

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY

MEMORANDUM BY THE RAPPORTEUR

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Memorandum

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CONFIDENTIAL

WORKING PAPER FOR OUTLINE OF REPORT

This tentative outline of the report is based on the following considerations:

The construction of the report needs to correspond to the function of the Special Committee, which is both to present facts and findings. A straight chronological account does not seem an appropriate form for such a report: moreover, in a situation with so many diverse aspects, a chronological form of writing would encounter many difficulties.

It would therefore seem appropriate that, as far as possible, each chapter should deal with a defined problem relevant to the functions of the Committee. Within each chapter also the material should be so written as to provide organised<sup>in</sup>formation regarding the various subsidiary problems involved in the inquiry.

This method of constructing the report is likely to give rise to various difficulties in the course of actual writing - but probably to no greater degree than any alternative form.

This form will permit the entire body of information to be presented in a manner designed to substantiate in detail the findings of the Committee. These findings will be briefly stated at the outset of the report, preferably in Chapter II, with references to the later chapters in which the relevant detailed information is given.

A final chapter is contemplated for the purpose of presenting such conclusions as the Committee may eventually formulate.

The report will be broadly based on the wide range of information placed at the disposal of the Committee, including the testimony given before the Committee. The report will only in exceptional cases indicate the source of the information. It will constitute a body of factual information and findings submitted on the authority of the Committee.

Each chapter would be about 3,500 words.



## CHAPTER I. ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

A. Resolution 449 and other General Assembly resolutions prescribing the task of the Committee.

Scope and Nature of the Report.

B. Methods employed by the Committee in the fulfilment of its task.

Attempts at direct observation in Hungary.

Testimony taken.

Description of other evidence; written communications, documentation and information at the disposal of the Committee.

Assistance received: (1) from governments; (2) from other sources.

## CHAPTER II. BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS

This would constitute a framework for the subsequent chapters. It would state briefly the findings of the Committee with reference to the later chapters in which detailed information is given on each aspect.

## CHAPTER III. VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE USSR AND HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENTS REGARDING EVENTS IN HUNGARY

It would seem necessary to present, in a detached manner, the views expressed by the USSR and Hungarian Governments. This would be based on USSR declarations, the Hungarian White Book, etc. It would deal with recognition of the need for changes before 23 October. Allegation of counter-revolution and external instigation.

### SECTION A: MILITARY INTERVENTION AND ITS POLITICAL BACKGROUND

## CHAPTER IV. SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION (23 October - 3 November 1956)

Facts about actual movement of Russian troops; areas of fighting; resistance of population to Russian troops. When did Soviet intervention begin?

Endeavours of Government to end the fighting.

## CHAPTER V. SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION (4 November - 8 NOVEMBER 1956)

PSM Facts about (a) actual movement of Russian troops; (b) fighting; (c) resistance by population.

## CHAPTER VI. THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FIRST MILITARY INTERVENTION

Attitude of Nagy Government with regard to fighting up to 30 October.



Role of Gero, Central Committee, Soviet representatives in Hungary.

Position of Nagy on 24 and 25 October, in the light of broadcasts and evidence. Position of Nagy on 30 October. Developments at Party Headquarters.

Statement on the Hungarian political system (inter-relationships between Party and Government). Methods of Soviet control.

CHAPTER VII. THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SECOND INTERVENTION

p'sm  
Circumstances surrounding the formation of the Kadar Government and the question of its constitution position, including characteristics and movements of Mr. Kadar preceding 4 November.

CHAPTER VIII. THE PRESENCE OF USSR FORCES IN HUNGARY

This chapter would deal with data relating to the presence of Soviet forces in Hungary. Provisions of the Peace Treaty and its implementation. Provisions of the Warsaw Pact. Question of the justification of intervention under the terms of the Warsaw Pact. Origin of forces used for suppression of the uprising.

It would appropriately continue with demand for permanent withdrawal of USSR troops. Declaration of Government of USSR of 30 October. Views of Government and negotiations for permanent withdrawal before 4 November. USSR statements of intent after 4 November. Continuance of popular demand for withdrawal of USSR forces. Attitude of Kadar Government.

SECTION B. EFFECTS OF THE USE OR THREAT OF USE OF FORCE ON THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF HUNGARY

CHAPTER IX. THE NATURE AND AIMS OF THE UPRISING

This would deal with the origins of the uprising and the initial declarations of aims. Mental attitudes of the Hungarian population. Grounds of discontent of different elements of the population - students; writers; workers; peasants. Influence of Radio Free Europe. Intellectual and political developments immediately preceding the uprising. Demands presented 23-24 October. Attitude to AVH.

CHAPTER X. THE IMMEDIATE ORIGINS OF ARMED CONFLICT

(a) Budapest

Origin of armed conflict in Budapest. Character of demonstration of 23 October. The Gero speech. Events in Parliament Square of 23 October. Events at the Radio Building. Events in Parliament Square on 25 October.



Acquisition of arms by the population in Budapest.  
How acquired.

Attitude of Hungarian Army and Police.

(b) Elsewhere in Hungary

Győr and Magyaróvár, etc.

CHAPTER XI. THE WORKERS' AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCILS

Formation of Workers' Council in Budapest and elsewhere.  
Their programmes. Negotiations with Mr. Nagy.

CHAPTER XII. THE REASSERTION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS  
23 OCTOBER - 4 NOVEMBER

Governmental changes, 26 October to 3 November. Their  
significance.

Re-establishment of political parties.

Newspapers. Discussion of objectives.

Radio Stations.

Religious factors. The Catholic Church. Cardinal Mindszenty.

Question of "counter-revolution" and anti-semitism.

CHAPTER XIII. INTERVENTION UNDER THE PRESENT REGIME

PSM  
Question of the degree of support for the present Government  
of Hungary. Reliance on USSR support. Specific acts of intervention -  
case of Mr. Nagy's asylum.

PSM  
CHAPTER XIV. THE SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL RIGHTS  
SINCE 4 NOVEMBER

Internal policy of the Hungarian Government since 4 November.  
Function of the police and of the Hungarian Socialist Workers'  
Party. Suppression of Workers' Councils. Attitude of Government  
to popular demands. Official statements of policy. Trend towards  
practices of the Rakosi regime.

CHAPTER XV. THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS AND REPRESENTATION  
OF HUNGARY - 23 OCTOBER - 4 NOVEMBER

The policy of neutrality. Discussion of the policy in the  
press. Governmental declarations. Communications to the United  
Nations and their origin.



Question of the representation of Hungary before the United Nations.

Summary of proceedings.

Diplomatic relations with the Government of Hungary.

SECTION C: SPECIFIC ACTS IN VIOLATION OF OTHER RIGHTS  
OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER XVI. DEPORTATIONS AND OTHER ACTS  
IN VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

CHAPTER XVII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS