

Speech by  
**MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI**

and a Contributory Address by  
**IMRE NAGY**

at the Meeting of the Budapest Party Activists  
of the Hungarian Working People's Party

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## SPEECH BY MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI

Comrades :

We have convened this meeting of the activists of the Budapest organization of the Hungarian Working People's Party in order to discuss the problems in connection with which resolutions were adopted at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party, held on June 27 and 28. These resolutions involved the most important issues facing our Party and People's Democracy, dealing especially and in detail with the mistakes that have appeared in the work of our Party and in the economy of our People's Democracy. The Central Committee also worked out the measures which are to correct these mistakes.

Our Party, the Hungarian Working People's Party, has achieved considerable results and successes since Liberation. Our Party led the Hungarian nation out of the almost hopeless situation brought about by the ravages of war. Our Party led the work of reconstruction and our Party carried to triumph the struggle against the old regime, against the capitalists and big landlords. It was with the leadership of our Party that our working people began to lay the foundations for a better socialist future in town and country alike. And, what is most important, the living standard of the working people, of workers and peasants alike, reached a level never even approached under the Horthy regime. Every party member and all our comrades, the entire Hungarian working people have reason to be proud of the results we have achieved during this difficult period. And, I may add, we were able to do this because our liberator and friend, the mighty Soviet Union, aided and supported us in every field.

Our Central Committee has, however, found that our Party, and particularly the party leadership had, in the course of its work, committed serious errors, too. Some of these errors were a result of the inadequate methods of party leadership. The session of the Central Committee has outlined measures which will ensure genuine collective leadership in the future and will enforce party democracy, this essential guarantee of our sound development, as well as the

spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism. Now we must take steps to assure that party democracy, healthy criticism and self-criticism prevail in all fields of party work, from the top leadership down to the local organizations, thus helping to strengthen and consolidate the ties of our Party with the working masses. We have since then presented the measures drafted for the improvement of party work to the membership of our Party, and the Comrades can see thereby that we are determined to correct rapidly and eliminate the mistakes.

At this meeting I wish to deal, first of all, with the measures drawn up by the Central Committee regarding economic questions, which Comrade Imre Nagy presented to the National Assembly and with which we, of course, fully agreed, since this is the policy of our Party. I will start with the problem of socialist industrialization. Since we have cleared away the ruins of war, completed the work of reconstruction, defeated the former exploiting classes in the political struggle, and begun the building of Socialism, the devotion, patriotism and diligence of our working people have created projects and have displayed achievements the like of which were undreamt of under capitalism. All workers, intellectuals, every member of our Party, and our entire working people have reason to be proud of achievements like Sztálinváros, Inota, Komló and many others. During these years our working class has performed great things, and has the right to speak of great successes of socialist construction in this field.

At the same time, however, we must realize that in the ardour of creative work we have committed serious errors, too. First of all, it was a mistake to force an exaggerated pace in the development of heavy industry and the branches of industry which manufacture means of production. In the work of planning, we frequently failed to consider the economic resources and real potentialities of our country. More than once we failed to pay attention to the great opportunities inherent in fuller cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The most serious error, however, was committed when, in February 1951, we raised the industrial targets of the first Five-Year Plan much too high. At that time, on the basis of the results of our Three-Year Plan and the achievements of the first year of the Five-Year Plan, we found that our economic resources were more extensive than we had originally believed and that we could include additional investments in the balance of the plan. Accordingly, we raised the total of investments from 51,000 to 80,000 million forints. And this was where the mistake was made. It was possible and necessary to raise the targets of the plan, but the 30,000 million forints increase was too much. We should have raised them by less.

Naturally, parallel with the increase, we decided also that we would raise the living standard of the working people correspondingly. According to the plan, the living standard ought to have gone up 50 per cent in five years; and we wanted to build 220,000 flats during this period. But, I repeat, errors, which precluded the possibility of such a rise in the living standard, slipped into our augmented plan right at the beginning. The fact was that the augmented plan stipulated the investments for the heavy and machine industries ten times those allocated for the light and the food industries. The total to be invested in agriculture was also very too small. And, of course, largely the output of the light and food industries and of agriculture ought to have secured the rise in living standards.

Even when it became apparent that because of the over-augmented industrial programme we would not have sufficient resources left to increase heavy industry and the living standard of the working people simultaneously, we still maintained the exaggerated rate of industrialization. It followed from this that smaller sums were left for investments to raise the living standard of the working masses and particularly that of the industrial workers. Because of the building of factories, the building of flats fell behind, and, as we shall see, the investments for agriculture were also relatively reduced as a result of exaggerated industrialization.

These mistakes were topped by last year's poor harvest. The two things together brought about a drop instead of a rise in the living standard of the industrial workers during the last year. We violated the basic law of the building of Socialism, namely, that parallel with the work of construction the living standard of the working masses, and particularly of the industrial workers, must steadily rise. The economic measures now drawn up by the Central Committee of our Party are intended to correct this serious mistake. Let every one of our Comrades, our entire working people understand that our proposals are intended for the unchanged continued building of Socialism, but in such a manner, as to correct the mistakes made in the development of industry by our failure to secure a corresponding rise in the well-being of the working people. If in the last two years, the rise in the living standard of the working people, of the industrial workers, was relegated to the background, this will be changed now. Learning from our mistakes, we wish now to continue the building of Socialism without ever losing sight of the need for the continuous raising of the living standard and well-being of our working people and, first of all, of our working class, and for the satisfaction of their cultural and social needs. This is the substance of the economic decisions of our Central Committee.

In the National Assembly, Comrade Imre Nagy has already reviewed most of the measures which are to ensure a steady improvement in the living standard of the working masses and, therefore, I will not speak of them. Their substance is that we will re-examine all our future investments and plans, and will alter them with the intention of spending the largest possible amount on the improvement of the living standard of the working people and of the industrial workers, and, at the same time, continuing — though at a reduced pace — our socialist construction, including, of course, the expansion of our heavy industry.

At the same time we will spend more on the social welfare of the working class, on labour protection, we will reduce overtime to a minimum, ensure a weekly day off, abolish reprehensible fines, and so on.

I should mention now that in making these measures public we did not follow our former custom of announcing our proposals first in the name of our Party. The experiences of the past few days have convinced us that it would have been better on this occasion as well, to present the tasks to be carried out first in the name of our Party, because many Comrades did not clearly see that the proposals submitted by Comrade Nagy to the National Assembly were based on the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party.

I can state that our working people, and especially the industrial workers, welcomed these proposals with enthusiasm. The Hungarian working people have been able to see for themselves once more that our Party can take the proper steps at the proper time; that, when it realizes the mistakes that occurred, it unhesitatingly exposes them and takes the measures required for their correction. This is what is happening now, too. We are certain that the correction of these mistakes will result in the further consolidation of our People's Democracy, and in a further rise in the living standard of our working people.

The enemy also is aware of this fact and that is why he attempts to interfere with these measures. He spreads the rumour that the plan is no longer in force, that the norms no longer need to be observed and that discipline in work is no longer required. From the abolition of the fine the enemy concludes that now every one may do as he pleases in the factory.

We have to combat and defeat the demagogic attempts of the enemy to prevent a rise in the living standard and well-being of the working people and the industrial workers. It is clear to every politically conscious worker and intellectual that we cannot raise our living standard if our output is diminishing. We will shift and reor-

ganize our industry in such a way as to permit the highest possible rise in the living standard of the working people along with the continuation of socialist construction. But it is clear to everybody that we cannot raise the living standard if production — and I may also add: productivity — does not increase, if the cost of production does not go down. In order to have a larger number of apartment houses, flats, bicycles, more clothing, shoes, sugar and food, we need more of the coal which is the fuel for our entire industry; we need more iron and steel without which no machines can be made, and a rise in the well-being of the working people is impossible. Thus we want to produce next year again more coal and more steel than this year, and we must produce more because only in this way can we raise the living standard of our people. The only difference from the present situation will be that we will increase iron, steel and coal production at a slower rate than we have done hitherto and, at the same time, we shall accelerate the production of consumer goods.

It follows from this that every class conscious worker should keep on fulfilling his present plan, observe discipline, economize with materials, watch quality and should not tolerate the turning out of rejects. It is obvious that all these factors form the very basis of, and are essential prerequisites for, his own improved well-being and the higher living standard of the entire working people. Anyone who proposes in this situation that now we can slow down the speed of work, slacken the norms, that the fulfilment of the plan is no longer important; he who suggests that now we can waste material, turn out rejects, is in fact playing into the hands of the enemy. Our old motto: "produce more, to live better", still holds good and, in fact, more so than ever. And the motto that in our country "work is a matter of honour and glory" also stands unaltered.

Accordingly, we must persist in dealing firmly with offenders against discipline, particularly those who violate plan discipline, against those guilty of laxity, absenteeism, and the makers of rejects. This is the more necessary since already voices are being raised — and without a doubt the voices of the enemy — commenting that now, since the reprehensible system of fines has been abolished, nobody can be punished; that a person who, out of negligence, or with deliberate intent, produces rejects cannot be asked for damages, or one who, by his lack of discipline, by absenteeism, disrupts socialist production, causes loss and hampers the improvement of the well-being of our working people, cannot be called to account.

Such views must be energetically fought. Those who are well-intentioned must be informed that just because our produc-

tion is aimed at improving the well-being and living standard of our industrial workers and working people as a whole, discipline must be more carefully observed and more stringent steps must be taken against those who disrupt and disorganize our socialist production in one way or another. The redistribution of our investments, the gearing of our plans for the fastest and greatest improvement in the well-being of our people, is being done by the National Planning Office and the competent ministries. It is not true that as a rule our plans have been raised too high. This is proved by figures which indicate that we have overfulfilled our plan for the first six months in spite of the serious lag in January and February. The trouble is that in these feasible plans the investments for heavy industry figure too high, and the means for the direct raising of the living standard of the working people figure too low. This is the very trouble that we now want to eliminate. If, however, we fail to fulfil the plans which are already being put into execution, or, overlooking the interests of our entire national economy and the indispensable coordination of production, we arbitrarily alter the plan — or individual factories alter the plan — certainly the result will be, not greater prosperity for the people, but chaos and disorganization. Let each Comrade, each class-conscious worker, each factory manager and every ministry understand this, and let us together take measures to silence these blamable and, in fact, hostile voices. We must do our best to strengthen plan and work discipline, to increase the momentum of work and socialist labour emulation in order to accelerate improvement in the well-being of our working people. I am certain that our aim has the support of our class-conscious industrial workers, our intelligentsia and our entire working people.

I repeat, we must declare war on the hostile machinations which, by lack of discipline, creating disturbance, the exaggeration or deliberate misinterpretation of our correct measures, aim at preventing the execution of our measures, serving the good of the working people.

In connection with this I wish to speak directly to our worthy miners who have so often shown since Liberation that they are aware of the important role they fill in our economy and the building of our socialist homeland and, accordingly, unsparing of sacrifice, they have always supplied the basic material of our economy, the bread of our industry — coal. Also I want to speak directly to the foundrymen of Ózd, Diósgyőr and the RM Works\*

\* Mátyás Rákosi Metal and Steel Works at Csepel.

whose continued good, disciplined work and fulfilment of the plan will largely determine the rate at which we can raise the living standard of our working people, including that of the industrial workers. Let our miners and foundrymen take the lead and set an example in discipline and the fulfilment of the plan to all industrial workers, the entire working people, and let them ensure the basic materials for the national economy indispensably necessary for the raising of the living standard of the broad masses.

We are certain that, in the plans for the raising of the living standard and well-being of our working people, we also have the support and approval of the patriotic intelligentsia, which has demonstrated to an ever increasing extent since Liberation that we can confidently rely on their cooperation, devoted efforts and professional skill in the solution of every important problem facing our country.

Let every industrial worker, every intellectual working in production be aware of the fact that it depends primarily on his conscientious and disciplined good work as to how rapidly we can improve the well-being of the working people. Every Communist, every member of our Party, our propagandists, agitators and the hundreds of thousands of young people in the Union of Working Youth, the one and a half million working people who belong to the trade unions must rally and do good educational work. Let them expose and isolate the enemy and with their exemplary attitude let them ensure full success for the new aims.

During the past few days everyone could see that the industrial workers, the majority of the technical intelligentsia greeted enthusiastically the measures drawn up by our Party for the improvement of the living standard. Many workers replied to our proposals by pledging higher output. We must take steps to ensure that now, when we are seeking to raise considerably the living standard of the working class and of the working people, the socialist emulation drive and all other methods of socialist construction should receive a new impetus and should help to accelerate the aims of improving the well-being of our people. This is also the best answer to the machinations of the enemy seeking to undermine work discipline and plan fulfilment, and all the measures for the continuation of our socialist construction and the advancement of our working people.

I must mention here the views often voiced by the enemy and sometimes even by well-meaning people, namely, that our measures will improve the living standard of the working people in an extraordinarily short time and at a fast rate. We must be careful lest we

give rise to keyed-up expectations. All thorough work requires time, and this is also true in raising the well-being of the people. The good harvest will make the supply of a number of foodstuffs, especially vegetables, fruits and potatoes, more plentiful and, I may add, cheaper. In this respect there has been considerable improvement during recent weeks and there is also a considerable drop in prices, as the Comrades have seen for themselves. If agricultural deliveries take place in a disciplined and organized manner, one kg. of flour at 4.60 forints will be on sale throughout the country within a few weeks. The sugar-beet crop promises to be good, and all signs indicate that, by October, plenty of granulated sugar will be available throughout the country. Prices have been considerably reduced on a number of textiles and many types of footwear. Other measures will make it possible to place larger amounts of good quality textiles and footwear on sale for the working people in the next few months. At the same time everybody ought to realize that, for instance, from the maize husked in October we won't have pork already in autumn, and that the overall improvement of our living standard will take a longer period of time. The redistribution of our investments in such a way as to redirect some of the investments from heavy industry to light industry, to food industry and to agriculture will also take long and careful work. A major part of raw materials connected with the improvement in the living standard — such as cotton, wool, and leather — are imported, and this in itself makes difficult a rapid or sudden improvement in this field. I must add, however, that the benefits accruing from the measures effected during recent weeks are not to be underestimated. The reductions up to now in the cost of certain items of clothing, shoes, and seasonal goods amount to an annual saving of 1,200 million forints for the consumers. The renovation of houses in Budapest, for instance, will be begun on a large scale in the autumn. Next year we will spend 800 million forints more than this year for housing, including the building of flats in Budapest. Transport in Budapest will also soon be bettered. The very fact that our economic policy is now directed towards improving the living standard of the working people and particularly of the industrial workers is a pledge that slowly but surely we will realize this objective.

Now I wish to speak of the problems of agriculture. I mentioned the fact that, as a result of exaggerated industrialization, the proportion of investments allocated to agriculture dropped during recent years. This was a mistake in itself, for agriculture produces the foodstuffs which play an important role in raising the living standard. In addition, we made the error of neglecting the interests of the

individual farmers — that is, of the majority of those working in agriculture — in order to develop the cooperative and State farms rapidly. Fertilizers and farm machinery were made available almost exclusively to the State and cooperative farms and the machine stations also gave them priority. A concomitant of the rapid development of cooperative and State farms was reallocation of land, which was a frequent source of molestation for the individual farmers. The principle of voluntariness was frequently violated in the course of reallocation of land. There are villages where reallocation was done two or three times during the past few years and thus the plots of individual farmers were exchanged two or three times, being taken away and replaced with different tracts of land. Many individually farming peasants were dissatisfied on this account. They did not feel legal security, the security of ownership, and did not know whether their productive activity would not be disrupted again at the next reallocation. Our delivery system was altered every year, making it difficult for working peasants to know several years in advance what their obligations towards the State would be. Production contracts were often concluded in violation of the principle of voluntariness, and quite often pressure and administrative measures were applied against those who were unwilling to enter into such contracts, generally speaking, administrative rather than educational measures were often used to persuade individually farming peasants. Individually working peasants who are not yet adherents of the cooperative farm system were constantly worried whether, sooner or later, they, too, would be forced to enter cooperatives. The result of all these facts together was that a considerable number of our working peasantry felt insecure, frequently left their farms and went to work in industry or at State farms.

Realizing these facts our Party decided to correct the errors committed in this field, too. We have already undertaken a number of important measures. To mention only one: up to the present we have reduced the obligations of agriculture by 600 million forints. One of the purposes of reworking our plans is to considerably increase our investments in agriculture. We must take special steps to reassure the individual farmers in every respect. Economically, we must energetically support them, granting fertilizers and the aid of the machine stations, and enabling them to sell their produce freely, after the fulfilment of their delivery quota. Rapid, concrete and tangible measures should enable them to till their land in security, and, as a result of our new measures, not only their willingness to produce but also their income and along with it their living standard should increase, just as that of the industrial workers.

I am convinced that the measures adopted by the Central Committee of our Party will, in the long run, not only reassure the individually farming peasants but will also raise their living standard and at the same time strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry as well. The individually farming peasants, who constitute the majority of our agricultural population, will understand from the measures proposed by us that our Party and State have recognized the troubles and worries which have upset them and want to help them quickly and energetically.

The proposals to slow down the numerical increase of cooperative farms and to enable cooperative members to withdraw from the cooperative at the close of the economic year and, what is more, to enable cooperative farms to dissolve at the close of the economic year, if the majority of members so decide, are also designed to set the individually farming peasants' mind at rest. The statutes of cooperative farms state that a member may not withdraw from the cooperative sooner than three years from the date he joined the cooperative. In order to emphasize the principle of voluntariness, we have proposed that this rule should be disregarded, so that any member may resign his membership at the close of the present economic year, if he believes that economically he could make better outside the cooperative.

We have ascertained that at present there are cooperative members who joined the cooperative farms not because they were convinced of the superiority of collective, large-scale agricultural production, but because, perhaps, they feared that otherwise their farm plots would come under reallocation or because the majority of the villagers had joined the cooperative, or because they hoped to get rid of their tax burden in this way. Many even joined the cooperatives because pressure was brought to bear on them to do so. There are other cooperative members who are dissatisfied with the poor work discipline, the mismanagement or bad organization of their cooperative farm and, for this reason, would like to withdraw from it. But who would like to withdraw primarily, are the idlers, the shirkers, "members" who have sometimes had only five or six work-day units to their credit a year. These members do only hinder the development of cooperative farming, and far from being weakened, the cooperative movement will be strengthened once the cooperatives shall have rid themselves of members of this kind.

Thus, everyone will understand that these proposals of ours, like the one concerning the slowing down of the development of cooperative farming, are not aimed at weakening but strengthening the cooperatives. The fact that we aid the individually farming peasants

does not alter in any way our policy of granting the cooperative farms still more aid.

We must make it unmistakably clear that our Party and our People's Democracy persist in their view that cooperative farms are the road of socialist transformation of the village and, accordingly, will continue to grant every means for the strengthening and development of cooperative farms. Nothing has been changed in this respect. The measures we have taken with regard to the cooperative farms follow the same aim of enabling the cooperatives to consolidate their present achievements, improve their organization, master the best production methods and raise their yields, thereby raising the income, well-being and living standard of the cooperative members.

In accordance with this, the People's Democracy persists in maintaining and even increases the benefits hitherto granted for the development of cooperative farms. But we go even further. Considering the fact that, in particular, the members of recently constituted cooperative farms have to overcome plenty of difficulties and have to pay a big price for mastering the art of large-scale agricultural production, we have proposed to the Government that this year it should grant cooperative farms a further reduction of ten per cent on all delivery crops — not only Type III, but also to Types II and I — if they continue to work collectively after the close of the production year. The Government has accepted this proposal and will make it public tomorrow. This should make it clear to all that we are giving unaltered support to cooperative farms.

Our proposals are aimed at rectifying the errors that have been committed so far with regard to the development of cooperative farming. We continue to assert that cooperative farms are the only possible path for the economic and cultural advance of the working peasantry. For this reason, we call on the adherents of cooperative farming, the hundreds of thousands of cooperative members, who in recent years have made so many sacrifices and, it may be added, attained so much success in building their cooperatives, to join their forces and safeguard their cooperative farms. We especially appeal to the Communists, Party branches, the members and organizations of the Union of Working Youth, in the cooperatives, to the tractor drivers and combine drivers, to place themselves at the head of the fight for the defence and strengthening of the cooperatives. May they be found in the front-line everywhere, boldly exposing and vigorously repelling all moves and attacks of the enemy! Let no one yield to despondency, to enemy propaganda, which is designed, by turning our correct measures into excesses, as an attack against the cooperative movement as a whole. Let the members and adher-

ents of the cooperative farms be assured that they are supported by our Party, that they are backed by the entire strength of our People's Democracy. We will not stand idly by while the enemy is trying to undermine the present achievements in the Socialist transformation of the village. We will not tolerate any anti-cooperative agitation, just as we do not tolerate any agitation against our socialist construction.

In connection with this, we must take a stand against those who, in the midst of the harvest, are now disturbing the work of cooperative farms by wishing to resign their membership forthwith or demanding the immediate dissolution of the cooperative. The proposal that was read in the National Assembly concerning withdrawal from cooperative farms makes it clear that withdrawals can be permitted only at the close of the production year, that is, next October. It must be explained through patient educational work to those well-intentioned cooperative members who wish to withdraw from the cooperative farms or demand the dissolution of the cooperatives right away, in the thick of the work, that even if they are not acting on the advice of the enemy they are, by insisting on their demands, in fact, disrupting, and disorganizing the work of the cooperative farms and do so during these decisive days and weeks when we are about to bring in the harvest of the whole year. These impatient people must be given to understand that, instead of disturbing the harvest, the delivery, they should wait patiently until the end of the production year; and if they wish to resign their membership, they will be able to do so in the manner suggested by us at the end of the production year, during the month of October, that is, in three months' time.

This must be stressed all the more as we have seen all along that hostile elements who have been expelled from cooperative farms, particularly the kulaks, are now preparing to launch an all-out offensive against the cooperatives. Our Party branches, local councils and primarily the old-time members and adherents of the cooperative farms themselves must in a united and determined manner repel this offensive. We do not object if those members who wish to withdraw from the cooperatives do so at the close of the economic year. But as we stand for the strengthening, progress and prosperity of the cooperatives, we will not permit these measures to be turned against the cooperatives, whether out of impatience or by hostile propaganda. The good crops will make it possible for the cooperatives to demonstrate, at last, their superiority this year. Therefore, every effort must be made to ensure that the cooperatives may carry on with the harvest in an organized, undisturbed manner, that they can

safely harvest their crops and meet their delivery obligations properly. Accordingly, I repeat, no one must be allowed to disturb whether out of impatience or with hostile intentions the harvest and the further development of cooperative farming.

Action must be taken especially against those kulaks who interpret as a sign of weakness the measures taken by us to raise our working people's living standard. From the fact that we have proposed the cancellation of the the kulak lists, these exploiters of the villages have concluded that their time has now come. We must see to it that they are quickly disillusioned.

We have proposed to cancel the kulak lists because they gave a basis for a great amount of abuse and unnecessary molestation. We have found that many kulaks managed to remove their names from the list, while many working middle peasants have been put on the list and subsequently, were subjected to the same restrictions and even molestations as the kulaks. That is why we have cancelled the kulak lists. Nevertheless, list or no list, the kulak is still a kulak. Whoever might have had any doubt on this score has been able to see in the last few days how swell-headed the kulaks have become. It is up to us now to deflate them.

I repeat, the fact that we are eliminating and rectifying the mistakes in our policy towards the kulaks, which, instead of restricting the kulaks, have often degenerated into the all-round molestation or expropriation of the kulaks, does not mean that the green light has now been given to the kulaks, that our policy of restricting them has changed.

Our authorities, therefore, did the right thing to arrest those kulaks who went out in cooperative fields and started to reap, or those kulaks who violated the laws of the People's Democracy, believing that their time had now come. The experiences of the last few days have proved again that you cannot make a silk purse out of a pig's ear. Thus, when in compliance with the measures taken by us, we are strictly enforcing the regulations to curb the kulaks, we shall not tolerate that the kulaks should disturb our socialist construction in the village, claim back their farm plots reallocated by the cooperative or the State farms, encroach upon the cooperatives and cause them damages, or even that they should carry on agitation against our People's Democracy. This must be made plain and clear. The members of our Party, our Party branches, local councils and authorities should act accordingly. I am sure that the working people of the villages, and in particular the majority of the cooperative farm members, will enthusiastically approve of, and support, this policy of ours.



Among our proposals concerning agriculture is one according to which those who have offered their farm plots to the State or have abandoned them, may, if they claim, be given land from the State Land Pool — I repeat, from the State Land Pool — and we will support them with grants of seed for sowing and in other ways, so that they may be able to cultivate their land next autumn. But it applies here also that this may be done only by the end of the production year. Everyone will understand that these cultivated reserve lands cannot be distributed right now, in the very midst of the harvest, and that distribution can take place only after the crops on them have been harvested. Thus, those who wish to claim such lands should wait patiently, for it is obvious that their request cannot be met now, during the harvest.

I wish to call special attention to the fact that the central, decisive task in agriculture, upon which we must focus all our attention and forces, is to finish the reaping and harvesting efficiently, without any loss of grain and promptly. This year's crops are the best since Liberation. If they are harvested in a properly organized manner, they can improve, at one stroke, most of the branches of our food supply. Therefore, we must now avoid anything that might cause even the least disturbance in finishing harvesting.

In accordance with the resolution adopted by our Central Committee, we are striving that our state administration, the local councils and the police strictly observe the regulations, abide by the laws, refrain from molesting the population and from being abrupt and rude in fulfilling their duties. We have also proposed an amnesty and the abolition of the institution of internment. These measures, however, cannot be interpreted as meaning that we have forgotten that the enemy is not asleep. We have seen in the past few days, in connection with rectifying our errors, that the class enemy, at home and abroad, has become more active and is trying to turn upside down the correct measures we have taken to raise the working people's living standard and well-being. We have also seen in this connection that the enemy is attacking in every way our People's Democracy, our socialist construction. For this reason, enhanced vigilance and militancy are now called for within the Party, the working class and within the entire working people. When correcting the errors committed in this sphere, attention must be called, at the same time, to the fact that vigilance is now more needed than ever before and that our Party must combat all attempts to yield to defeatism, to lull our vigilance, and must also fight any attempt by the enemy to divert the measures taken by us for his own purposes.

Among the measures proposed by us is one according to which our authorities have to issue trade licences to small handicraftsmen, wherever this is necessary. I may immediately add that this measure is not new, this possibility has always existed, but our authorities have gone about it very reluctantly. Some of our Comrades now fear that this measure may lead to a sudden flourishing of small trade, reproducing capitalism.

I may reassure the Comrades that this is not the point. As a result of the absorption in socialist industry, and often of our own mistakes, many artisans have left the villages and have become industrial workers. Thus, a situation has arisen that, in many villages, there are no barbers, no blacksmiths, no shoemakers, and, in order to have a horse shod or a shoe soled, one has often to go as far as the third village or the chief town of the district. It is only natural that the population of the villages is angered by such a state of affairs. Unfortunately, the same state of affairs often prevails in the towns, too.

If we now permit the handicraftsmen — the blacksmith, the barber, the glazier, the fitter, or the shoemaker — to reopen their shops in the villages, or, wherever necessary, in the towns, this does not constitute a menace to our building of Socialism, and we are not afraid of the kind of capitalism it will produce. On the other hand, the fact that these craftsmen may satisfy the basic requirements of the population on the spot, without any great difficulty, also contributes to the living standard and proves, at the same time, that our People's Democracy is concerned about all matters affecting the population, however small they might appear, and helps to solve these problems.

In addition, the Council of Ministers or the respective ministries will adopt the appropriate government decisions during this month concerning most of the measures proposed by our Party and submitted by Comrade Nagy to the National Assembly.

I wish to deal with a question which has often been raised by members of our Party since the session of the Central Committee, as to the reason for the reorganization carried out in the leadership of our Party and in the Council of Ministers. The political leadership of our Party was rather complicated. Apart from the Central Committee, there was a Political Bureau, a Secretariat and an Organizing Committee, all of which dealt with political questions. This we have now simplified. In the period between two sessions of the Central Committee, political decisions are now taken only by the Political Bureau. The three-member Secretariat has the task, above all, to see that the decisions are carried out. Due to this reorganization, the

political work of the Party will become more integrated and expedited. New young forces have been drawn into the leadership, helping it to become truly collective and unified.

As regards the Council of Ministers, we found that the great number of ministries, with the presidium comprising the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers over them, instead of accelerating, rather slowed down the administration. It was on the basis of these experiences that we decided to merge certain ministries. As to the decision that the office of the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, on the one hand, and that of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the other, have been entrusted to two different comrades, this was due to the fact that any of these spheres of activity is so vast as to require the full energy of one comrade.

Of course, the enemy is seeking to utilize all these correct measures for spreading rumours and creating confusion. In connection with this, I can tell you that those of the members of the former Political Bureau who are not included now in the new one, as well as those of the members of the former Council of Ministers who are not ministers, now are all engaged, without exception, in appropriate fields of activity, in the various spheres of our Party and the People's Democracy. He who in this question has allowed himself to be fooled by the false rumours of the enemy may now see for himself once more, as so many times before, that he has been fooled.

To sum up: you will have understood from what has been said that the measures proposed by our Party follow the same unchanged goal of the building of Socialism. But on the basis of the conclusions drawn from the errors committed, we will now continue the building of Socialism, devoting greater attention to the real possibilities and to the redoubled improvement of the working people's needs and of their standard of living. In the last two years we have somewhat neglected the important Communist principle that the greatest value is man. Now we are rectifying this and are continuing our Socialist construction by constantly and simultaneously raising together with it the living standard, well-being and culture of our working people, and especially of our industrial workers. This is the essence of the changes proposed by us.

Our Party now sets itself as a target the effective improvement of the working people's living standard. The enemy, too, is well aware of that. He is also aware that the improvement of the working people's standard of living strengthens and consolidates the alliance of the working class and peasantry, that it strengthens and consolidates our People's Democracy. He will, therefore, do everything in their power to upset and thwart our plan.

The enemy at home enjoys the all-out support of the imperialist warmongers. The imperialist camp is becoming increasingly nervous about the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in building Communism, and about the cultural and economic progress of the People's Democracies and the People's Republic of China. They are alarmed at the vigorous progress of the Communist and working-class movement in a number of capitalist countries and of the liberation struggles in the colonial and dependent countries. In contrast to the achievements of the camp of peace, the economic situation is deteriorating in the imperialist camp, the antagonisms are sharpening between the United States and its satellites.

In this situation the imperialists are working feverishly, seeking to increase their pressure on the peace camp and striving to organize provocations such as we have witnessed in Berlin or in Korea. They are spending hundreds of millions of dollars on organizing provocations and acts of sabotage and are mobilizing their agents, spies and provocateurs. Such an agent of international imperialism has now been exposed in the Soviet Union, in the person of Beria. Our Party approves of the energetic action, determination and speed displayed in this matter by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From it we have drawn the conclusion that we must constantly be on our guard, that we must guard as the apple of our eye the unity, collective leadership and firm Marxist-Leninist ideological foundation of our Party.

It is beyond doubt that the imperialists and their agents in this country will do everything in their power to disturb our socialist construction, the improvement of our working people's living standard. In this situation it is more important than ever that it should be clear to everybody that our Party and its leadership are more united, more firmly welded than ever before. The firm and immovable basis of this unity, of this coherence, is based on the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which, as in the past, will continue to shed light upon the road leading us to Socialism.

Our strength and unity are enhanced by our ever deepening friendly relations to the People's Democracies and to our liberator, the mighty Soviet Union, as well as to the camp of peace, hundreds of millions strong.

Our strong and united Party has solved every task since Liberation with which it has been confronted by history. For the progress and well-being of our working people, it will also solve the tasks which we have now set ourselves. But to achieve this, every member of our Party, every Communist, every sincere supporter of our

People's Democracy must enter into the fight and take the counter-offensive. We must once more mobilize all those means which have helped us to achieve so many successes : patient persuasion as well as courageous firmness, devotion and the selfless service of the common interest. Let the entire country see that our Party is united and firmly welded, that all its members, organizations, agitators and propagandists approve of our objectives and are determined to expose, repulse and defeat any attack of the enemy to prevent the improvement of the living standard, of the well-being of our working people. Let us work with courage and self-assurance, confident of the justness and correctness of our cause — and, as so often before, success, victory will be ours !

## CONTRIBUTORY ADDRESS BY IMRE NAGY

Comrades :

Comrade Rákosi's report, with which I am in full agreement, provides a clear-cut answer to all questions which have been raised by members of our Party regarding the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of our Party.

The resolution adopted by the Central Committee of our Party, and the change that has taken place in our economic policy serve the magnificent objectives of a more rapid and effective improvement in the living standard of the working people, above all, of the working class, and of a fuller satisfaction of their social and cultural needs. It enables us to proceed upon the road of socialist industrialization, towards Socialism, accompanied by the continual improvement of the living standard of the working people, primarily, of the working class, the main army of Socialist construction ; and to make a reality of the motto "the greatest value is man". This economic policy strengthens our bonds with the people, with the working class, and enhances the influence and strength of our Party. This economic policy, which has been mapped out by the resolution of our Central Committee, is an inexhaustible source of strength for our Party and our country.

The resolution of the Central Committee has laid the foundations for a genuine collective leadership of the Party and has been a big stride forward in the development of the bolshevik methods of criticism and self-criticism and in the application of inner-party democracy as well.

The resolution of the Central Committee has consolidated the unity of the party leadership, which no enemy, whether at home or abroad, can ever disrupt, which is more stable than ever before and which we guard more carefully than the apple of our eye.

The resolution of the Central Committee has plainly outlined for us the principles which, by rectifying the errors, will enable us to advance on a broad front together with the entire working people towards Socialism.

The resolution of the Central Committee is also of great im-

portance in forging the ideological unity of the members of our Party, as it has laid down plainly the adaptation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to our conditions in the present stage of our development. A thorough-going, close study of the resolution will dispel all doubts whether we are going ahead or backwards, and will make clear that our economic policy lays the foundations not of Capitalism, but of Socialism.

The resolution of the Central Committee creates a much broader foundation than ever for the alliance of the working class and peasantry, strengthens our ties with the middle peasantry, and thereby provides our people's democratic system with a firmer foundation.

The resolution of the Central Committee is a compass for the Government, whose programme, announced in the National Assembly a week ago, is built, both as to its guiding principles and its implementation, on the resolution of the Central Committee. The unshakable, firm basis of the great and invincible strength of our Party are collective leadership in conformity with the principles of the Party, closest unity with the working class, close bonds with broad sections of the working people, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This explains why our Party has stood fast even in the most troubled times, carried out the aims it has set itself and led our people, headed by our working class, from victory to victory. There is no doubt whatever that we shall successfully accomplish also the great tasks now confronting us.

Comrades :

The magnificent achievements, the splendid successes attained by our Party during the thirty-five years of its existence are the safest guarantee that our Party will triumphantly carry out the new tasks as well.

During the dark years of Horthy reaction and fascism it was our glorious Party, standing at the head of the working class, that, by its devotion in the struggle, showed our people the way to liberation. It was our Party that, united firmly with the people and standing at the head of our heroic working class, overthrew the rule of the exploiting upper classes and placed all power into the hands of the working people. It was under the guidance of our Party that we liquidated the system of large estates and overthrew the old, feudal-bourgeois Hungary. By the expropriation of the exploiting big capitalists, the nationalization of the factories, banks and wholesale trade, we dealt a smashing blow to capitalism in our country. Who was it that pointed to the tasks, directed the fight

and led our working people through the defeat of capitalism on to victory? It was our Party. The enemies of the people were swept aside, and it was through the battles waged by our Party that the country, which we are building for ourselves, became really ours. It was our Party which helped to release the creative energies of our working class and our entire working people in the midst of the ruins of a country devastated in the criminal, fascist war, and which set the magnificent objective of national reconstruction. It was the Party which infused our working people with strength and confidence. It was the Party which led the country out of the misery of economic decay and inflation, which followed the war, onto the road of economic advance and a better life, on which we banished the nightmare of unemployment and depressing everyday cares from above the heads of our people. We made labour the solid foundation of our new rising society.

Our magnificent achievements are sometimes eclipsed by certain transitory difficulties or errors. Yet, what a great amount of work, sweat and toil, what great assets are embodied in these magnificent projects, which all belong to the working people! We should place more value on our achievements, lest we fail to recognize and rectify the mistakes.

Comrades :

It is just over one week since we made known to the entire country the objectives of our economic policy and the measures specified in the resolution of our Central Committee, and the necessary steps have already been taken to carry them into effect. "He gives twice who gives quickly", the proverb goes, and the Council of Ministers, acting upon the resolutions of the Political Bureau of our Party, has already issued a decree which cancels the claims for compensation levied upon the peasantry and cooperative farms for overdue delivery of crops, reduces the debts of cooperative farms which have fallen due, and introduces free veterinary service. A decree has been issued cancelling the arrears in crop delivery. Under the terms of this decree, the arrears in crop delivery will be cancelled for individually farming peasants or cooperative farms who will meet their delivery obligations for the current year.

A decree will be issued tomorrow providing for a ten per cent reduction of delivery quotas on all delivery crops for cooperative farms on the understanding that anyone who should withdraw from the cooperative will have to repay this reduction. This reduction will take effect forthwith and will go a long way towards the economic strengthening of cooperative farms, towards increas-

ing their production and improving the well-being of their members.

Simultaneously with the decrees already promulgated, the Council of Ministers has instructed the Minister of Agriculture to draw up, with regard to the strict enforcement of the principle of voluntariness, and submit to the Council of Ministers within two weeks a draft decree regulating withdrawals from cooperative farms at the end of the economic year, in October. This decree shall define in detail the conditions for, and procedure of, the withdrawal.

The Minister of Justice has been also instructed by the Council of Ministers to draw up immediately a bill concerning the amnesty, and to draw up a bill for the abolition of the institution of internment and a supplementary decree regulating the residence of resettled persons, so that the Council of Ministers may issue the appropriate instructions and begin the implementation of them already in July.

Thus, the Party and the Government do not mark time. Instructions are being issued consecutively, strictly determining the time and the methods of the implementation of the measures. In the implementation of the measures, everybody must adhere to these instructions, whether he may be an individually farming peasant, a member of our cooperative farms, a kulak, or a resettled person. It is in accordance with these instructions that the measures determined by the Government will be carried out by our authorities, judicial bodies, the police and the local councils.

The enemy is trying to create impatience with these measures, attempting in many places to persuade members of the cooperative farms to resign their membership not in October, the close of the economic year, but right now. They forget that in this country there is law and order and things are done the way the Party and the Government see fit for the interest of the people, and not the way the enemy would have it!

The hostile propaganda has had no great effect, but he who falls for it will come off a loser. Every cooperative member knows well that there are proper rules and provisions for the withdrawal. These must be observed, and no arbitrary action may be taken. The Government will not tolerate arbitrary action, which is bound to harm both the national economy and the members of the cooperative farms. We cannot sacrifice the interests of hundreds of people for the sake of the impatience and the arbitrary action of a few men.

One week ago in the National Assembly we explained to our peasantry the far-reaching measures we intended to apply to promote agricultural production and said that we intended

to go to great lengths to increase the investments and the assistance we wish to grant them in agrotechnics, fertilizers, seeds and loans. We shall keep this promise, we will live up to it, and our working peasantry will not have to wait long for this.

This does not, however, in any way mean the neglect of the cooperative farms. On the contrary, we will devote them much greater attention than before. Our aim is, and we will achieve this, to make the cooperative farms profitable undertakings with high-yielding lands, the sources of well-being, assuring their members a happy life free from worry. The State possesses every means for doing this. The ten per cent reduction in the delivery obligations, already decreed by the Government, as well as the cancelling of the payment of compensation, overdue debts and arrears in crop delivery, demonstrate that the Government is giving extensive support to the cooperative farms, let alone the substantial loans and investments with which we have so far contributed, and will continue to contribute, to a greater extent, to the development of their farming and to the well-being of their members. This is all the more so because the Party and the Government persistently hold that cooperative farming is the only way of progress for the peasantry, the only way of building Socialism.

Comrades :

All the aims we have set ourselves in our economic policy are designed to benefit our people, our country. In this lies the explanation for the fact that the population throughout the country has welcomed the announcement of our measures with great joy and relief. It is now up to the Government to see to it that the beneficial effects and tangible results of our decrees and measures are felt by our working people in a considerable improvement in their living conditions as soon as possible. Our working class, our peasantry and our intelligentsia, the entire country, should realize that the measures taken by the Party and the Government are bringing about a profound change in their position. The good harvest prospects are creating favourable conditions for the successful implementation of our measures. In order to ensure, however, that this is so, all forces in the villages must be concentrated on the harvest. This year we are bringing in a crop of bread grain and fodder, the richest since many years. There has never been such a bumper harvest of cereals in this country since Liberation. The all-important task is to reap the rich crops in due time and without any loss of grain. This is now the principal task for country and district Party committees and village Party branches. It is no easy task, because apart from the almost simultaneous ripening of all the grains,

hostile elements have stepped up their undermining activities aimed now at the harvest, now at the threshing or delivery. The daily bread of our people is at stake, this demands imperatively that the full weight of the law be brought to bear against the wrecking activity of hostile elements. The capacity of the harvesting machines and combines must be better utilized, two shifts must be introduced and work must be better organized, especially on the State and cooperative farms, to ensure that the crops are brought in efficiently.

Proper delivery depends on the proper carrying out of harvesting and threshing. Thanks to this year's rich crop, it will be easy to meet delivery obligations towards the State, plenty remaining for household requirements as well as for the market. Due to our delivery system, no additional stocks have to be delivered from this year's bumper crop. All the advantages and benefits of the rich crop will be enjoyed by the producers, the individually farming and cooperative peasants.

Our working peasantry and the members of our cooperative farms have hailed with enthusiasm the announcement by the Government of the measures concerning the far-reaching support to be given to agricultural production and the substantial improvement of the conditions of the working peasantry.

It is proper that our working peasantry and the members of the cooperative farms express their agreement with the policy of the Party and the Government supporting it also by their deeds and promoting the fulfilment of the tasks ahead by the exemplary accomplishment of the great work of reaping and threshing as well as by meeting their obligations towards the State properly.

All those who are filled with joy and enthusiasm by the objectives of our Party and Government should firmly support our Party and Government and oppose those who attempt to create impatience and mistrust. Such actions do not further the implementation of the beneficial measures, but hinder and slow them down, and are in the interest of the enemy and not of the working people.

I wish to call the attention once more to what I made plain and clear a week ago. The measures specified to further the interests of the working people prove, and this has been strongly stressed by Comrade Rákosi in his report today, that the Party and the Government are united in solving the tasks and that they are ready to go to all lengths in rendering assistance. Our Party and Government stand guarantee that we will carry out the tasks we have undertaken before the whole country exactly and completely, that we will live up to our promises, as the Hungarian people have so often been able

to see for themselves in recent years. Knowing this, it has to be emphasized again that those who will repay the good will and far-reaching assistance of the Party and the Government with contempt for the interests of the State and country, with infringement of the law, will have to blame themselves for the consequences. They will come up against the laws of our People's Republic, which are strictly enforced against all violators. Also they cannot count on enjoying the extensive rights and benefits accruing from the proposed measures. The effect of our measures will not be extended to them. They do not deserve it. Those who heed the voice of the enemy and not the counsel of the Party and the Government; who do not abide by the laws, but embark on the road of unlawfulness and oppose our laws, should not count on the assistance of the Party and the Government. This applies to all of our measures and to everybody, including those who, reluctant to wait until October, the end of the economic year, want to withdraw from the cooperative farms; or those who would like to announce the dissolution of the cooperative right now, in the thick of the summer work, instead of acting in the manner and at the time that have been set by the Government. This applies also to those who interpret the extension of the rights, freedoms, assistance and benefits to the effect that now they have no more tax to pay, or agricultural delivery to make, to the State, instead of meeting them duly. And, last but not least, this applies to those kulaks who react to the Government measures, which put an end to unlawful practice and arbitrary actions, by adopting an attitude hostile to the Party, to the Government and to the People's Democracy, by infringing the law and by committing acts of violence against our working people. They, too, should not count on forbearance. They will see that the full weight of law will be applied against them.

At the same time, we will promote the improvement of the conditions of our working peasants who are contributing their devoted, honest work to the accomplishment of our great aims, by taking further measures which will be more far-reaching than any before.

Comrades:

The realization of the principles and practical aims laid down in the resolution of the Central Committee, the enormity of these tasks demand that the Party enlist all its strength, organization and influence, that every Communist display the greatest activity. The firmness and example shown by the Communists will be the guarantee of success.

In addition to devoted work and discipline on the part of the Communists, it is essential that each member of the Party should

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE MEETING  
OF THE BUDAPEST PARTY ACTIVISTS  
OF THE HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY

know the objectives and be in agreement with them. Together with this firm organizational unity of the ranks of the Party, the ideological unity of the Party, the identity of views, in the formation of which the resolution of the Central Committee is of paramount importance, play a decisive role in the carrying out of the tasks ahead of us. That is why it is so important to study the resolution thoroughly. It is this, in the last analysis, that reveals the errors and sets the new tasks for the entire Party membership. Relying on the resolution of the Central Committee, the members of the Party will be able to combat the hostile attempts to spread confusion. Comrade Rákosi has rightly pointed out that in this regard we have been lagging somewhat behind, but we are now considerably making up for it by this meeting of the Budapest activists.

We also see that the enemy is attempting to thwart the success of our objectives by preventing the implementation of the measures which promote the interests of the masses of the people, and by exaggerating or prematurely pushing the demands. It is essential, therefore, that the Party and the State with their great power and influence watch over the consistent implementation of the tasks set forth in the resolution of the Central Committee and in the programme of the Government.

I am convinced that by these beneficial measures we are delivering the heaviest blow in recent years against the enemy, and will increasingly win our working people, the entire country for our Party and our People's Democracy. We are thus enhancing the prestige of our Party and increase the strength and firmness of the Hungarian sector of the mighty camp of peace.

Comrades :

Let us rally our ranks closer around the Central Committee of our Party, and we shall advance, firmly united with the working people, consolidating the alliance of our working class and the working peasantry, under the leadership of our Party, the architect of so many victories, with far more certainty than before, along the road of People's Democracy — to Socialism !

Having listened to, and discussed, Comrade Mátyás Rákosi's report on the June 27—28 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and the resolution adopted there, the meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations expresses its full and complete agreement with the resolution of the Central Committee and with Comrade Rákosi's report on the session of the Central Committee.

The meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations regards the resolution of the Central Committee and Comrade Rákosi's report as the basis and line for all further Party work. The meeting of the activists states that the Communists of the capital rally in full unity and solidarity behind the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of our Party and are prepared to concentrate all their energy on the successful fulfilment of the policy determined by the Central Committee.

The meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations approves of the decision of the Central Committee to the effect that, continuing the policy of socialist industrialization unchanged as the main line of our Party, we are to advance heavy industry relatively more slowly and in this way to ensure the increased production of consumer goods, the more rapid progress of agriculture, and the steady, consistent raising of the living standard of our working class and of our working people as a whole. The meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations is in full agreement also with all the measures the Central Committee has proposed to the Government to aid the cooperative farms, to enforce compliance with the principle of voluntariness, to increase the production of individual peasant farms and to ensure law and order, as well as to proclaim an amnesty. The meeting of the activists assures the Government of our People's Republic — whose programme complies entirely with the policy of the Central Committee — of its support.

The meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations calls upon every Party organization of Budapest, every Communist

and every non-Party worker that, with diligent and disciplined work, the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the production plans, the reduction of production costs, the increase of productivity, economizing with materials and power, and with devoted, self-sacrificing efforts, they help to carry out the programme of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and of the Government of our People's Republic, which serves the good of our entire people. Let the Communists take the lead in work, production and discipline! Let them direct and organize the labour emulation drive! Let them enlighten the non-Party workers! Let them expose, isolate and render harmless the hostile elements and their demagoguery and provocations! Let the Communists and non-Party workers, both manual workers and intellectuals, unite to carry to triumph the great cause of the building of Socialism, of the steady and consistent raising of the living standard of our working class, of our people!

The meeting of the activists of the Budapest Party organizations emphatically calls the attention of Party organizations and Party members to untiringly weld more firmly the unity in the ranks of our Party and to increasingly consolidate the collective leadership in our Party at all levels!

Long live the Hungarian Working People's Party, the vanguard of our working people, the tried and tested leader of our working class and of the entire Hungarian people! Long live the Central Committee of our Party!

Long live the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!



533987 Athenaeum (Resp.: Béla Soproni)