

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WINTER SESSION OPENS

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 19, 1957, 1100 GMT--I

(Summary) The winter session of the National Assembly commenced this morning in the presence of Istvan Dobi, President of the Presidential Council; Janos Kadar, Chairman of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and members of the government. Members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Budapest, foreign press correspondents, and representatives of Budapest enterprises took their seats in the gallery.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

"The session was opened by Sandor Ronai, speaker of the National Assembly. In his speech he reviewed events since the May and June session of the National Assembly. In conclusion, he stressed: Looking back on the road which we have followed since the last session of the National Assembly, we can state that our party and government have led our working people in the right direction. The (continuing?) consolidation of our political and economic life, our progress, and our part played in international life all bear evidence of this. Consequently, the people's confidence in the party and government has grown. It is my firm conviction, said Sandor Ronai, that by further progressing on this road, we shall achieve additional successes in our fight waged for the material and cultural development of our working people to insure its creative work in socialist construction and to secure for it an honored place in international life."

The National Assembly then paid tribute to two deputies who had died recently and whose places will be filled by byelections. The speaker then reviewed the business, the questions and the draft bills which are to be submitted. The next speaker was Istvan Kristof, secretary of the Presidential Council, who presented the report of the Presidential Council.

#### Sebes Speech

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 19, 1957, 1800 GMT--L

(Sound pictures from today's meeting of the National Assembly--live speech by Istvan Sebes, deputy foreign minister)

(Text) Among the meetings with our friends, special significance must be attached to our talks last March in Moscow with the representatives of the Soviet Union, talks which produced agreements of decisive importance for our country. In addition to these talks with the Soviet Union, we have conducted negotiations with the delegates of the CPR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Rumania, and Poland.

Regarding our economic relations with the socialist countries, we may say that they show fruitful development. Our economic relations with these countries are mainly based on longterm trade exchange and credit agreements, valid for the years 1958 to 1960. These agreements are either in process of preparation or have already been concluded with all socialist countries. Our economic relations with the socialist countries manifest mutual benefits and demonstrate the significance of reciprocal socialist assistance. We have had to examine thoroughly how we should, considering the economic aid our country has needed, exploit to a greater extent our internal resources so as not to avail ourselves beyond the strictly justified extent of the sacrifices borne by our friends but to meet our requirements as well as possible from our own strength.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

The visit of the Hungarian parliamentary delegation to Bulgaria and that of the parliamentary delegation of the German Democratic Republic to our country served the cause of the deepening of friendship between our people. Our relations with Yugoslavia are developing in a spirit of friendship as they should between neighboring socialist countries. In the last few months we concluded several interstate agreements, a fact that is bound to broaden further the basis of mutually advantageous relations.

The recent international political moves made by Yugoslavia, that is, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the rejection of military aid from the United States, have further developed Yugoslavia's relations with the countries of the socialist camp. All this provides proof also of the fact that, although there still exist differences of views between our two countries on some ideological and practical problems, our relations are nevertheless progressing in the interest of the advance of the people building socialism.

One of the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is to support the countries that have freed themselves from the colonial system in preservation of their independence and to demonstrate solidarity with the freedom movement of the people still groaning under colonial suppression, while taking a stand in favor of their aspirations to independence.

Our relations with the governments of the neutral countries of Asia and Africa which have become liberated from capitalist oppression after World War II show promising development. Our government declared its solidarity with Egypt at the time of last year's imperialist aggression by three states, with Syria on the occasion of the recent American-Turkish military threats, with India by supporting its legitimate national claims on Kashmir and Goa, and with Indonesia in support of its demand in connection with West Guinea. Regarding the results we have achieved so far in this field, our general foreign political principles can be summed up in our intention to devote greater care also in the future to building up even closer and more varied relations with the neutral countries of Asia and Africa.

Honorable National Assembly! It follows from our foreign policy, which is based on peaceful coexistence, that we entertain feelings of sympathy toward the neutral countries of Europe and that we regard it as an important task to build up with them the best possible relations. We may state that our relations with the neutral countries of Europe are, generally speaking, normal. With the Scandinavian countries, with Switzerland and Austria, we have renewed our trade agreements and we have also concluded several finance agreements. In addition, we have signed a new legal convention with Sweden.

Regarding Austria, we may report a certain easing in the relations of the two countries. This has no doubt been helped by the consistent and firm policy, based on principles, that we have been pursuing toward Austria.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

We show positive appreciation for the fact that following our repeated requests the Arrow-Cross press organ UT OS CEL--Road and Aim--has been banned from the Austrian side. It is likewise noteworthy that the Austrian authorities have addressed an appeal to the citizens of the country to refrain from joining any espionage organizations.

We may welcome as another promising sign the meeting in Vienna on Nov. 7 between Imre Horvath and the Austrian Foreign Minister, which took place in a favorable atmosphere, at which agreement was reached in principle on the normalization of relations between the two countries, on the examination of the disputed questions, and the appointment of certain committees whose task would be to regulate through negotiations all those problems which continue to have disturbing influence on common relations. With this end in view, we have already undertaken certain steps. At the present juncture everything depends on the further readiness of the Austrian Government to normalize affairs.

A slow, gradual improvement is noticeable in our relations with the British, French, and Italian governments, mainly in the sphere of economic but also cultural relations. The normalization of these relations is also indicated by the fact that with one single exception the governments of the countries belonging to the Atlantic bloc have, on our initiative, either lifted the restrictions imposed on the travels of Hungarian diplomats in their countries altogether, or have modified their previously issued regulations to a much more favorable attitude.

As for our relations with the U.S. Government, these have, much against our own intentions, failed to show an improvement and are essentially maintained on the same level to which they were lowered by the well-known "cold war" aspirations of the U.S. Government. One of the indications of this must be regarded by us as the fact that for some time now the U.S. Government has been unwilling to send a minister to Budapest following the former minister's prolonged reluctance to hand over his credentials. Likewise no favorable effect can be exercised on the development of relations between the two countries by the role played by the United States toward Hungary in the United Nations, an attitude that was again demonstrated at the recent session of the General Assembly by the permanent delegate of the U.S. Government.

#### Kristof Speech

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 19, 1957, 1800 GMT--L

(Sound pictures--live speech by Istvan Kristof at today's meeting of the National Assembly)

(Text) Announcer: Istvan Kristof, secretary of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, in his report emphasized that since the last session of the National Assembly the supreme objective of the Presidential Council lay in the promotion of the assurance of socialist legality and the broadening of international relations.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

It was in that spirit that the Presidential Council created its decree-laws and exercised its constitutional right of appointment and clemency. Speaking about the foreign political activity of the Presidential Council, he said among other things:

Kristof: I can announce with pleasure that the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has ratified the agreement concerning the legal status of Soviet troops in Hungary. We recall with eternal gratitude that the presence in Hungary of Soviet army units in the autumn of last year saved us from destruction and frustrated the plan of the imperialists. The stand of Soviet troops saved our country from extrication from the socialist camp and from being turned once again into a fascist country and a focal point of war.

Comrades, we must not forget that the soldiers of the Soviet Army, the sons of Soviet people, have sacrificed their lives, their blood for the sake of our people's freedom and the cause of socialism in Hungary. We must not forget that the Soviet people fulfilled their most sacred proletarian internationalist duty toward our people. We are convinced that in the future also the vast strength of the Soviet Union will constitute the supreme guarantee of our country's freedom and independence.

It is obvious that the temporary stay in Hungary of Soviet troops corresponds to the primary interest of our people and is the guarantee of our peaceful constructive work. The international agreement concluded by us in this matter regulates the practical and legal questions that have arisen in this connection; moreover, we strengthened further with the agreement the unbreakable friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet people. (Applause)

Honorable National Assembly: The consolidation of the international relations of the Hungarian People's Republic finds expression also in the Presidential Council resolution raising our legation in Cairo, Egypt, to the status of an embassy. I wish to emphasize the significance of this move also by pointing out that it was the first instance of the establishment by our people's republic of an embassy in a capitalist state. Also, in the course of the last few months, we have mutually exchanged ambassadors with the Mongolian People's Republic in Budapest and Ulan Bator respectively. Our developing relations with Syria are illustrated by the fact that, at the request of Syria, the Presidential Council of our people's republic has given its agreement to the appointment of Adnan al-Uzhari as Syrian envoy and minister plenipotentiary, a move which will promote Syrian-Hungarian relations.

Announcer: Istvan Kristof then went on to review other aspects of the work of the Presidential Council, the decree-laws issued in connection with certain questions of agriculture, and said:



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

Kristof: Honorable National Assembly. The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, for the sake of a consistent struggle against the counterrevolution, the final liquidation of counterrevolutionary elements, and for the consolidation of public order and public security, following the proposal of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, authorized by decree-law the setting up of people's court benches, attached to the Budapest and county courts..

The Presidential Council wished to lend support to the functioning of courts in general and the Supreme Court in particular by issuing a decree-law enabling judges to be called upon to serve on the Supreme Court. Furthermore, the Presidential Council on Nov. 3, 1957, abolished the summary jurisdiction introduced in a period of transition which was foisted upon us by the counterrevolution.

Dear comrades, I would like to deal with the legal measures passed by the Presidential Council giving expression to its appreciation for those who, by their steadfastness and heroism and unsparing of their lives, courageously stood their ground in defense of our people's republic.

Imre Mező, János Asztalos, the heroic defenders of the Budapest party headquarters, stand before us as ideals along with Sándor Tiszai, József Kalmar, and the state security and army officers and other ranks who sacrificed their lives in defense of our state.

The government has not forgotten the relatives of our heroic dead. We are striving with all our deeds to help to heal the deep wounds inflicted by the murderous counterrevolution. Provisions must be made for the relatives left behind. This is the purpose of the Presidential Council decree-law providing for the payment of special pensions to persons or the relatives of persons who have been crippled in the fighting against the counterrevolution. In this way we wish to make material provisions for the next of kin of those who gave their lives for the sake of our people's freedom, for the sake of the cause of socialism.

Respect and appreciation is due to those who in the days of the fighting against the counterrevolution already understood the tasks ahead in reconstruction, the reorganization of the people's power, the preservation and further development of the already existing great achievements of socialism. Therefore the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic conferred on many comrades the Order of Freedom, which can be awarded only once, to those who did an outstanding job.

Announcer: The secretary of the Presidential Council in conclusion dealt with the work of the councils and the council byelections of the last few months.



Dec. 20, 1957

## Peter, Horvath Speeches

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 19, 1957, 1300 GMT--L

(Recorded excerpts of speeches by Janos Peter and Richard Horvath at the National Assembly meeting, Dec. 19)

(Excerpts) Peter: Honorable National Assembly, we have indeed seen that two sharply opposed tendencies, which have revealed themselves to a greater extent than ever before, are wrestling with each other in international life. No matter how the fronts have stiffened lately, no matter how wrong imperialism's attitude toward every peace proposal has become, the international situation is nonetheless in an encouraging phase.

I would only like to add that when we started from New York on Monday we left an America different from the one we had found three months ago when we first arrived. What has happened in world politics in the meantime is symbolized by the artificial moon launched into space and the achievements of Soviet science. What has happened in international life has exerted so great an influence on public opinion in the West in general, and also on Western leading circles, that its effects today cannot, I believe, be gaged satisfactorily ~~anyway~~.

The Soviet Union's great scientific achievements and its renewed peace proposals have put the leading circles and propaganda organs of America in a position in which they either must accept the proposals for peace and cooperation or come out overtly in favor of their warlike policy (few words indistinct). The peace policy displayed by the socialist countries, and the political, economic, scientific, and military strength shown by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries--and concerning this the American press today says (openly?) that the Soviet Union has won the armaments race--will after all resound in the hearts of the masses. And while Eisenhower's group is busy organizing NATO and rejecting the Soviet Union's proposal for talks at the highest level, the conviction that only direct talks between leaders of the great powers, in accordance with the proposal of the Soviet Union, can get international politics out of the deadlock to which it has been brought by America's maneuver in connection with the disarmament question is steadily growing in leading Western political circles and also in public opinion.

Horvath: The problem of peace is one with many facets. Peace is part of the problems of progress and justice. The Pope himself said on Nov. 1, 1957. The wealth created by God has been created for the use of every man and is due to every man in equal share, in accordance with the basic principles of justice and love of one's neighbor. You will preach peace to the exploited in vain until he has rid himself of exploitation--and he is right. You will preach peace to the oppressed in vain until he has rid himself of oppression--and he is right. The cause of peace is also the cause of national unity.



Dec. 20, 1957

Honorable National Assembly, since the policy of the government of our People's Republic is the policy of peace, I accept and welcome the report on the foreign policy and the peace resolution.

### Karoly Kiss Speech

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 19, 1957, 1300 GMT--L

(Sound pictures from today's meeting of the National Assembly--Karoly Kiss, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee)

(Text) Honorable National Assembly, comrades, fellow deputies. The Foreign Affairs Committee deems it necessary that the National Assembly take a stand in the most topical foreign political questions.

In recent months and to this day we have been witnessing two radically opposite trends. The leaders and people of the Soviet-led socialist camp are doing everything to promote the peaceful coexistence of people in countries with different social systems. Their efforts are supported by the leaders and people of the former colonies liberated from the imperialist yoke. At the same time, however, the leading statesmen of certain Western powers continue to maintain, in face of this peaceful endeavor which is expressive of the aspirations of all mankind, their obsolete political concepts, the so-called policy of strength. They are striving not for peace but for the intensification of the armaments race. This fact found clear expression also at the Paris conference of the heads of the governments of the NATO member states, which opened on Dec. 10.

The U.S. President, Mr. Dwight Eisenhower, disregarding the concrete peace proposals contained in the message addressed to him by Marshal Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is trying to bring pressure to bear on the heads of the governments of the smaller NATO member states to continue the nuclear armaments race which, as far as their countries are concerned, amounts to suicide. While Mr. Eisenhower is covering up this reactionary endeavor of his with certain peace slogans, Secretary of State Dulles makes no secret at all of the fact that the real aim of the U.S. leaders is the intensification of the armaments race, the continued pursuance of the notorious policy of deterrents.

In vain do the heads of the Danish and Norwegian governments also protest against the transformation of their countries' territory into bases for hydrogen rocket launching bases, directed against the people belonging to the countries of the socialist camp. The heads of the governments of the leading imperialist powers want to foist on them their reactionary will at any cost. It is typical that even Mr. Spaak, the "socialist" secretary general of NATO, stands in the vanguard of anti-Soviet incitement and in clamoring for the intensification of the armaments race.



Dec. 20, 1957

The colonial system is disintegrating before our very eyes. The Indonesian people are fighting a determined struggle against the Dutch colonizers, the people of Morocco against the Spanish, the people of Algeria against the French imperialists, the people of Syria and other Arab people against the British and American monopoly capitalists, against Anglo-Saxon imperialism--they are fighting for their freedom and independence and for peace.

The imperialists suffer one defeat after another in this struggle, still they do not keep quiet. The firmest guardians of imperialism are not willing to give up the billions of dollars extracted from the colonial people and their rich profits derived from the oppressed races. The adventurist nature of their policy recognizes no bounds, but it takes two to make a deal. As the Moscow peace appeal of the 64 communist and workers parties declared, war is not inevitable but can be prevented; peace can be safeguarded and rendered durable.

Honorable fellow deputies. The time has passed when for the interests of the imperialist monopolists, a handful of warmongers could foist their will on the great majority of people, when that minority, without any major opposition, could thrust the people's masses into wars of bloodshed. The world situation is different today. The international balance of power has changed. The forces of socialism and peace today are substantially stronger than the reactionary forces of imperialism. The development of the socialist camp places in sharp relief the superiority of the socialist system. Mankind, relying on the firm socialist basis already achieved, may also attain by peaceful methods the victory of socialism throughout the world.

The imperialists, of course, do not acquiesce in their defeat. They spend hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars of mendacious press and radio propaganda. They would like to make the masses believe that peace is threatened not by them but by world communism. The rightwing socialist leaders lend a hand to the monopolistic masters in this. Therefore we should not lose sight of the fact that the machinations of the imperialists may, locally and temporarily, gain success. We can well remember the grave damage caused to us in October and November of last year. For this reason, in our country the forces of peace, communists in the first place, every Hungarian fond of his country, must expose everywhere the propaganda of the war incendiaries, however shrewd, however cleverly veiled it may be. We must strive with all our might to enhance the forces of peace.

Honorable National Assembly. In the brief space of a year that has passed since the defeat of the counterrevolution, under the leadership of our party and the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, the Hungarian working people have surmounted the difficulties. We have essentially succeeded in consolidating the political and economic life of the country.



Dec. 20, 1957

Our people have thereby rendered a very grave service to the cause of peace, for our people have not only extinguished the fire in a focal point of war but at the same time have unmasked before the people of the world the relevant imperialist campaign of lies and machinations.

Now, however, renewed efforts are needed in order to safeguard peace because, disregarding reason, at the current conference of the heads of the governments of NATO member states the representatives of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists still refuse to acknowledge the real state of affairs, the desire for peace of the people. The recent letters which Comrade Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, addressed to the leaders of the Western powers drew attention to the possible results of this catastrophic policy. At the same time, expression was given anew of the USSR's resolute desire for peace and endeavor to reach agreement with the capitalist countries on disarmament, which would provide a firm basis for the realization of peaceful coexistence. These highly important Soviet documents are drawing the attention of world public opinion to the USSR's efforts to maintain peace and are preparing the mobilization of the forces of peace against aggressive war preparations.

Honorable National Assembly. We have reached a phase of development in which the question arises in the minds of the leaders of countries of force: What will the choice be--the horrors of a hydrogen war or peaceful coexistence. As a member of the socialist camp, it is the duty of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic to stand united in support of peace. Therefore, in the name of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, I ask my honorable fellow deputies to declare our approval and adherence to the peace appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. On behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I submit the following resolution for debate and adoption:

The Hungarian National Assembly, having examined and discussed the present international situation which has arisen through the struggle of the forces of peace and war, welcomes with enthusiastic approval and joins the peace appeal addressed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the world's workers, politicians, and public personalities, exponents of science and culture, the parliaments and governments of all countries on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the Hungarian People's Republic there is not a single social class or united strata whose interests would be served by war. The Hungarian people's undivided interest and the principle guarantee of their happy future lies in peace. Our country is a country of peace and wants to remain so.

Examining the present international situation, it can be noted that the aggressive forces of imperialism, headed by certain U.S. circles with their notorious policy of force, go on aggravating the international tension, poisoning the international atmosphere with increasingly gross provocations, thereby increasingly endangering the peace of mankind.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 20, 1957

In contrast, the truest aspirations of all peace-loving mankind are represented by the policy pursued by the invincible camp of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union. The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, developed further in the current phase of history by the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, constitutes a firm basis of the foreign policy pursued by the socialist countries and at the same time signifies the firmest guarantee of peace and friendship between peoples.

Inspired by a high sense of responsibility for the assurance of the peace of the people, the leaders of the USSR and the rest of the socialist countries have never stopped taking the initiative for the sake of safeguarding and consolidating peace. Thus recently we welcomed the message sent by Nikolai Bulganin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Indian Premier Nehru, U.S. President Eisenhower, Chancellor Adenauer of the German Federal Republic, and the heads of the governments of the other NATO member states. These messages, which propose the temporary suspension of nuclear weapon tests starting on Jan. 1, 1958, the creation in central Europe of a wide nonatom zone, the conclusion of a nonaggression pact between the countries of the Atlantic alliance on the one hand and those of the Warsaw treaty on the other, the peaceful solution of questions concerning the Near and Middle East, and, in general, the fostering of peaceful interstate relations, faithfully convey the true interests of peace-loving mankind, and therefore the Hungarian National Assembly also lends its full support to them.

In consideration of the aforesaid, as representatives of the Hungarian working people, we demand an end to the armaments race, the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons and nuclear experiments endangering the existence and future of mankind even without war. Let the wonderful new achievements of science be put in the service of peace, as was done by the USSR with artificial moons circling in space. We demand the liquidation of aggressive military blocs.

We protest against the resuscitation of West German militarism, the most dangerous enemy of the Hungarian people, and against the placing of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the hands of Hitler's erstwhile generals. We protest against the imperialist provocations in the Near and Middle East as well as against all their other war provocations. We favor the earliest possible establishment of collective security, the peaceful coexistence of different social systems, and broad international cooperation in all spheres.



H U N G A R Y

Dec. 23, 1957

SZENASI REVIEWS COUNTERREVOLUTION TASKS

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 21, 1957, 1630 GMT--L

(Recording of extracts from Supreme Prosecutor Geza Szenasi's speech on the third day of the Hungarian National Assembly session)

(Text) Honored National Assembly, this is the second time that the Supreme Prosecutor of the people's republic stands before the National Assembly in order to fulfill his duty, defined by the second paragraph of Article 43 of our constitution, to give an account of his work. In this report I wish to inform the National Assembly about how I discharged my duty after the counterrevolution in respect to that legal obligation, imposed by the constitution, that every deed violating or endangering the order, independence, and security of the Hungarian People's Republic must be consistently prosecuted.

Permit me to speak, first of all, about my experiences gained from the crimes of the counterrevolution, in order to be able to strip naked those slanderers and liars who, led by their hatred of our people's republic, wish to make last year's counterrevolutionary rising appear as the workers rising against our regime and who feted terrorist murderers and common criminals as heroes of freedom.

I should also like to introduce some such so-called workers and champions of freedom at this place, to throw light on the true nature of the counterrevolution, and to reveal the fact, which is supported by hundreds and hundreds of instances of evidence, that in the organization and execution of the counterrevolution the class enemy acted as the inciter, perpetrator of the crime, and often as the leader.

As soon as they heard news of the outbreak of the counterrevolution in Budapest, the most active elements of reaction went immediately into action, mobilized former gendarmes, capitalists and kulaks, and by first establishing the so-called provisional national committees and later the so-called revolutionary committees launched a frontal attack, first of all against the party, the organs of criminal prosecution, and the institution of local councils. Throughout the country they arrested communists and progressive people en masse--more than 3,000 communists were cast into prison. In addition to the coalition parties, many other parties and organizations were set up with the object of bringing about a capitalist or fascist restoration.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

The investigations have thrown light on the hostile activity of certain writers groups. It is an established fact that some reactionary groups of Hungarian writers undertook to play an active part in the preparation of an armed attack in the support of the advance of the counterrevolutionary forces and the realization of bourgeois efforts to bring about a restoration. The Western intelligence center, called Free Europe Committee, quickly recognized the hostile attitude of some writers groups.

Some weeks before October 1956, this intelligence center sent, in the form of a circular, an inciting appeal to these groups, evidently because it regarded these writers as allies. These writers played a leading part in the organization and execution of the attack against the policy of the state leadership, and after Nov. 4 obstructed the implementation of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government's objectives aimed at establishing political and economic consolidation.

In the counterrevolution, supported by Western imperialist circles, the most reactionary forces, representatives of the leading circles of Northy's fascism, clerical reaction, the rightwing leaders of the former coalition parties and the traitors group led by Imre Nagy, played a considerable role. The destructive activity of this hostile nationalist group, organized on an antipopular basis, cleared the way to the attack launched by the most reactionary forces and then, putting itself by open treason at the lead of the counterrevolution, launched an attack in order to overthrow the people's democratic order of the state.

The revolutionary committees were the assembling centers and effective weapons of the counterrevolution, their leaders and members in many places arrested communists and other persons who followed the party's and the government's lead, dismissed leaders of the state administration and local councils, and organized armed groups with the object of securing power for the counterrevolution in the localities concerned.

It is typical, for instance, that in the revolutionary councils of Szolnok County there were 322 kulaks, 112 policemen, 128 Northyite army officers, 100 former Arrow-Cross members, and 123 former capitalists. In the provisional workers council of the Mavag Locomotive and Engineering Works there were 23 and in the provisional workers council of the Ganz factory there were 10 representatives of hostile elements. These people took a leading role. A number of the champions of freedom upon whom so much lavish praise is bestowed in the West are in fact fascists and class enemies, while others among them are convicts who escaped from the prisons and murderers with long criminal records. During the counterrevolution, 16,513 convicts escaped from the various prisons, including 13,000 common criminals. The national guard formations were (organized when?) these prisoners were released, and thus the overwhelming proportion of arms got into the hands of hostile, criminal, and hooligan elements.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

The liquidation of the counterrevolution by means of the penal law started in extremely difficult circumstances. The power of the proletariat was victorious, but the forces of the counterrevolution were still active. A great number of arms were still in the hands of fascists, escaped convicts, and other hooligans.

Production proceeded only by fits and starts--counterrevolutionary elements in the workers councils were inciting strikes, the country's western frontiers were open, and people streamed out of the country by the thousands. The apparatus of criminal prosecution and jurisdiction became mostly disorganized, and people's minds were in a state of confusion. The struggle against counterrevolutionary criminals began in such circumstances.

In the vanguard marched the public order forces, formed of the best members of the party and the army and police formations which got to their feet very quickly. They had by no means an easy task, but they stood their ground, thus influencing the work of the courts and prosecutors, who were wavering at the beginning. The greatest praise is due them.

In those days our public order forces and police were fighting, in fact, in two directions. They defended the proletariat's power with arms in their hands and forced back the movements of the remnants of the counterrevolution, on one hand, and took into custody persons suspected of having committed counterrevolutionary crimes, on the other. Both tasks were extremely important and urgent.

They were urgent because the country's western frontiers were opened during the counterrevolution, and those who tried to cross that frontier were those who took part in the organization, the terrorist actions and the murders of the counterrevolution. A great number of active class enemies, capitalists, aristocrats, hooligans, common criminals and other counterrevolutionaries and terrorists, succeeded in escaping. These are now bestowing their blessing on the Western states. Those more than 2,000 common criminals who were released from prison by the counterrevolutionaries and who have not yet been recaptured are also in the West.

The introduction of the summary jurisdiction was a sharp reply to the counterrevolutionaries. It demonstrated the strength of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and elicited adequate respect for the reconsolidation of proletarian rule. This initial success made it possible to start the liquidation, by means of penal law, of the counterrevolution on a larger scale and on every (front?). The introduction of the accelerated criminal procedure and the setting up of people's court divisions (nepbirosagi tanacsok), first at the Supreme Court and later also at the county courts, also served this end.

The setting up of people's court divisions gave a new impetus to the struggle against the remnants of the counterrevolution in the law courts, too, and the appointment of people's judges improved and strengthened the judicial administration. Legality was enforced in every respect in the course of exceptional judicial proceedings.



Dec. 23, 1957

As for the stage of investigation, no special measures were applicable, and the basic principles of judicial procedure as expressed in the first article of the penal code were not violated.

Proceedings against those who committed counterrevolutionary crimes have not yet ended. Should a counterrevolutionary murderer or benefactor be discovered even after many years he must be severely dealt with and given what he deserves. The task is unchanged: against criminal elements belonging to the hostile classes, maximum severity, based on legal grounds, must be applied; against workers categories who committed minor offenses, milder treatment must be applied. As the consolidation becomes stronger, criminal proceedings may even be dropped. These two considerations are suitable to ensure that the administration of justice as a whole keeps clear of excesses both to the right and the left and of the "zigzag" criminal policy resulting from excesses.

Workers engaged in criminal administration should not heed the sirens' voices chanting "let's be friends." These voices come from the circle of those who show loyalty of a kind, smile, and try to take roots again, but who in autumn 1956 incited from behind the scenes generally and drove confused, trusting, simple people to their death or to tragic situations. Such a lukewarm atmosphere would be favorable to the enemy, because it would insure to him a quiet life and increased possibilities for action. We shall not give the enemy this advantage.

In order to safeguard the guarantees of criminal procedure we also devoted attention to ensuring that the investigating authorities should carefully gather all the information in connection with the detection of individuals who behaved in a counterrevolutionary manner and to their selection from a penal standpoint. Therefore, their decisions should be made on the ground of legal and political considerations and in committee. This method has eliminated subjective bias in judging a case and has reduced mistakes to a minimum. The institution of custody in the interest of public safety (koezbiztonsagi orizet) has also proved to be an effective means of restoring order. The unaltered opinion of the government concerning this is that it does not regard it as a basic institution but only as a transitory emergency measure in support of the strengthening of the country's social order. There is only one camp of public safety in the country and the number of its inmates was 1,869 as of yesterday, Dec. 20, and one quarter of this number consists of habitual slackers and similar elements.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

At this point I wish to inform the National Assembly that I also find it necessary to make temporary use of the institution of custody in the interest of public safety in the fight against the parasites of economic life. (Applause) It should not happen that declassé elements or people who earn their living as middlemen, whose past is doubtful and incomes even more so, should earn, simply by loitering about, such sums and valuables that blatantly contradict the basic principles of socialist income.

However, I also call attention to the fact that in criminal cases and those involving public safety I lay the greatest emphasis on the point that those who level false accusations and slanders should be called to account. I try to guarantee unconditionally that the groundless and superfluous vexation of citizens, as well as the harmful utilization of the police and judicial authorities in this way, should cease as soon as possible.

We earlier instructed the prosecutors' offices that when the innocence of the accused has been proved they must institute criminal proceedings against the denunciator or witness if he acted in bad faith or was careless. If such a case occurs during a judicial proceeding, that law court must initiate proceedings ex officio in accordance with Article 87 of the penal code.

Announcer: After this, the Supreme Prosecutor spoke of the fact that the prosecutors' conference held early in February represented a turning point in the work of the prosecutors, which from that time onward became smoother and has showed definite progress. Then he continued:

Szenasi: At the time of the counterrevolution a serious attack was launched against the economic basis of our people's republic: the social property. In the interests of appropriate protection for social property there is still much to be done. Some of these tasks will devolve on our prosecuting apparatus (bueneldoezoe) and on our courts; some will devolve on our state, economic, and social organs.

I have issued orders that the prosecutors' office together with the competent organs of the policy must make an analysis every few months, while examining the crimes committed, of what mistakes of supervision or organization make possible the delinquency against social property.

I have not drawn the attention of the ministries concerned to eliminate the established causes, but we shall also check up on the measures taken. In addition to these measures, the prosecutors have received instructions that, following criminal cases in which a sentence is given, they must check to see whether the enterprise or organ concerned has drawn the lessons and taken the necessary measures to prevent similar crimes from being committed in the future. Against all those who are found criminally negligent, I shall take more rigorous steps with a view to instituting criminal proceedings.



Dec. 23, 1957

At the end of this year, it can be expected that in the reports on the annual balance sheets and in the stock sheets attempts will be made to find ways and means of accounting for the materials taken and the amounts illegally received. In the interest of reducing the danger of this to a minimum, I have already drawn the attention of the ministries to the need for accurately preparing closely checking the reports on the annual balance sheets. I shall ensure the participation of prosecutors, along with the auditing (revizor) department of the Ministry of Finance and other organs of finance.

It is an important task to gradually push the enemy, or elements incorrigibly affected by the enemy, out of positions in public and economic life, pushing them, first of all, out of the more important places, irrespective of the fact that today the force of order elicits an accommodating behavior from them.

The "it is all right everywhere but it is best nowhere" (mindennütt jó de legjobb sehhol) mentality of these elements even infects the sound environment like a plague. The parasite section of the citizens which cannot, or even will not, take its share of work in building the society of the working class is creating an atmosphere in which "to live for today" is regarded as a virtue, hooliganism as smartness, cynicism as world outlook, and the means to all these is uninhibited pilfering.

The laxity of public morals on this scale is one of the results of the counterrevolution. The cause of its prevalence is the indifference and criminal lack of firmness of the directors and of those whose duty it is to exercise control. A considerable proportion of thefts from the factories, corruption, and bribery is detected by the police, apart from those committed in one or two countries, whereas if the directors, chief accountants, and superior organs paid any attention to this, as is their duty, the bulk of the irregularities would be detected by them. Moreover, a good proportion of the stolen property remains undetected. Even in the detected cases, the prosecutor's apparatus gives little thought to recovering the stolen property, and often it does not take custody of all, or even any of the articles belonging to the perpetrators, accomplices, or to those responsible. (Several words indistinct)

Pilfering from factories, enterprises, and state farms is a class question, not only because social property constitutes the foundation of a socialist society but also because behind the outrageous slogans of "one must sing for one's supper" and "one must live somehow" the counterrevolution, which has retreated from street fighting and has been forced underground, lives and tries to disorganize our production. There is no question of trying to find the hand of the enemy in the act of every thief, as we did in the past, but it would amount to blindness to cast aside entirely this view and not see the policy behind some of the ordinary crimes.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

In the interests of enhanced protection for social property, the institution of special lay courts set up in factories to deal with petty offenses. (tarsadalmi biraskodas) must be revived; it had proved effective during its brief period of application before the counterrevolution. Judging by experience, the special lay courts in factories, which deal with petty offenses, are very suitable because those who have offended against social property and workers who have erred are branded through this, and are refrained from committing offenses. Other kinds of workers, too, are influenced and an atmosphere is created in which an offense against social property is regarded as a disgrace and shame.

Announcer: Then Szenasi said that some of the small artisans and retailers are carrying on illegal activities--a good proportion of the stolen goods from the factories finds its way to certain small artisans; some of the retailers are engaged in selling wholesale. Some of the small artisans are not afraid of increasing their profit and capital through crimes. It is obvious that such small artisans and retailers are not helping to solve the tasks assigned them by the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. Activities of speculation can be encountered in some of the cooperatives, too.

The prosecutor's office has launched and is conducting a successful campaign for prosecuting crimes of this nature. Compared with the first quarter, three times as many persons were indicted for speculation in the third quarter. The organs charged with prosecuting crimes are careful, however, in clearing up the economic life in order to avoid mistakes of policy on crime committed in the previous years.

He also said that, generally speaking, public security in Hungary was shaping up favorably. It now presents a picture of consolidation and further improvement in the situation can be expected. In this connection, he spoke of the successful work of the police and of the relations between the prosecutor's office and the police. The police themselves are asking for supervision by the prosecutor's office (one word indistinct), that is to say, the stage has been reached where, in the interests of guaranteeing socialist legality to both sides our prosecutors, arm-in-arm with the police, may take further effective steps. Then he continued.

Szenasi: One of the pet slogans of counterrevolutionary demagogues was to mention the violations of law. But on investigation it was found that in the overwhelming majority of the former cases the procedure itself had been well founded and lawful.



Dec. 23, 1957

Over and above the results given in the report submitted last year, up to November 1957, the Supreme Prosecutor's office has reexamined the cases of 3,012 persons convicted for political crimes, people who have been arrested since last October and who asked for a reexamination. In the course of the reexamination, we have made recommendations for full rehabilitation in the cases of only 399 persons; the reexaminations had revealed that the proceedings that had taken place had been lawful. With this, the reexaminations have come to an end. One of the gravest mistakes of the past has been eliminated, proving that although there had been violations of law these were not nearly on such a scale as our enemies had claimed.

Announcer. Dealing with the issue of persons under age, he stated that this remains as before one of the most important fields of prosecutors' work. He also spoke of questions connected with the producer cooperatives. He stressed that, generally speaking, the prosecutors' offices had tried to get the persons concerned to return the articles of property taken from the producer cooperatives at the time of the counterrevolution or to make good the damage. Instructions have been issued that the council organs must put an end to or bring within the lawful limitations as soon as possible the functioning of the obviously illegally created cooperatives which are not based on collective production but solely on collective marketing. Then he informed the National Assembly about the settling of complaints lodged by citizens.

Szenasi: The prosecutor's office continues to deem as its lawful duty the investigation of complaints. Any citizen may with confidence call on the prosecutor with his complaint in the interests of safeguarding the uniformity of legality, but in general I do not think it is right that prosecutors should deal with complaints in connection with measures taken more than a year ago deemed to be a cause for complaint (serelmesnek talalt). I believe that attention concentrated on the present and the future constitutes a greater safeguard for legality than constant recourse to the past.

The prosecutors' offices are engaged in dealing mainly with two categories of complaints: those concerning dwellings, those concerning labor affairs. Sporadically it can be seen even today that some, thinking that squatting in flats is the legal practice, go as far as breaking seals off vacant flats and entering them. There is not room for any patience or indulgence toward this banditry. That is to say, the police are taking the correct steps when they clear the flat summarily and arrest the perpetrators.



Dec. 23, 1957

During 1957, the complaints concerning labor affairs have shown two main tendencies: first, as a result of the counterrevolution, we had to deal with the unlawful victimization (racionalizalasa) of those who were loyal to the party, supported the people's democracy, and rejected participation in the strikes; second, we had to make clear to the counterrevolutionaries who were hiding and, on more than one occasion, appearing openly, and especially to those counterrevolutionaries who had come to play a role in the workers council, that their way of reorganizing the factories was not only unlawful but insofar as they were involved was irrational as well. We have attacked the abuses committed against the provisions of the labor code by issuing warnings (ovassal) and by making sure in each case that the prosecutor participates in invalidating or annulling the unlawful instructions of the counterrevolution.

The other (one word indistinct) phenomenon which gave cause for complaints was the "upsurge" (foellendules). The need arose for a measure to make possible the employment in other places of those persons who for political reasons became unsuitable for their positions and who were dismissed for this reason.

The extreme view that persons dismissed for this reason cannot be employed anywhere has emerged. In order to put an end to this erroneous attitude, which is also contrary to the constitution, I applied to the Minister of Labor, explaining that dismissal for political reasons makes the person dismissed unsuitable specifically for the post he had held but does not exclude providing him with other employment which takes the political circumstances into consideration. As a result of my proposal, the Minister of Labor has taken the necessary steps within his ministry.

Honorable National Assembly, the abolition of compulsory deliveries has lent special importance to the restoration of discipline of producing and of contracting in the field of production contracts. It was precisely in the interests of strengthening the foundations of discipline that I made recommendations to the college of the Supreme Court for a decision that would point out the right (several words indistinct) Supreme Court for a guiding decision (iranyamatato) which stated that all conditions laid down in the production contract must be brought to the notice of the producers so that he could be quite clear about his rights and duties.

It had to be declared in order to eliminate deterioration in the discipline of contracting, that the producer, if he failed to complete his contract for reasons for which he was not to be blamed, had to be bound over, contrary to previous legal practice, to fulfill his obligations under the contract in addition to returning the advance payment received (as heard). The former was of decisive importance because after the abolition of the compulsory delivery system very great importance was attached to the realistic and actual completion of the production contracts to insure adequate supplies for the population.



Dec. 23, 1957

It emerges from what has been said that the prosecutor's office is not only a prosecuting authority (vadhatóság) but also the supporter of the lawful rights of every layer of the population and its helper in the various fields of life. In the interest of further enhancing this social role of the prosecutor's office and of broadening the direct contacts with the people, I have issued instructions to take effect on Jan. 1, 1958, to organize the prosecutor's consulting hours in the factories.

Announcer: Szenasi said that the prosecution offices insured the smooth settlement of land ownership questions (földrendezés) and the starting of agricultural work in the countryside. He spoke of the frequent occurrence of unauthorized tree-felling and stealing of wood. The penalty that could be imposed for damaging woods was small in comparison with the harm done. The prosecution will therefore endeavor to apply not only the full rigor of the law but also to exact full compensation for the damage done to the national economy. Let us make the wood too expensive for the criminals. Szenasi ended his speech by saying:

Szenasi: Honorable National Assembly, my report, on the whole, has the character of a collection of examples, but it is also a pointer to the future. In our experience, whenever a leading person makes a utterance inside the people's democracies, the Western bourgeois political sentinels and press are immediately ready with an answer and distribution of their opinion, criticism, and advice. Every cough leads to the birth of a commentary, and we have enough enemies who pick it up, spread it, and further distort it, and we also have a good many not hostile but stupid comments as to whether our political line is becoming softer or stiffer. If a well-known personality has a cold they deduce that he is out of favor, and so forth.

Of course, we are working and seldom have time to amuse ourselves over the bourgeois daydreams. We systematically follow the road defined by the party because we have learned well the lesson that a firm and systematic attitude on principle alone can give strength, and that strength alone can attract allies and sympathizers and, at the same time, intimidate the hostile elements.

During the year after the counterrevolution, in the period of restoring order, the party and state leadership displayed systematic levelheadedness and moderation. The liquidation of the counterrevolution in Hungary is Hungary's internal affair. The protection of state and social order is the constitutional duty of the government in power. The preservation and further development of our socialist achievements impose important obligations on the government.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

The measures of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government correspond in every respect with the interests of the country and the people and also to human rights in general. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government introduced not a single measure that would not stand up to objective criticism.

The imperialist gangsters, the murderers of the people of Cyprus, Algiers, Egypt, and Oman were yelling about a bloodbath. The multimillionaires of the business trusts commend their legal experts to defend the interests of the Hungarian proletariat.

Preventive education, the prosecution of crimes, and the administration of justice are, after the lapse of one year, confronted with greater tasks than before. In a revolutionary position and in the interest of our class existence certain penalty points (hibapont) can be tolerated, but not excused. And here the issue concerns human lives and not methods. However, since the penalty point in prosecution is given not for a missed clay pigeon but is affecting a human being, vexed without reason, one cannot acquiesce even in a fraction of a thousandth of fault here.

Naturally the fact that in prosecuting hostile categories merely the surface appearance and not the substance is being prosecuted is also a fault. To use a topical example: not abetment to murder but instead incitement (is charged?).

Our endeavor remains the same as before--to assert to the maximum the legal stipulations of the penal code and to institute criminal proceedings against the uncomprehending, if enlightenment (kioktatás) remains fruitless. I believe that I have left no doubt about my intentions that I do not try to liberalize the prosecution of crimes and general supervision but try to make them more civilized (kultúralt). Also, for this reason, let no one tell us that a year has already passed since the counterrevolution and thereby we should be more lenient. No. We will not relax in the judgment of active enemies. What we say is: that so far only one year has elapsed since the counterrevolution.

The final disinfection of the focal points of the counterrevolution require an intelligent (kultúralt) prosecution, partisan party representation, and class courts of justice. An intelligent class hatred, free from daily impulses, is greater and more lasting and therefore entails a greater social success than the blind hatred, which is appropriate at certain times. I ask the honorable National Assembly to accept my report.  
(Applause)

Speaker: On the basis of the unanimous manifestation I state that the National Assembly took cognizance of the report of the Supreme Prosecutor. I put the question to the National Assembly whether it accepts the report? Yes (said in unison).



Dec. 23, 1957

Announcer: After the recess, Dr. József Domokos, President of the Supreme Court, made a speech.

Domokos Speech

Domokos (voice recording): According to the constitution the main task of the courts of the Hungarian People's Republic is the punishing of the enemies of the working people and the protection of the state, economic and social order of our people's democracy. This principle can only be regarded as being upheld if our courts exercise merciless rigor, within the limits of socialist legality and justice, against the enemy who lost his mask during the counterrevolution.

In the passing of sentences, one of the main guiding principles is that one has to make a basic difference between the leaders, initiators, and national directors of the movement aimed at overthrowing the people's democratic order of state, the agents of foreign organizations, murderers and hooligans released from prisons, and, on the other hand, those misled workers who did not commit any serious crime.

As to the first group, ruthless rigor is warranted, while concerning the latter, corrective punishment is needed.

During the last few months not only the people's court benches but also the professional judges, both at the Supreme Court and at lower courts, have been realizing increasingly the fundamental requirements of the purposeful penal struggle against the counterrevolutionary crimes. Besides gravely endangering the existence of the people's democratic state, the counterrevolution also caused immeasurable damage in other fields, primarily by demoralization and by undermining discipline.

One has to state that in the practice of the courts, in particular when dealing with crimes against social property, liberalism was increasing. Social property is the economic foundation of our people's democracy. It is no accident therefore that one part of the counterrevolutionary attack was directed against this.

In Budapest and in the countryside the shameless pilfering of the property of the people caused immense damage. Even the idea of defending social property was shaken within a broad strata of the population. The strictest legal measures must be applied against attacks on social property.

In the sphere of penal protection of social property, however, the situation is far from satisfactory. The counterrevolution resulted in the loosening of civil discipline and of the rules of social coexistence in every sphere. In the experience of the Supreme Court perhaps never before has there been so many cases of murder, almost without motive, than during the months immediately following the counterrevolution.



THADWUN  
Dec. 23, 1957

- II 13 -

HUNGARY

Dec. 23, 1957

The counterrevolution regarded human life as valueless. When a crisis threatened the economic life, speculators, smugglers, and profiteers emerged who tried to cash in on the chaos without doing any work. The judiciary collegium, in connection with the cases of profiteering, gave practical guidance by its views.

According to the constitution and the law on the structure of courts the Supreme Court exercises (word indistinct) principles regarding the functioning of and sentences passed by all courts. Contrary to the practice of past years it was fully realized in 1957 that the direction, in matters of principle concerning actual judgments, was exclusively exercised by the Supreme Court. The notable consolidation of social legality, which is felt on every sphere, is also a guarantee that violations of law which occurred in past years and resulted in legal actions and sentences on principles have once and for all been excluded from the life of our people's republic.

During its directing activity in this period the Supreme Court made two rulings on principles for the lower courts. Both rulings are concerned with questions of competence.

The periodical "COURT DECISIONS" (BIROSAGI HATAROZATOK) issued for the fifth year by the Supreme Court is an important instrument in directing the lower courts. This periodical had not been published for three months owing to the counterrevolution, but its publication was resumed in February 1957. This year this periodical printed over 300 criminal sentences together with a summary of the reasons and, of these, over 80 decisions deal with counterrevolutionary crimes. A specific means of ensuring socialist legality is the instrument of veto (ovas). Its aim is to establish and remedy any infringement of law which might occur in a final court decision. On Apr. 23, 1957, the plenary meeting of the Supreme Court ruled as a matter of principle that the right of veto could be exercised even against a decision by the Presidential Council of the Supreme Court.

This is in contrast to the former Royal Supreme Court's conception of infallibility which barred any legal recourse, in the interest of safeguarding the sanctity of law, against its decisions. This guiding principle of the plenary meeting of the Supreme Court truly expresses the assertion of democratic jurisdiction and the absolute assurance of socialist legality. Announcer: The Assembly unanimously adopted the report.

MTI Addition

Budapest, MTI, in French Hellschreiber to Europe, Dec. 21, 1957, 2200 GMT--L

(Excerpt) Jossef Domokos, President of the Supreme Court, said in the National Assembly today that up to Nov. 30, 1957, the Supreme Court has dealt with 1,717 counterrevolutionary criminal cases, 1,432 cases of which had been completed by that date.



Dec. 23, 1957

In certain instances, the Supreme Court reduced the too heavy sentences. In the case of workers who were simply misled by the counterrevolution, it quashed the sentences which did not exceed one year's imprisonment.

Domokos said that the constitution authorized every citizen to draw the attention of the President of the Supreme Court or that of the Chief Prosecutor to sentences which may infringe the law. From the platform, he called on every worker to look upon this right as a duty. The assembly passed his report.

#### MUNNICH ON PEOPLE'S SUPERVISION BILL

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. <sup>22</sup>~~27~~, 1957, 1630 GMT--L

(Broadcast speech of Dr. Ferenc Munnich, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers)

(Text) Honorable National Assembly: The bill aiming at the establishment of supervision by the people marks an important step in the further strengthening of consolidation, putting the people's democracy on an ever broader basis; and an important step in ending the moral destruction wrought by the counter-revolution.

We have defeated the counterrevolution. We continue to build socialism. In this work, up to the counterrevolution of October 1956, we had obtained inestimable successes. The attack by internal reaction and international imperialism, however, beside material damage running into billions, and the destruction of valuable human lives, inflicted immeasurable moral losses on our people and country and caused a substantial setback in our socialist development.

Even before the dastardly attack of October 1956 the perpetrators and agents of the counterrevolution had undermined the prestige of the country's leading organs and of the Communist Party. The faults of certain leaders were generalized by people posing as judges of destiny who made those faults appear to be those of the regime, of socialism under construction.

With boundless demagogy, the counterrevolutionary vampires in communist disguise who had wormed their way into our literature, our intellectual life, indulged in incitement. They appointed themselves the nation's destined leaders and gathered a camp around the revisionist traitor Imre Nagy and his like-minded associates. Then, with foul hypocrisy, they misled a section among the partisans of socialism and people's democracy. They turned into notorious accomplices of Mindazenty, that pirate leader (rablovezer) of capitalist restoration, who dared to venture into the light of day.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

Together they strove to set our nation against best friends, in the first place, the Soviet Union, by casting a false light upon relations between our countries. With the help of chauvinist and pseudodemocratic slogans they broke the unity of the state's defensive strength and spirit. With irresponsible mendacity they contaminated a substantial part of our youth.

When the troops of the friendly Soviet Army, having come to our aid on the basis of the Warsaw treaty, upon the mediation of the then Premier Imre Nagy, quit the territory of Budapest, these counterrevolutionary elements thought that the hour of their triumph had come. Nevertheless, they feared that in the absence of leadership, not only the hesitant and passive workers, but a substantial part of those who had been misled, would recognize their real aims and would turn against them. They sought allies in the prisons. They set free fascists, spies and diversionists sentenced for crimes against the people's democracy, murderers, burglars, pickpockets, all sorts of scum, and recruited them into the ranks of the fighters of the "glorious national revolution." The effect of this counter-revolution could only be poisonous for the future.

The destruction, the squandering of national treasures, went on undisturbed. The big stores were burning. Shops were being looted. This counter-revolutionary madness attracted even those sections of the population which, under normal circumstances, would never have contemplated causing harm to the people's property or the belongings of their honest fellow citizens. The second turn of the Soviet Army's assistance, the formation of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and its energetic action put an end to this infernal bacchanale.

The consequences of moral decline, however, have not disappeared even after the armed crushing of the counterrevolution. These events have stirred up our society deeply; they have shaken the confidence in many toward the future of socialism, and inspired laxity, superficiality, and passivity in the weak. They cast into the mud the socialist norms of morality which had been taking shape under the influence of the constructive activity and cultural efforts of the people's democracy in the field of respect for social property, as well as in the relationships of people.

After the defeat of the counterrevolutionary armed aggression, the enemy, lying low in the state and economic organs, donned a new mask and resorted to new devices. In many instances they influenced honest leaders, many of whom thought that productive and office work could be restarted, not by using a strong hand, but by illicit giving away of social property and by the distribution of allowances of money. This activity, good intentioned though it may have appeared, only tended to aggravate the damage, and served the perpetuation of the general moral decline and created an atmosphere of parasitism.



The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, the state machinery, in degrees commensurate with the activation and the enhancement of the party's strength, took up the struggle against these symptoms. The sequences of their tasks were determined by the state of affairs and it was difficult to form a comprehensive picture at the beginning.

It was necessary to organize an armed force. The police had to be put back on its feet again and the courts and prosecutors' offices had once again to be reconstituted to protect the people's republic. For a long time, looting and murder continued, carried on by the scattered remnants of counterrevolutionary gangs, including all kinds of rabble who had escaped from the prisons.

At the same time, it was necessary to combat the antidemocratic strikes engineered by the counterrevolutionaries, who posed as workers and played a leading part in the workers councils. Only after these symptoms were extinguished could it begin moves on a national scale against the criminals. The organization of the forces of public order in the people's republic, the restoration of the police, improvement in the work of the courts and of the prosecution have created the prerequisites for this, and on a government level, parallel with our gradual ability to cleanse these organs of unsuitable elements, our struggle, too, became gradually more and more fruitful against all kinds of criminals.

The overwhelming majority of the leaders of the counterrevolution have gone abroad. Their allies, significantly, a mass of common criminals, left with them. Of those who stayed behind, we have returned the common criminals to their former places of residence. Many among the political criminals, too, have been called to (account?) according to their deserts. The wave of common delinquency has declined sharply, and the activity of counterrevolutionaries who could not leave or who stayed behind on their own volition has been confined within narrower limits.

The demoralizing effect of the counterrevolution, however, can still be felt, and criminal statistics, although falling, still cause anxiety by their high proportions. However, it is characteristic of the situation that even the criminal categories which have taken part in the counterrevolution had to acknowledge the consolidation of the people's democracy and the increasingly stern attitude of our organs of criminal prosecution; they had to recognize the decisively important fact that the masses of our working people are firmly aligned on the side of the party and government, and with them they want order, discipline and security, which can make constructive work possible.

They want to reestablish the moral norms of a society building socialism so that not only the law should protect social property, but that the broad masses, too, should take part in its protection.



FRIDAY  
Dec. 23, 1957

The hostile elements have shifted their harmful activity to the domain of our economic life. Those who steal, commit fraud and robbery, as well as those who often seek to take advantage of lack of vigilance or of the weakness of liberal leaders in order to harm our people's economy in organization, planning, commerce and in every other sphere, who seek to slacken discipline, sap the working zeal by provocation, make the preservation of our living standard more difficult, not to mention its improvement.

Honorable National Assembly: In the time that has passed since the counterrevolution we have achieved results for which we need not feel ashamed. However, these results would have been substantially greater if we had possessed an organ of supervision commanding appropriate authority, free from all bias. This would have helped, with the participation and support of the mass of workers, to uncover not only the acts of common crime but liberalism, irresponsibility, indiscipline and (seeds of demagoguery?).

We are building socialism and, therefore, the fundamental feature of our economy lies in the planning and the coordination of work of several enterprises or, in many cases, entire branches of production. Strict observance of the planned tasks demands that no lag by any link in the chain should break the motion of the whole. One of the consequences of moral decline is careerism, pushing and, along with this, the slandering of those in the way. Such activity cannot be prosecuted through the ordinary state organs of prosecution but the organs of popular supervision must tackle this problem, too, if they come up against it.

They must also fight against its symptoms. Should we fail to combat it, it might become rampant and disturb the cadre policy of leadership, it might embitter talented and able people faithful to socialism. It might cause uncertainty and drive valuable and modest people to aloofness and open the way to vociferous pushers. It might drive people who fall under the spell of harmful elements onto the wrong path.

Supervision alone, though, can help to make them return in time to the right path. Popular supervision must tackle these questions as well, but it is one of its tasks to unmask and call to account those who regard social property as if it belonged to no one, and who mistake the state treasury for their own pockets; to unmask the corrupt and the nepotist, the frauds who illegally subsidize private enterprise with state funds with a view to raising their own standards of living.

There are some who distort our correct economic-political measures and, by their profiteering, upset the state price policy designed to benefit the workers, who by forcing up the prices of food and consumer goods commit acts against the public interest, who indulge in bribery and the exploitation of personal contacts in order to obtain income without work. Often these activities are made easier by slack leadership. Declining sense of responsibility and conceit often following in the wake of success.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

Popular supervision will devote particular attention to symptoms indicating that hostile elements lying low or liberals under their influence are squeezing honest nonparty people or party members out of their jobs to allow dubious elements or relatives take their places.

The symptoms just listed, thanks to the consolidation of our people's democracy and proletarian dictatorship and of the supporting confidence of the workers, are on the decline.

But this onerous heritage of capitalism, owing to the demoralizing effect of the counterrevolution continues to cause serious damage, and it would cause grave danger if we failed to try to liquidate it with the utmost resolve. The official organs of criminal prosecution are inadequate for the quick and effective resolution of the tasks, however devoutly they may work. Our entire socialism building society must be mobilized for the sake of the realization of this constructive objective. The ministries and the supervisory organs functioning elsewhere can and certainly do much good. The system of popular supervision about to be born will make use of their work as the need arises. These internal organs, however, are often not independent enough, do not enjoy sufficient authority to surmount every opposition or obstacle.

Popular supervision will be an independent institution commanding respect right from the outset because it is under the immediate direction of the Council of Ministers, because the participation of tens and hundreds of thousands of workers independent of supervisory organs, people faithful to socialism and good work, will further enhance its prestige. All who hold social property, the basis of our socialist construction, dear, all who desire the consolidation of socialist public morality must readily and honestly participate in the work of popular supervision.

The establishment of such an authoritative supervisory organ relying for support on the best forces of society will, in itself, have a deterrent effect on the criminals. It will strengthen those who fight against the faults, shortcomings and delinquency but are often unable to achieve results owing to obstacles too difficult to detect. The broad masses of honest workers await and welcome with pleasure the committees of popular supervision, for the good work done by them will multiply their forces and, by expanding contacts, they will become one of the elements of participation of the broad masses in public affairs.

Honorable National Assembly: I ask you to pass this bill of vital importance. (Applause)



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

Residence Permit Discussion

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 21, 1957, 1900 GMT--L

(National Assembly proceedings, third day)

(Excerpts) Deputy Janos Dora: The government has abrogated the decree making the transfer of a person's residence to Budapest subject to a so-called residence permit. From that time, Budapest's population started to grow by leaps and bounds. According to data at my disposal 75,000 new residents were registered, either as permanent or temporary inhabitants in 1956, and 116,000 from January to October 1957. These figures, which do not include people under 16, who are not registered separately, do not include the population's natural increase. We must, therefore, accept as correct the estimate that the population of Budapest is over 2 million. I think it would be difficult to find another country in the world where one-fifth, or rather 25 percent, of the population lives in the capital. The overcrowding of Budapest not only hampers the successful fulfillment of our tasks in social, economic, and cultural domains but makes it impossible in many cases. Budapest does not have a sufficient number of dwellings, institutes, or institutions for 2 million inhabitants, therefore this unprecedented growth of the population has a paralyzing effect on transportation and causes troubles with regard to electricity, water, and supplies and health services. I ask the government, on my own behalf and in the name of my fellow deputies, to inform us about what it intends to do to prevent the further overcrowding of Budapest.

Bela Biszku, Minister of the Interior: The problem exists, and the government knows it. The possibilities of a solution must be carefully weighed. If necessary, the government must intervene with appropriate measures. Many people have raised the problem whether it would not be necessary to restore the system of residence permits, because this would solve the problem. Unfortunately, this is not so. When such a system of residence permits was in force it proved to be no solution. The roots of the problem are social and economic. There is, perhaps, no other capital in the world where the country's industry is concentrated in one city to such an extent as it is in Budapest.

A total of 52 percent of Hungary's industry is in Budapest. Only the territorial redistribution of industry can and will bring about a permanent solution. The matter must be examined from the point of view of employment so that old residents receive more favorable treatment than those who have moved to Budapest only recently. But this problem, too, must be handled with great care. Some distinction should be made with regard to the allocation of dwellings. But the local councils and rural authorities must devote great attention to village people in order that they will show greater willingness to stay in the fields.



HUNGARY  
Dec. 23, 1957

Working conditions must be improved in the cooperatives and state farms so that the number of those who want to move to the towns is thereby reduced.

The government was unable to deal with this important problem during the past week, but our local authorities and various government organs have already dealt with the question, and the elaboration of the necessary measures is in progress. The competent organs of the Budapest City Council and the competent government organs will take the necessary measures. I ask the National Assembly to take note of my answer. Next year the government will furnish more information with regard to the measures it will take to solve the problem.

#### Civil Law Procedure

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, Dec. 20., 1957, 1950 GMT-1

(Dec. 20 afternoon session of the National Assembly meeting)

(Editor's Note--The first five minutes in which the draft bill on modifications of the civil law procedure were presented were indistinct. The first speaker in the debate which followed was Dr. Kalman Pongracz.)

(Excerpts) Pongracz: "In the series of efforts aimed at broadening socialist democratism, the effort to make available law codes which firmly define the rights and duties of the citizens has been given a very significant place. Today our workers no longer steer clear of our courts. Statistical data also shows that an increasing number of citizens are turning to the courts to have their lawful rights enforced.

"The draft bill seeks to guarantee this objective when it gives the prosecutor the right to take action in a civil law suit in accordance with the law. The draft law states that the President of the Supreme Court may ex officio extend the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over any case, in any court, or in any stage of the procedure. It also seeks to guarantee this objective. The bill reflects further development with regard to the delimitation of the scope of authority. It broadens the scope of authority of the county district courts and allows only those cases to come before the county courts which belong there without question because of their significance and subject matter. This measure also furthers the implementation of the principle that the settling of affairs must be brought nearer to the workers."

The National Assembly then passed the draft bill by a unanimous vote and today's session of the National Assembly ended.