

## DOCUMENT

### **Report on the execution of the resolution of the Politburo made on May 22, 1973 concerning the strengthening of the fight against imperialist propaganda; proposal for future tasks**

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July 6, 1994. Dr. László Soós, head of department

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Central Committee  
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Report on the execution of the resolution of the Politburo made on May 22, 1973 concerning  
the strengthening of the fight against imperialist propaganda; proposal for future tasks

(The report was discussed by the Secretariat at its meeting on December 4, 1978.)

#### I.

The imperialist propaganda targeting our country – during the five years since the Politburo made a resolution on strengthening the fight against imperialist propaganda at its May 22, 1973 meeting – has not changed substantially in its basic goals and main line. Most of its efforts are still focused on attacking the socialist system from the outside while trying to disintegrate it internally. At the same time it incites anti-Soviet sentiment, tries to turn the people against the other socialist countries and our sister parties and gives rise to illusions about capitalism. The hostile propaganda that intends to exert an influence on Hungarian public opinion is no different in a strategic sense from the imperialist propaganda that targets the other socialist countries.

However, the propaganda campaign of imperialism has found itself under new circumstances, both due to our internal development and as a result of geopolitical changes in world politics. International ideological fighting has received priority and become more complex. The imperialist power centers have decided to intensify their anti-socialist propaganda and the

ideological tension between the two world systems. In certain issues – such as issues of human rights and democracy – they have even managed to take the initiative temporarily. The propaganda offensive that has emerged recently can not be traced back to the endeavors of some capitalist circles only, or to the transitional functioning of a particular government. What we should expect is that the offensive behavior of the imperialist propaganda centers will remain a lasting component of the struggle between the two world systems.

## II.

There have been significant tactical changes in the imperialist propaganda targeting our country – while the strategic goals are still maintained – as a result of the concurrent impact of changing internal and external conditions of the ideological fight. The essence of these changes can be summarized as follows: the propaganda campaign has become more complex in its content, more extensive, versatile in its methods and more focused in using various tools. It paints a very distinct picture of Hungary, giving a semblance of a country which “maintains a system that is more acceptable than that of the other socialist countries, distancing herself from the Soviet model.”

The hostile propaganda campaign attacking Hungary relies heavily on the everyday problems of the people, practically “building on” the practice of developing socialism and its existing conflicts. The propaganda campaign that was initiated in relation to the so-called new Hungarian model in our economic management system has gradually been extended to all aspects of domestic policy, using it as a tool to set our country against the rest of the socialist countries. The bourgeois propaganda centers take great pains to make it appear as if they were true representatives of the interests of our people.

These endeavors manifest themselves mostly in the campaign concerning human rights and national minority issues. Our country is not the main target of the campaign that was launched on the pretext of safeguarding human rights, but recently it has become more intense even in relation to Hungary. Nationalist incitement has intensified in the ethnic minority issue, because this is area is regarded by the imperialist propaganda as the most suitable to turn part of the people against the policy of the party and incite conflicts among the socialist countries. These hostile propaganda centers are also busy working on establishing “an opposition” in Hungary. They want to argue that the “Hungarian opposition” is also part of the “Central European opposition movement.” As a result of the stable internal situation and the political decisions made in concrete cases this imperialist propaganda could not fulfill its expectations. It is quite likely though that it will try to make the most of our economic problems in widening the scope of those who could act as “the opposition” to our socialist system.

The imperialist propaganda organizations have undergone several structural changes in the past few years. In order to enhance their efficiency they want to use all their tools directed towards this aim on the one hand, and they intend to introduce new methods on the other.

As a new feature, the hostile radio stations broadcasting in Hungarian do their best to get official recognition in Hungary. Radio Free Europe announced that it would be willing to air critical opinions of their own programs.

There is a new development in the area of radio propaganda. The Radio of Beijing has started a Hungarian language program speaking sharply against the Soviet Union and détente, though poor technical conditions make the reception of its broadcasts difficult for the time being.

As far as propaganda through the television is concerned, the United States is currently broadcasting experimental programs through satellites. This means that within a few years Western television programs will probably be received easily in the socialist countries, including our country too.

### III.

The hostile propaganda, which mainly targets the intelligentsia, young people, the lower middle-class and those with a petty bourgeoisie mentality, can not influence public opinion, political thinking and the frame of mind of the people in the country in any significant way. Hungarian public opinion is largely shaped by the results of socialist development, the policy of our party and the constantly strengthening elements of socialist public thinking.

The decrease in the listening rate of the programs of Radio Free Europe, and in general, Western radio broadcasts, is due – in addition to the stable political situation in Hungary – to the fact that the work of the mass media in the country is much more efficient and up-to-date, and the level of providing information for the people has improved significantly. However, the viewing and listening rate of hostile radio stations and television programs that can be received easily in the western and southern parts of the country may temporarily increase in relation to some domestic or international events that are ignored by the national mass media for some reason, or their reaction is somewhat subdued and late.

Wrinkles in socialist awareness, a still existing instinctive sentiment, remnants of bourgeoisie views and habits and their reproduction, occasional instances of intensifying individualism and acts and behaviors that violate the norms of socialist morals all create potentially favorable conditions for the imperialist propaganda campaigns. To some extent these factors, coupled with insufficient political-ideological vigilance and lack of effective propaganda, help maintain non-socialist view in public thinking, prejudices and a moral standing inherited from societies of the past, and manifestations of anti-social behavior. However, it should be admitted that sometimes real mistakes and shortcomings are criticized, which are then attributed by many exclusively to the results of hostile propaganda.

Closely related to bourgeois propaganda is the intensification of nationalism, a still strong anti-Soviet sentiment, the occasional desparagement of the achievements of socialism, the entertainment of illusions about the capitalist system, the dissemination of false information and the overstatement of our internal and external problems. The hostile propaganda is especially efficient in making use of the shortcomings of our information system in relation to issues concerning the situation in each socialist country, to the position of the sister parties and the way in which relations among the socialist countries and the sister parties are viewed.

From time to time we give a head start to the bourgeois propaganda campaigns by failing to recognize the imperialist endeavors in time, due to subjective and objective reasons, by wasting time in drawing the necessary conclusions or by not making use of the right conclusions in our national and international propaganda. In certain cases there are international obligations that restrict our ability to provide the necessary information.

#### IV.

On the basis of the resolution of the Politburo dated May 22, 1973 the fight against bourgeois propaganda has become an organic part of political and ideological work. The need for this fight has been confirmed by the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress of the party and by several resolutions of the Politburo and other party organs on information and emigration policy. As a result of the resolution of the Central Committee dated October 26, 1976 – specifying the current tasks and the further development of party propaganda – more emphasis has been given to a more effective ideological training of activists at local party organizations, which is a prerequisite for acting against the hostile views propagated by bourgeois propaganda.

Our national and international propaganda and information policy takes up the fight against hostile propaganda and ideology by representing our general policy in a more convincing fashion, by painting a more appealing picture of existing socialism, and by unveiling the true nature of imperialist policy and the reality of capitalism. We respond to western campaigns launched against us and the entire socialist community in specific issues in a very cool and principled manner by providing positive arguments. With certain exceptions we refrain from entering into direct disputes with outlets of bourgeois media.

In the past five years a harmonized and operative system of observing, analyzing and evaluating hostile propaganda has been established. The state organs responsible for monitoring foreign propaganda provide regular and scheduled reports. The Central Committee of KISZ (Communist Youth Organization) has recently started the regular monitoring and evaluation of bourgeois propaganda targeting the youth of our country.

The four departments of the Central Committee of HSWP involved in this work – the Departments of Propaganda, Public Administration, Foreign Affairs and Science, Culture and Public Education – and six other state bodies – the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the Institute of Cultural Relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Hungarian Radio, the Hungarian Press Agency – set up an evaluation team which fulfills its tasks well. The team constantly monitors hostile propaganda materials and broadcasts, and prepares a comprehensive evaluation report in every quarter.

Based on this well-established system the Department of Propaganda of the party conducts an up-to-date monitoring and evaluation of the hostile propaganda targeting our country. The data are utilized in the following five ways: quarterly summaries are prepared on the main tendencies; thematic summaries are prepared on the bourgeois reception of our political measures and statements; weekly reports are made on the hostile evaluation of events that influence public opinion in the country; occasional information on certain specific bourgeois propaganda campaigns; the various departments of the Central Committee are continuously informed of the bourgeois commentaries that are relevant to their work. As a result, the level

of providing information for the leaders has improved significantly. However, the utilization of the conclusions that can be drawn from these analyses for our domestic and foreign propaganda work is still not sufficient.

In the past few years the members of our party have become more prepared and trained for the fight against hostile propaganda. The most important element of this increased competence is that they show ideological and political unity, they are well trained and informed about the propaganda targeting our country, and they are provided with information materials that contain some good argumentation. However, the members of the party, especially the activists working at the local organizations call for a more prompt response to the rumors of hostile propaganda at every level of the hierarchy of the party and require that they should be provided with ample information materials on a regular basis by the competent party committees and that the necessary information should be made available verbally to all the members of the party.

The work of the radio tapping station that monitors most of the propaganda against our country does not meet the increased requirements, mainly due to technical problems, the lack of political selection and personnel problems. The information about hostile propaganda is still not comprehensive enough, e.g. information concerning the experience that could be gained in areas like the churches, tourism and social organizations is still lacking. Furthermore, there is no evaluation or analysis that could predict the possible future tendencies of imperialist propaganda.

As a result of the work conducted in the scientific institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Foreign Affairs there has been some progress recently in the scientific analysis of the propagandistic machinations of bourgeois ideology. The institutes mentioned above have established extensive relations with similar institutes of our friendly countries. However, the coordination of their work at home is still not ensured, and there is no rational division of labor among them. Although it has prepared very valuable materials concerning certain important issues, the Institute of Foreign Affairs has not yet become a scientific center that can provide long-term analyses of hostile propaganda. Another unresolved issue is the investigation of the impact of hostile propaganda.

The system of press-administration that is used to protect our country from hostile propaganda works quite efficiently. Its tasks have multiplied by now, so the staff in this area is working under a lot of pressure. The technical and personnel background supporting their versatile work in organizing and selecting information requires considerable development.

The work concerning the protection of our country from hostile radio broadcasts should be revised. As a result of the resolution of the Politburo dated October 8, 1963 the jamming of the programs of western radio station in the Hungarian language was terminated as of January 1, 1964. However, the resolution also stipulated that the technical system used for jamming should be maintained and re-installed, if necessary, within 48 hours. The transmitters, antennas and accessories that were installed 26 years ago are by now totally out-of-date, and for technical reasons some of them had to be eliminated. Under such circumstances, the system is only partly capable of fulfilling its task, if the need should arise for it. Without

overall reconstruction and the replacement of missing devices, within a few years the whole system will become unable to meet any of the requirements set forth by the resolution of the Politburo. Full reconstruction and replacement would require significant financial resources.

Since 1968 our jamming stations – upon a Soviet request – jam western programs broadcast in the Czech and Slovakian languages. We have no information at all as to how efficient the jamming of these stations is, or whether jamming is still needed.

The exchange of views concerning hostile propaganda has become part of the ideological cooperation among the sister parties of the socialist countries. The party delegations visiting our country and the Budapest embassies of our friendly states regularly request and are provided with information about our experience gained in dealing with imperialist propaganda. We also receive such information from some of our sister parties through their embassies. We have also exchanged ideas on this issue with several western sister parties, such as the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the Austrian Communist Party and the German Communist Party. The relevant state bodies of socialist countries have also established a similarly comprehensive framework of cooperation. However, international experience is not utilized efficiently in our everyday work.

Károly Grósz

## HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKER'S PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

### RESOLUTION

1. The Secretariat accepts the report. It establishes that as a result of the execution of the resolution made by the Politburo at its meeting on October 8, 1963 the fight against imperialist propaganda, as an organic part of ideological and political work, has become more oriented towards its main goal and more argumentative and organized in its character.
2. The impact of propaganda targeting our country should continue to be countered – on the basis of the resolution of the Politburo – by firmly representing our policy, by presenting an authentic picture of our problems and accomplishments and by taking the initiative and the offensive in issues that demonstrate the advantages of a socialist system. The preparedness, discipline and alertness of party members, the provision of ample information within the party and the development of verbal propaganda are all of primary importance. To achieve this goal, regular information materials and recommendations should be worked out on the basis of the monitoring of hostile propaganda so that the activists of the party, the state and social organizations that are involved in propaganda work targeting the masses could argue more convincingly for our interests, position and policy and respond to hostile views more instantaneously. It is especially important to provide a better training for those who are involved in giving information to foreigners who visit our country, especially for tourist guides. The recommendations prepared quarterly or in relation to certain important events, which are meant to assist political work, should become an integral part of analyzing and evaluating hostile propaganda. When analyzing the attitude of the people on a regular basis the party organizations in Budapest and the counties should pay special attention to the views that reflect the actual presence and impact of foreign propaganda. On this basis they should draw the necessary conclusions for their own propaganda work.

Deadline: continuous  
In charge: Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee  
Party committees of Budapest and the  
counties

3. The scientific basis for the long-term analysis of hostile propaganda should be strengthened considerably. Since the strategy of hostile propaganda is unlikely to change and its tactics can be monitored by systematic methods, there is no need to set up a new and big staff for the long-term analysis of this propaganda. Instead most of the attention should be focused on a better utilization of the existing bodies and institutions and on establishing more effective cooperation among them. To this end, the Institute of Social

Studies of the Central Committee should continue to investigate the trends of bourgeois ideology, while the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should ensure that the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs continues to analyze the strategy and tactics of imperialist propaganda as part of its research activities. Building on the work of these two basic institutions our work should be concentrated on the systematic analysis of the relations between bourgeois ideology and propaganda, making use of information and experience that we gain through our party and state relations.

Deadline: September 30, 1979  
In charge: Department of Foreign Affairs of the  
Central Committee  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee

4. The Mass Media Research Center of the Hungarian Radio and Television should be provided with all the conditions that are necessary to conduct research into the effects of hostile propaganda by using tools of opinion surveys on a regular basis and with due care.

Deadline: June 30, 1979  
In charge: Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee  
President of the Hungarian Radio

5. There is no need to further enhance the range of bodies and institutions that are involved in the analysis of imperialist propaganda campaigns. The main task is that the bodies and institutions of the party, the state and various social organizations involved in monitoring hostile propaganda should cooperate in their activities much more efficiently in the future. To this end the State Office for Church Affairs, the People's Patriotic Front, the National Council of Trade Unions, the Communist Youth Organization and the bodies supervising tourism should, in every quarter, make available all the information that they have to the team that is engaged in evaluating hostile propaganda.

In addition to periodical reports, special reports should also be prepared which investigate how a significant event related to Hungary has been received by hostile propaganda. In the future evaluation work should also be extended to the Chinese propaganda that targets our country. It should be ensured that the information on hostile propaganda campaigns provided for the highest party and state leadership is more to the point and coordinated.



Monitoring work and evaluation should be followed by processing relevant information and experience and by drawing the necessary conclusions.

Deadline: continuous  
In charge: Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee  
Members of the evaluation team

6. The network of jamming and monitoring hostile radio broadcasts targeting Hungary should be brought up to a level that can meet the new requirements today. The reception center of the Hungarian Press Agency stationed outside Budapest should gradually be developed into a high-capacity radio-monitoring center by installing modern devices in accordance with our available financial resources. In this way a new service should be set up that can meet the special demands of all the state organizations involved in monitoring hostile propaganda at a high political and technological level. In addition to monitoring hostile broadcasts, this center should also be responsible for recording the broadcasts of press agencies transmitted through radio waves and, very soon, through satellites as well as the Hungarian language programs broadcast by neighboring socialist countries. The Department of Propaganda, the Department of Public Administration and the Department of Foreign Affairs should consult with the affected bodies (National Defense Committee, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Office, Hungarian Press Agency) and based on these negotiations a development plan which takes into consideration the realities of our economic possibilities should be made to set up a modern radio center – in several phases, if necessary – that can be used in several ways. The development plan should be submitted to the Secretariat by the Department of Propaganda in the second half of 1979.

Deadline for the preparation of the development plan: June 30, 0979  
In charge: leaders of the  
affected organizations

7. The broadcasts of the Austrian Television that can be received in a significant part of the country and those of other western television stations received through Austria should be put on the list of programs to be monitored regularly, and the leadership should be informed of any aspects of these broadcasts that may involve Hungary. The Secretariat commissions the president of the Hungarian Television to work out the necessary system of monitoring in cooperation with the state bodies concerned. The party committees of

the counties by the Austrian border should provide regular information on how these programs affect the people in their county.

Deadline: April 30, 1979  
In charge: Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee  
President of the Hungarian Television

8. Investigations should be conducted to assess the possible impact of broadcasting television programs directly through satellites, and the political and technical tasks in regard to this new development should be specified without delay.

Deadline: November 30, 1979  
In charge: Department of Propaganda of the Central  
Committee  
Department of Industry, Agriculture and  
Transportation of the Central Committee  
President of the Hungarian Radio

9. The working conditions of the system of press-administration that is involved in protecting our country from hostile propaganda should be improved considerably. A short-term and a long-term plan of what measures should be taken to achieve this goal in accordance with our current financial possibilities should be submitted to the competent state bodies by the president of the Information Office, after consulting with the leaders of the Hungarian Post.

Deadline: June 30, 1979  
In charge: president of the Information Office

10. The Secretariat deems it justified that relevant sections of the resolution made by the Politburo on the protection of our country from hostile radio propaganda on October 8, 1963 be revised. To prepare for the necessary decisions, the Secretariat commissions the Department of Propaganda, the Department of Public Administration and the Department of Industry, Agriculture and Transportation of the Central Committee to make a report for the Politburo on this issue. Together with the Department of Industry, Agriculture and Transportation of the Central Committee the Department of Foreign Affairs should

discuss the efficiency of and the need for jamming western radio programs broadcast in the Czech and Slovakian language.

Deadline: March 31, 1979  
In charge: relevant departments of the Central Committee

## **C l a u s e**

This resolution is received by:

- heads of departments of the Central committee
- Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Minister of the Interior
- Minister of Defense
- President of the Information Office
- President of the Hungarian Radio
- President of the Hungarian Television
- General Manager of the Hungarian Press Agency
-