aim for competition or campaign but a serious national duty involving great responsibilities which requires a persistent and continuous political work. And this is the spirit in which we want to carry it out...' [Népszabadság, February 19, 1959].

The most recent and highly effective method of speeding-up of collectivization is the creation of the so-called kolkhoz-villages and towns which are declared even if the majority of the agricultural population of the villages persists in independent farming. In these villages the administration is placed under the kolkhoz administration which means that within a short period of time the whole village becomes automatically absorbed by the kolkhoz even if the latter did not consist more than only about 45-50 percent of the total village population.

Népszabadság on February 22nd describes the results of the first waves of the collectivization drive :

¹ Only seven weeks have passed this year but during that time, according to recent reports, 80,000 families joined the road of collective farming, 381 cooperative villages have been established and by February 21 the land under cooperative management has increased by 688,000 acres.¹

¹ With these results the agricultural cooperatives have holdings which exceed any previous figures : In 1952 the kolkhozes cultivated only 2,138,000 cadastral acres which was the largest figure during the period preceding the counter-revolution. In 1958 kolkhozes farmed on 1,492,000 cadastral acres and adding to that the most recent figures we find that by now a total of 2,180,000 cadastral acres of land are under kolkhoz management. This means that on February 21, 1959, land owned by agricultural collectives exceeds by 42,000 cadastral acres any previous figure... Since January 1st more than 18,000 independently farming peasants have joined collectives in Szolnok County alone,

increasing the collectively owned land by 102,000 acres. This means that of the total cultivated land in this county 67.3 percent is under the management of large-scale cooperatives...¹

According to the February 25th issue of Népszabadság the percentage of land under collective management in Szolnok County was 82.5. This means a nearly 20 percent increase within a mere 3 or 4 days which indicates the fantastic pace of collectivization, at least, in the county of Szolnok which is the model county of collectivization in East Hungary.

In order to increase even more the process of collectivization the regime has extended the campaign to embrace even larger regions than collective villages and towns. The February 14th issue of Népszabadság reports that the whole Sopron township, on the Austrian border, became a collective district, the first swallowed up by the wave of collectivization. The process is graphically described in a report on the village of Adorjánháza which became the 100th collective village in Veszprém county.

'... Before taking the decisive step the farmers raised many questions. Several of them said: If I join I shall lose the land which passed from father to son for several generations. But they were reassured: They will not lose the land, in fact, they will receive a land allowance after their land; an allowance which was paid in most of the kolkhozes last year. One of the farmers of Adorjánháza was not only sceptical about the land allowance but he shook his head doubtfully when the talk turned to the collective insurance and pension arrangements. Let me have this in writing, he demanded, then I shall join. Nothing was simpler. The pertaining paragraphs were copied on a separated piece of paper, which was signed by the council chairman and sealed.'

'Well, laughed the farmer, your signature should be returned with my signature. From now on you may consider me a member of the kolkhoz. On Thursday 80 farmers joined the collective at Adorjánháza, on Friday there were 140 and on Saturday they were practically swarming to get the application form for admission.'

'It is undeniable that it is tough to be the first but it is no less difficult to be the last. A total of 328 families joined the kolkhoz with nearly 3,000 acres of land.'

'This is how Adorjánháza became the 100th collective village in Veszprém county and this was quickly followed by the 101st, 102nd and 122nd.... According to reports received Monday, so far in the year of 1959 15,000 families, with 120,000 acres of land have chosen the collective way of farming in the County of Veszprém...¹ [Népszabadság, February 24, 1959.]

The same article states that in the Transdanubian Győr County 72.3 percent of the total cultivated land belongs to the large agricultural cooperatives under state management.

In his parliamentary address on the budget, Jenő Fock, Secretary of the Central Committee, one of the leaders of the 'neo-Stalinist' faction also dealt with the new collectivization drive.

'... We see quite clearly that it is not because they have less confidence in the Party and the government than the cooperative peasantry that individual farmers produce less. They produce less because the limitations of small peasant farms act as an obstacle to have higher yields.'

'This is a fact that the individual farmers must realize and they must draw the necessary conclusions. It is a cause for rejoicing that, particularly during the last six weeks tens of thousands of individual farmers have chosen the cooperative path, were the possibilities of increasing crop yields are almost limitless. I send, on behalf of the Party, the warmest greetings to those working peasants who, leaving the course of the narrow scope of small farming, have now turned to the straight and wide path of collective farms. We do not want and shall not force anybody who has no conviction on the matter to join a cooperative. But we want and we shall see to it that our smallholder peasantry look beyond the boundaries of small-scale farming and clearly realize what large-scale farming means to the country. They should see what a better life large-scale farming brings to the working people and to the working peasantry too...' [Népszabadság, February 20, 1959.].

Jenő Fock, in this address, followed the course of most of the Communist leaders, advocating collectivization, he too argued that large scale farming is more up-to-date and much more highly developed than individual small farming method. The same views were postulated by Jozsef Schandl, Kossuth-prize winner Academician, in an article in the February 25 issue of Népszabadság. In the past he was a supporter of the 'feudal large-estate system', basing his views on scientific considerations, but now he is trying to prove that planned animal husbandry can be accomplished only under the large-scale system.

According to reliable information the following methods are currently used to force the peasants into the collectives : 1. Higher taxation. 2. Blackmailing using the existence of relatives under arrest for intimidation. 3. Threat to the young people that if they fail to join, they will be taken abroad for forced labor. 4. Threats of renewed retributions for old 'crimes'.

III. Session of the National Assembly.

The principal task of the brief, three day [February 18-20] session was to approve the budget submitted by the government.

The main address was delivered by Premier Ferenc Munnich. His statements on decentralization, the increased jurisdiction of local councils and on Yugoslavia were rather interesting.

'...After years of delay the authority of local councils has been finally considerably expanded. And we shall continue to follow this trend consistently.'

'I can state it with certainty that local organs in Hungary have never yet had such a wide administrative and economic authority. Yet, we are still not satisfied with the present situation, a further reorganization of administrative jurisdiction is planned with even greater authority assigned to the local organs...'

'The government took steps to cut down the excessive centralization of economic leadership...'

'We have made great efforts to decrease the apparatus of the Ministries and of the lower level state and economic institutions, their work be free of bureaucracy, in a manner which will result in a higher efficiency of state directives and control in the economic leadership.'

'Central guidance must manifest itself in the most important issues, but at the same time greater independence must be granted to industrial plants and also to the local state administrative organs, to the councils, in the control of local industry... It is our aim also to maintain good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, although - as it is well-known - there are profound ideological differences between our parties. Yet, even these ideological differences did not prevent us from signing a trade agreement or from completing the prolonged talks on reparations, or from the ratification of an agreement on animal health protection concluded some time ago.'

'We cannot compromise over ideological issues and we cannot reconcile ourselves with the revisionist views of the Yugoslav leaders but we do desire to achieve a correct, good-neighbourly relationship at least on the level of state affairs...' [Népszabadság, February 19, 1959.]

IV. János Kádár in Prague.

It is well known that of all the satellite governments the Prague regime was the only one to take an active military stand in favor of Soviet interference in the crushing of the 1956 Revolution in Hungary. Since then despite rather vigorous economic relations the atmosphere between the two countries remained quite cool. The Kádár regime leaned toward the Warsaw government rather than toward the Prague or East German governments. The situation did not change even after the visit of the Hungarian government

delegation to Prague, last December, which did not include Kádár. For this reason and, to a great extent, because of the vital Berlin issue, Kádár took a trip to Prague [February 18-23] to demonstrate that no difference whatsoever exists between himself and the tough Czechoslovak-East German parties. His trip to Prague had a definitely personal character, which was further emphasized by the fact that his wife was with him, despite the fact that such family visits are very rare between the satellite countries and, moreover, Mrs. Kádár has so far never yet taken part in any public function.

Kádár's statements and speeches in Czechoslovakia contained nothing but a demonstration of absolute solidarity with the Czechoslovak government and Party and a pledge of loyalty to the Soviet Union. Only certain parts of his address at a cooperative in Jesenice are noteworthy, in which he lashed out at the 'counter-revolution' and also attacked Cardinal Mindszenty. It is interesting to note that this part of his speech was not mentioned by the Hungarian press. Radio Prague said the following on February 20:

'... In the difficult days of 1956 the revisionists, the false prophets, caused most of the troubles. They said not only that we were against the workers and the peasants but also that Marxism ought to be further developed. In the villages of Hungary this meant the reappearance of the former landowner within a day or two, and of the former gendarme, who had taken his uniform out of mothballs.'

'Our poor peasants were simply amazed. What further development of Marxism is this? We know these gendarmes. They were Horthy's men. And we are familiar also with the former counts, who had exploited us all our lives. And then we got in reserve also an old pope - Cardinal Mindszenty. This man now sits in Budapest as the guest of the American Minister, and we leave him there high and dry. Perhaps he may go to heaven straight from there [laughter] or perhaps in the opposite direction. [Laughter and applause]...'

It is no coincidence that this important address was delivered in a collective, this fact too was to serve a gentle hint to the Hungarian peasants at home. This tendency is a further emphasis of the contention that the socialist camp has an overwhelming power in world affairs.

'... Visiting with the peasants of Chinese, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak and Hungarian collectives, I found that everywhere the millions of peasant masses, progressing on the road of socialism, are united by a common goal...' [Népszabadság, February 21, 1959.]

Another address was delivered by Kádár at the Sverna Machine Factory. On this occasion Kádár dealt with the Yugoslav question in rather sharp terms, obviously in an attempt to dispel the suspicions of Czechoslovakia and East-Germany where he was considered pro-Yugoslav.

'... There is something that we have in common [Czechoslovakia and Hungary] and I don't quite rightly know how to put it. I cannot simply say the enemy because I believe, that won't be right, but calling them friends would be ven less correct. But even if we don't call them enemy, the fact remains that they bring the grist to the enemy's mill. I am referring to the group of our common critics, the Yugoslav revisionists. They are always ready to tell us what we should do, they offer us their ideology and their practical application. In 1956 there were quite a number of people who favored the Yugoslav ideology and its practical application. Then, for about 10 days, the Hungarians lived on this diet and the result was that they had more than enough of it for a life time; even those who at the Spring of 1956 were definitely anxious to accept both the ideology and the practical application.'

'We cannot tell the Yugoslav revisionists what they should do but we can tell them to keep their ideology and its results to themselves. We do not want it. We are not crazy, we are able to differentiate between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism. The Hungarian People's Republic nearly perished under revisionism but it revived with the help of Marxism-Leninism and continues to flourish...' [Népszabadság, February 20, 1959.]

The joint statement issued at the conclusion of Kádár's visit to Czechoslovakia draws a definite parallel between the XXIst Congress and the strong friendship and solidarity between the two nations:

'... The results achieved at the historic XXIst Congress have greatly contributed to the development of the two friendly nations as well as to the great economic, political and cultural progress of the whole Socialist world system. At the same time the achievements of the Congress open up new horizons to the international workers movement, illuminating for the peaceful and progressive forces of the world the road leading to still other victories...' [Népszabadság, February 22, 1959.]

V. Kádár in Moscow.

Kádár spoke of his impressions at the XXIst Party Congress to the Moscow correspondent of the Hungarian News Agency [MTI. His remarks about the American-Soviet 'competition' are interesting :

'... The building of Communism is not a mere desire, it is a goal which can be achieved and for which the prerequisites are assured. The brilliant achievements of the Soviet industry, agriculture and culture, the Sputniks and the space rockets prove the uncontested fact that the Soviet people have already become the leaders of mankind in several fields of human creativity. It is beyond any doubt that the Soviets will soon leave behind them, in every respect, the most highly developed capitalist country, the United States of America. Only malicious critics would ask why only in the future will the Soviet Union overtake and even surpass America. These unfair prattlers try to ignore the fact that czarist Russia, due to the crimes of its lords, 41 years ago was nearly a hundred years behind the United States in industrial development and in many other aspects.'

'They do not mention either that these 41 years include the civil war, the years of war led 14 imperialist countries and that of World War II, together with the inevitable destruction brought by the war. And yet, the Soviet Union has made up for all the handicaps of this historic period during a mere 41 years and in the field of social development it is ahead of all the capitalist countries by a whole century...'

It was an inspiring experience to meet in Moscow, at the XX1st Congress the most outstanding representatives of the world's labor and workers movements and the Communist parties. It was touching and if I may use the expression, moving to see their militant internationalist unity, their loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, their uncompromising determination towards all revisionist elements, their deep loyalty towards each other and towards the Soviet Union. I think I need not be ashamed to admit that we were all moved, when, at the closing session of the Congress the tones of the Internationale rose from the lips of the representatives of more than 70 nations... [*Népszabadság*, February 8, 1959.]

VI. Guinean Delegation in Budapest.

Guinea is the new independent Republic of Africa, formerly a French colony. A Guinean delegation visited all the Communist satellite states and they also went to Budapest. Here the Delegation was received with great fanfare and they were accorded the unprecedented honor never yet granted to the representatives of a non-Communist state of an invitation to the National Assembly where the head of the Delegation addressed the Hungarian Parliament. *Népszabadság*, February 20, reports on the address delivered by Louis Lansana Beauvogui, head of the Guinean Delegation :

'... It was gratifying to hear your Prime Minister to state that in the Hungarian National Assembly every segment of the population, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, is represented. The same situation exists in our Parliament and our government where representatives of the most different strata of the population are represented.'

'The impact of the Guinean example reaches far beyond the boundaries of Guinea : it is an example for the whole of Africa. It is the will of the African peoples to be free of the yoke of colonialism. I guarantee that assured of the assistance of friendly peoples, well-meaning friends, the people of Guinea and all the peoples of Africa can give the finishing stroke to colonialism...'

It is noteworthy that according to an official statement [Népszabadság, February 24, 1959.] top leaders of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and also leaders of the Ministry of Defense were present at the farewell celebration of the Guinean Delegation.

VII. Youth. Education.

György Kálmán, Communist pedagogue, in an article entitled 'We want more students of workers' origin at the Universities' in the February 15th issue of Népszabadság, wrote the following :

'... In 1958 the number of students of workers' origin who applied for admission to the Universities dropped by 14 percent. Moreover, their number decreased even in the highschools, particularly in the gymnasiums...'

'In Hungary intellectual work is valued highly in many respects. And yet not sufficiently. It is no longer such a big thing if someone becomes an engineer or teacher. This, of course, has its merits too : The social esteem for the worker, peasant, craftsman, has grown considerably. Nowadays the parents are no longer ashamed if their children become sheet metal workers or say, lathe operators. They no longer say : my son is only a worker. Of course, the concept of worker has also changed, it now means more than did in the past. In many respects, in Hungary, it is more advantageous to be a worker than anybody else. This is quite natural but it also has its drawbacks - which at times come to the surface. The past left to us a certain suspiciousness towards the intellectuals to which the counter revolution also contributed its share - or rather toward the role which some of the intellectuals played during the counter-revolution. Furthermore, the policy of wavering between irresponsible courting and unreasonable suspicion towards the intellectuals, often experienced before 1956...'

' In the 1952-1953 school year 60 percent of the students of workers' origin matriculated at the Mechanical Engineering Faculty of the Technical University of Miskolc for Heavy Industry could not obtain their diploma. In the 1953-1954 school year 66 percent of the students of workers' origin who were matriculated at the Metallurgical and Mechanical Engineering Faculties did not complete their study...'

This problem was considered so important that the organ of the Communist Party started a public discussion on the matter. It has been one of the basic aims of the Party to raise the proportion of the students of worker-peasant origin at the expense of the various strata of the middle classes in all schools and particularly in colleges and at the Universities. Prior to 1945 their number was really very low and the Communists have done everything to raise this number with the aim of educating and creating a new Communist intelligentsia and new leaders. As the above article indicates, this project has not been going very well and, particularly since the 1956 Revolution, has suffered great set-backs.

The February 17th issue of the Népszabadság reports on a long range plan for a uniform development of child and youth welfare to be carried out over a span of 15 years:

'... Child welfare should be brought under a unified system in which the whole network is built up in a logical order beginning with the welfare officers of apartment and schools, through the welfare offices and youth welfare officers; including the network of pedagogy, hygiene and psychology counsellors, up all the way to the national state organizations. This unified organization will base its activities, in addition to the support of the state apparatus, on the assistance of social organs and that of the whole society. A survey will be made of children who for financial, social, health or moral reasons live in unfavorable surroundings and who, therefore, are in danger of moral depravation. On the basis of this survey a 15-year plan of child welfare will be worked out the first objective of which will be the expansion of child-welfare homes...'

VIII. Church Affairs.

Recently, the regime has adopted a much harsher attitude towards the Churches, particularly toward the Roman Catholic Church. It is interesting to note that such a trend has always been adopted parallel with the intensification of the collectivization campaign.

The Vatican's daily L' Osservatore Romano reports on March 3rd that according to reliable reports the most important seminary, the Theological Academy of Budapest, has been closed by the Communists. The reason behind this measure is the fact that the

young seminarists, educated in this institute have turned with increasing emphasis against the clerical peace movement sponsored by the State. The students have been sent home. This means that the education of a new generation of priests in the most important and largest diocese of the country, the Archdiocese of Esztergom, has been suspended. Moreover, the Budapest Theological Academy educated not only the future priests of the archdiocese of Esztergom but the most outstanding young priests of the other dioceses also came from this school, particularly, since the Communist regime has prevented seminary students to study at Universities abroad in Rome, Louvain, Innsbruck and Vienna, as was the custom in the past. The Kereszt [The Cross], the pseudo-Catholic Communist paper, had assailed even before the Revolution, the young priests and theology students, claiming that they constituted the greatest obstacle to the expansion of the ecclesiastical peace movement and charged them with displaying an unrespectful, even hostile attitude towards the priests who participate in the movement.

Attacks on Catholicism have been intensified also on the ideological front. However, on this occasion the attacks are directed not so much against the organization of the Church, the Vatican or even the Pope, rather against the anti-materialistic, psiritual ideology of religion. The regime is fully aware of the fact that it has failed to win over the great masses to the Marxist materialist ideology or 'religion' and that it has particularly failed in the case of the young people. The regime considers the ideological tenets of Catholicism the greatest obstacle to this aspiration.

Recently, the Catholic weekly, Uj Ember [New Man], in an article entitled 'With Catholic Eyes' criticized a statement made by Károly Novobátsky, well-known Member of the Academy, and an outstanding physicist, according to which the study of natural sciences is bound to lead to a materialist outlook. In reply to the Uj Ember article Károly Novobátsky states that the materialist outlook is the proper and officially accepted ideology against which the religious ideals are only tolerated out of necessity. In the same article he also states that the religious outlook is immoral, the only morally acceptable ideology being that of Materialism.

' Our struggle can be successful only if we have an exact knowledge of the character of religious outlook. Religion is nothing but faith in legends and miracles. The Churches are well aware of the fact that the grown up peoples, unless conditioned to it from childhood, are not willing to accept such an ideology. Therefore, the instilling of these ideas must, necessarily, start with the children... '

The main objective of our schools is to provide useful members to our society who were not raised on the belief in miracles, but on the tenets of reality. The teaching of natural sciences is the most powerful weapon in the hands of this educational trend... '

' Our youth must realize that nothing exists in this world beyond space and time, material and energy... '

'It is often repeated that religion greatly contributes to the upholding of moral purity and social order. Can we accept this contention? The answer is simple : no, never! No, the morality whose apostles live so happily in the exploiting capitalist countries, who look with such calmness and a silent conscience at colonial exploitation, is unacceptable to us. Would the Churches issue a heart-warming proclamation appealing to the powers of the Western world to put an end to the exploitation of workers, then we might come closer to each other by one step. However, I know that this is sheer utopia. I know that such an appeal will never be made. How could it be made when the Vatican is one of the greatest capitalist power...'
[Népszabadság, February 24, 1959.]

A new, recently introduced ruse is that the Party offers to take over the role of the godfather for the newborn children of factory and plant workers. Of course, in these cases the Church ceremony of baptism is replaced by some Communist Celebration. Népszabadság, on February 13, reports on such an occasion :

'... One of the Communist drivers at the Trucking Enterprise, Mihály Czirjanics, asked the Party organization to accept the role of godfather for his newly born son. Although my wife is not a Party member, but she is working and we made the decision together, he said. We won't have him baptized by a priest and we would like to have some celebration at the plant. This was the first time that the Party organization was confronted with such a request but the Party secretary of the basic organization, Mrs. Jenő Rabinek, was soon busy making the necessary arrangements. The whole plant spoke of nothing else and the people were looking forward with anticipation to the day of the celebration.'

'At last the day came. The people gathered in the beautifully decorated cultural centre hall of the plant ; there were the workers, the drivers, the clerks and representatives of the Party organization, the trade union, the management and even of the district Party organization. The young couple arrived dressed in their Sunday best, the mother holding, in a snow-white swathing, the four-week old baby boy. Comrade Rabinek was the first to speak: I promise to the parents of little Miklos, in the name of our comrades, that we shall follow with great interest the physical and spiritual development of the boy...'

IX. Jurisdiction.

The Report of the Supreme Prosecutor, Dr. Géza Szénási, to the National Assembly says :

'... Then he turned to the problem of fighting juvenile delinquency. He stated that the effect of the ideological and moral shock, brought about by the Revolution, virtually ceased to exist in the youth. The number of crimes committed by juvenile delinquents showed a further drop last year. Competent authorities, in cooperation with welfare organizations, try to locate children and youths who are exposed to moral depravation and criminal influence in their environment. Last year the Prosecutor's Office indicted 228 persons who neglected the physical and spiritual development of their children or of minors in their care, or who indulged in drunkenness and neglected criminally the education of their children.'

'Working people, loyal to our social system and who are anxious to enjoy order and personal safety, have a high esteem for the work of the police and judicial organs, continued the Supreme Prosecutor - because they see that our law-enforcing organs act primarily against those guilty of severe crimes, hostile elements and the hooligans who disturb the peace of good citizens.'

'We shall continue to check the legality of police actions and the Public Prosecutor's Offices will support with the full vigor of the law the legal measures of the police. They protect the authorities against trouble-makers and, to this end, we request the support of every decent, law-abiding, peace-loving Hungarian citizen....'

'The systematic application of our penal jurisdiction is the most important guarantee that in the full implementation of law enforcement the class warfare should prevail free from distortions and revisionist or sectarian deviations. We will crush vigorously our enemies, trouble-makers who disturb our social system and grave criminals; at the same time we provide an opportunity to those who erred to repent their crime under pardon and become useful members of the society. We have punished with the full rigor of the law the ringleaders, spiritual promoters and leaders of the counter-revolution and terrorists. During the criminal proceedings the testimonies of victims and of other witnesses as well as thorough examination of papers and other documents - more than obligatory - substantiated the counter-revolutionary charges.'

The supreme Prosecutor continued: 'As a result of the political and economic consolidation, the number of political crimes has considerably decreased. Nevertheless, the principles of our criminal jurisdiction will be enforced in both directions. Public prosecution authorities do not fail to notice those hostile manifestations which had been attempted since the defeat of the counter-revolution. The detection and prosecution of these acts remain our main task in combatting crimes...' [Népszabadság, February 24, 1959.]

The Public Prosecutor could not have put it more clearly that the whole judicial system, as he calls it, the 'criminal jurisdiction' is subordinated to the political objectives, which means that its main purpose is to punish and persecute all those who do not identify themselves with the Communist class policy.

A statement in the same spirit was made by the Minister of Justice, Ferenc Nezvál, at the National Convention of Judges on February 26-27, on 'Our class policy demands the legal protection of the interests of the working classes'. [Kossuth Radio, February 27, 1959.]

X. Labor reserves.

In an extensive report the Ministry of Labor summed up the labor situation in Hungary. According to the report [Népszabadság, February 24, 1959], the main problems at present are the following :

The employment of young peoples and women,
a shortage of highly skilled workers.

'... The situation, concerning labor reserves, is rather reassuring this year.

In all probability the fulfillment of the plans of the People's Economy in 1959 will require many new workers as a consequence of which the number of employed will increase by about 50,000. Almost 50 percent of the newly employed workers will come from the ranks of young peoples. About 23,000 new workers will be needed in the machinery industry, nearly 17,000 in the building construction industry, 8-10,000 in transportation, more than 13,000 in commerce and approximately 10,000 in the health and cultural institutions...'

'The shortage of highly skilled workers in industry is increasing and a new situation is gradually developing in the building industry where the fulfillment of the huge housing program requires the training of more than 10,000 skilled workers. Plans are already drawn up to step up the training of skilled workers. At present there are nearly 102,000 industrial trainees in the country, a considerable increase over the 89,000 registered at the end of the 1957-1958 school year. This year 2,800 industrial trainees may find jobs in the construction industry in Budapest and more than 3,000 in rural areas...'

'Compared to last year, the number of openings for women and young men is greater as the number of new workers of the 1945 age group is very low, nevertheless, the employment of girls and women as well as those of the 14-16 year-old groups causes some troubles. This problem is particularly acute in the slightly industrialized areas. This is also

present in Budapest, although the Municipal Streetcar Enterprise cannot find enough women conductors and the number of applicants in the nursing profession falls way behind the requirements...¹

¹ The government has spent 8 million Forints on the organization of the so-called half-shift project for the 14 to 16 year old age group. This project made it possible that by the end of November 8-10, 000 young people were employed for half a day in our plants. Special employment agencies were formed in the counties and in Sátorajauhely, Ozd and Szolnok in cooperation with the KISz, special rural youth cooperatives were organized. The Economic Committee has provided 850 scholarships to facilitate the placing of young university graduates. The Ministry of Education assured the continued study of 1200 young girls in different institutes with part time work. At the end of this school year an approximately 105, 000 young people will graduate from the Eighth Grade of public schools. Some 80 to 85, 000 students will be able to continue their study in industrial, agricultural and commercial schools, in technical highschools and humane highschools. In addition, a few thousand students will have an opportunity to learn typing and shorthand. The Ministry of labor plans to establish, in cooperation with the Central Committee of the KISz, a special youth employment office, to promote and make use of the increased number of openings and study possibilities of young people in the 14 to 16 year age group.¹

XI. Literature.

The February issue of Társadalmi Szemle [Social Review] reports on the views on several issues on the 'Hungarian Literature After the Liberation', as expressed by the cultural theoretical working group, functioning under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Following are the most important points.

¹... We must take into account the grave difficulties which we inherited from the Horthyite counter-revolutionary regime. In this field, too, the democratic progressive forces had to go ahead slowly, step by step. The year of take-over represented a turning point also in literature and in the policy on literature. There are conclusive arguments proving that at that time the party set the proper goal for socialist realism, fully appropriate to the new conditions...¹

¹ After the year of 1953 the revisionist attack was intensified also in literature. The attack was waged on three fronts : against the Leninist

principles of literature along the Party lines, against Socialist realism and through a bourgeois-nationalist evaluation of our national characteristics, against the progressive Socialist literature, against the Soviet and people's democratic literature. The harmful activities of the Imre Nagy group had a particularly destructive effect on our literature. This activity was also the direct cause of the tragic role the Writers Association played in the counter-revolution. However, after the counter-revolution, in the wake of a political and economic consolidation, there was a revival of literary life... The heroic struggle of our labor movement is given an ever greater and worthier place in our literature. Yet, the ideological confusion in our literary life has not been eliminated so far and this makes the clarification of a few basic principles necessary making the literary aims and policies of the party clear to everybody. These basic principles are concerned with the Party line, Party control, Socialist realism, several problems of literary trends and the organizational aspects of literary life. The Party attributes great importance to literature in the task of building our future society...¹ [Radio Kossuth, February 26, 1959.]

However, these principles are proclaimed in an atmosphere of vacuum for most of the writers, particularly the prominent ones, are still silent. They limit their activities to translating, editing or arrange some of their former works for publication. Of those who write, the really talented ones, concentrate on purely aesthetic aspects, particularly when writing books. The literature, actually written along the Party lines, is represented by only a small group and their works are not read by the public.

The above-mentioned article in the Társadalmi Szemle also makes vague references to the possibility that the Writers' Association may be brought back to life. The Writers' Association was abolished promptly at the end of the Revolution because according to the Kádár regime it was the center of the writers' revolt and also the center of the October Revolution.

The Hungarian language broadcast of the Novisad Radio [Yugoslavia] reports that information received from Budapest indicates that the Hungarian Writers Association will be revived in a new shape, stripped completely of its old leadership.

On February 16, Radio Kossuth reported that the National Physical Training Council met in Budapest. Gyula Hegyi, Chairman of the Council, addressed the meeting and stated that 196 persons who had participated in various counter-revolutionary activities, have been removed from more important positions and have been replaced by more honest sportsmen in the physical training field.¹

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