

~~PART C (2)~~

24
-1-
35. Of what value are ~~such forced~~ ^{obtained under these} confessions? The Party doubtless

thought it useful to obtain these confessions, ^{by any means available.} ~~no matter how.~~

Just as Similarly, at other times, it ~~was~~ ^{had been} necessary to obtain ~~statements~~ ^{confessions} ~~of activity in Koulaks~~ ^{from} ~~from a certain number of peasants~~ ^{that they had acted as kulaks, or} that they were active in

~~Koulaks~~ ^{of foreign conspiracy} ~~confessions~~ from students whose ~~independent~~ spirit

of independence was a cause of anxiety to the Government; ^{that} ~~that~~

they had conspired with foreign nations, or ^{from} ~~of production sabotage in~~ ^{factories} ~~declarations from~~

workers, ~~saying~~ that they had sabotaged production in their

factories.

^H 36. The AVN 's methods ^{were} ~~became~~ the most brutal between 1948 and 1953. ~~As is known,~~

^{Nagy} This policy was somewhat relaxed under Prime Minister Nagy

^{between and} from 1953 to 1955, ^{on, it had been difficult to go} from that time it was difficult completely

^{back entirely to the past. The regime} ~~to reverse the policy.~~ The Government itself had appeared to

understand the damage ~~which~~ it was sustaining from the uncurbed

25
activities
dealings of the AVH. The families of victims, ^{and} certain prisoners released as a result of political changes, ^{demanding} ~~claimed~~ safeguards and ^{wanted revenge.} ~~desired vengeance.~~ In the summer of 1956, Mr. Hegedus himself recognized the need to "put the police and security agencies of the State under close ^{surveillance} ~~observation~~". Mr. Gyeorgy Non, the ^{Attorney General,} ~~Procureur General,~~ pointed out at that time that the responsibilities of his post, which was ^{that of} ~~to be the~~ "supreme guardian of socialist law and order" included the security of the State. He had publicly admitted that "Several directors of State agencies had misused their powers and had had recourse to moral and physical pressures by ^{means of} which they had extorted false confessions of guilt". He referred to their "illegal methods", ^{and} to "large-scale squandering of communal property to satisfy their boundless greed".

37. But despite these statements and declared intentions of reforms,

^{continued to be in} the Hungarian people ^{afraid} ~~were still in fear~~ and ^{to} ~~fostered~~ ^{hatred.} ~~their hate.~~ At the beginning of the October revolution,

it was the members of the AVH who first tried to put down the
insurrection with machine-guns and their usual methods of terror
and torture. The people's vengeance was turned against them,
and it knew no bounds. Their former victims and the children of
their victims committed atrocities in their turn. There were ~~Summons~~
lynchings, hangings and shootings, and the pleas of ~~temporary~~ *the provisional*
leaders who were trying to ~~obtain a return to~~ *offer restore* law and order
~~were often ignored.~~
~~sometimes when unheard.~~ Many members of the AVH found sanctuary
in the ~~places of protection~~ *refuges* ~~which~~ *by* the revolutionary organizations
~~offered them while waiting for their cases to be tried by~~ *pending trial* ~~according to~~
in regular judicial ~~proceedings.~~ *procedure*

PART D

D. HUMAN RIGHTS

38. The Hungarian people's need for liberty ~~showed~~ *manifested* itself with an
extraordinary burst of fervour during the ~~short~~ brief revolution
in October and November. Witnesses noted the joy shown by
students on the afternoon of 23 October when they could march in
a procession, ~~undoubtedly~~ *doubtless* for the first time in their lives,

without their demonstration being ^{compulsory} ~~an obligatory one~~ and without having slogans imposed upon them. Their joyous shouts proclaimed the ^{vi} sixteen points of their programme, ^{which called} ~~which included a demand~~ for general elections by secret ballot, recognition of the right to strike, and complete freedom of opinion, expression, press and radio. During the days which followed, this long-suppressed desire to throw off restrictions spread to all ^{ranks} ~~groups~~ of society. Budapest and the rest of Hungary gave expression to this through spontaneous demonstrations, through the newspapers, the tone of which had changed completely, ^{and} through the radio stations, which promised to report henceforward ^{the} "truth and nothing but the truth".

The revolutionary organizations included in their programme the ^{establishing} ~~the carrying into effect~~ of human rights, and several of them referred to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

39. The Government quickly responded to ^{these} ~~this~~ expectations. Mr. Nagy

 stated that his goal was to "carry ^{out} ~~into effect~~ the systematic

28
democratization of the country in all aspects of the life of the Party and the State, (both political and economic)". Amnesties were ~~declared~~ proclaimed on 24 and 26 October; on 29 October, the AVH was abolished; on 30 October the one-party system came ~~to an end~~ to an end; on the same day Cardinal Mindszenty was released from prison, and on the next day ^{he} (full freedom) was once more granted ~~him~~ to discharge his ecclesiastical duties without ~~any~~ restriction. On 31 October, the new organization of free trade unions ^{proclaimed their} ~~declared~~ ~~its~~ independence of ~~these unions from the~~ Government and all political parties and demanded free elections and the recognition of the right to strike. Political parties began to organize and ~~they~~ requested free elections as a condition for their participation in the Government. On 2 November, the Ministry of Education ordered ^{in use} ~~that~~ the history books in the schools should be withdrawn, ^{abolished compulsory} ~~put an end to the required~~ study of the Russian language and authorized the ⁻ ~~re~~instatement of religious teaching.

29

There was no doubt that the success of the popular revolution could have restored ^{to} the Hungarians ~~to~~ the enjoyment of ^{the} political rights and fundamental ~~rights~~ ^{liberties freedoms} which the Peace Treaty had been intended to guarantee them.

SAX

40.

force of arms
 /The ~~military~~ suppression of the Revolution by ~~the~~ Soviet Army's put a cruel end

to those hopes. Although Mr. Kadar's initial statements still showed some traces of a revolutionary programme, the positions adopted subsequently bore witness to the regime's determination to make no concessions to the demands of the "counter-revolutionaries", for "small concessions would inevitably lead to larger ones".

to use the words of Mr. Gyulas Kallai, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, This *brings* ~~calls~~ to mind the official attitude with regard to free elections and the multi-party system, as well as Mr. Kadar's statement on 11 November that "the workers' power ~~can~~ *also* can be destroyed not only by bullets but by ballots".

41. The legislative and police measures *that were adopted* ~~adopted~~ *which have been* ~~by the regime~~ will be recalled.

A decree dated 11 December *abolished* ~~suppressed~~ the revolutionary ~~committees~~ and ~~councils~~.

A decree dated 14 December prohibited public meetings and parades unless authorized by the police. On 20 December the Government announced ~~that it was setting up~~ *the establishment of* a State Information Office which was to *exercise supervision over* ~~control~~ the press and information services. ~~It~~

~~January~~ The arrests of members of the ~~Executive Committee~~ of the Students' Association, of several young university professors and of a large number of journalists and writers ~~were~~ followed by ~~suspension on 17 January~~ of the activities of the Writers'

SAX

-2-

(the activities) of *(In meetings which began)*
 Association on 17 January and of the Journalists' Association on 19 January. *(At the)*
 end of January, the Trade Union Council *met and* began a series of meetings at which it revoked
 the decision taken *during the revolutionary period* (by the Hungarian unions) to withdraw
 from the World Federation of Trade Unions. On 29 January Mr. Kadar declared that
in the People's Democracies workers did not have the right to strike. At about *the* that
 same time students were deprived of freedom to choose the language which they wished to
 study, and ~~the~~ right to receive religious instruction was limited to those students
 whose parents had already entered them in such courses at the beginning of the school
 year. A decree of 24 March provided that ~~any~~ *all* appointments, transfers or dismissals affect-
 ing posts of any importance in the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian and
 Lutheran Churches, as well as *with regard to all* ~~any moves~~ affecting dignitaries of the Jewish faith,
~~would~~ *should* be subject to approval by the Presidential Council. *That* ~~The~~ decree ~~was made~~ retro-
 active to 1 October 1956. On 6 February a decree was issued which increased the
 penalties *encouraging or assisting* ~~provided~~ for aiding or abetting persons attempting to cross the frontier
 illegally. Persons failing to inform the authorities of such *offences were* ~~infractions~~ are them-
 selves *made* ~~liable to~~ *imprisonment for terms* ~~of as much as two years.~~

Thus,
 42. The state of affairs which existed before the events of October is thus
 being reimposed on the Hungarian people step by step: *impossibility of expressing* ~~proscription of the expression~~

~~of~~ opinions ^{ing} which differ from those of the regime; a controlled press and radio which are forced to carry official propaganda justifying the actions of the Government; denial of the right of assembly ^{and} ~~or~~ association, ^{and of} ~~as well as of the right to choose~~ ^{ing} candidates other than those proposed by the single party for political, administrative or economic posts; control of all artistic expression by ^{injunction} ~~command~~ and by economic pressure; prevention of any personal scientific contact with the West; prohibition of free organization for the defense of economic and social interests; ^{child} ~~use of education of children~~ ^{education steeped in} ~~as a means of indoctrination and of inculcating~~ ^{an imposed doctrine and oriented towards} adulation of a foreign country; administrative and physical interference with the work of representatives of religious faiths; ^{and} measures to prevent Hungarians from seeking asylum abroad. All infractions of these restrictions and prohibitions are again ^{being} punished by a police force which resorts to ^{inhuman} ~~inhuman~~ procedures, ~~of inhuman cruelty~~ by a penal system which ^{recognized} ~~is bound by~~ no standards, by the threat of the concentration camp, forced residence or police surveillance, and by ^{the} ~~the~~ loss of ~~a~~ means of earning a living. To the Hungarians whom the Committee has heard, ~~it appears that this~~ is the situation in which their compatriots once more find themselves.

A survey
43. ~~An examination~~ of the situation which ~~has~~ prevailed in Hungary ^{before} ~~since~~ the

popular uprising of October 1956 and of conditions in that country ^{since} ~~following~~ the Soviet

the futility of trying

SA Resolutions and Sentences
intervention makes ~~it~~ clear ~~that it is useless to try~~ to draw a valid comparison or
criterion
establish an applicable ~~standard~~ on the basis of the provisions of the Universal Declara-
tion of Human Rights. The "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all
nations" which the Universal Declaration proposes to hold up before the contemporary
world is too far removed from the situation ~~which exists~~ in Hungary today. It is
rather in the following paragraphs of the Preamble that the Declaration reveals itself
in its profound ^{truth} ~~unity~~ to all free men who bow their heads before the ^{drama} ~~tragedy~~ of
Hungary:

C
Article
"Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in
barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a
world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom
from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common
people,

"Whereas it is essential, if man is not ^{to} be compelled to have recourse, as a last
resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be
protected by the rule of law, ...".