

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY

TRANSLATION OF DECLARATION BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND REVOLUTIONARY
ORGANIZATIONS OF HUNGARY, 8 DECEMBER, 1956

(Annex "J" to the Report on the Hungarian Revolution
transmitted by the Permanent Delegation of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

DECLARATION

On the fundamental principles of Hungary's form of government, her social and economic order, and on the way for political development.

In an effort to safeguard the independence and freedom of this country, to secure the successes so far attained by Socialism, to establish the democratic achievements of the revolution in constitutional form - amongst which achievements are primarily the organization and complete self-government of the Workers' Councils, the right of the workers to strike, the freedom of the peasants to choose their way of life, the exemption of the peasants from obligatory deliveries, and finally, the end of the one-Party monopoly - the democratic parties and organizations of Hungary, having compared their former view-points and programmes, agreed on the following fundamental principles and method of future political development.

I

We consider it necessary that the democratic parties and revolutionary forces of Hungary should convene a revolutionary constitutional body, the form of which will be explained later, and draw up a constitutional law in which would be laid down the basic principles concerning the form of state, democratic government and the socialist social order of the country.

1. The supreme government organ of the Hungarian Republic is the National Assembly democratically elected, consisting of those parties which accept the form of government and the social and economic order defined in the present declaration. There must be effective guarantees for the independence of judges, for the complete rights of freedom, amongst which are equality before the law, irrespective of profession or descent, freedom of the press and of opinion, as well as freedom of worship.
2. The basis of the social and economic order of Hungary is that the decisive share of the means of production should belong to society. Thus the mines, factories, banks and other big undertakings which were State property on October 23, 1956, must continue to remain so in the future.

3. The possession of land, as distributed in the Land Reform of 1945, remains unchanged, but the maximum limit of property permitted will be determined by the area which can be cultivated by one family without any hired labour.
4. In order to secure the advantages to be derived from a large-scale economy, co-operatives and other economic associations must be guaranteed for peasants, artisans and in general for every economic activity, but these should be on an entirely voluntary basis.
5. Private enterprise within the framework of training regulations and planned economic direction is permissible. The number of employees which can be engaged by private undertakings must be restricted by law.
6. Legal provision for workers and employees to have the right of forming voluntary trades-unions must be secured so that their legal interests in connexion with the making of collective contracts by Trade Unions should be protected; there should also be legal provision to allow the peasants, draftsmen and retail merchants to form organizations in order to safeguard their interests.
7. Legal provision must be made so that the workers of State undertakings have a directing part in the administration of such undertakings through their Workers' Councils. They must also have shares in the profits of such undertakings.
8. Material reparation as a result of past wrongs and illegalities cannot be achieved by restoring to the victims their former property and income or by returning them to positions where they could exploit their fellows. The extent of reparations must be regulated by courts on the basis of laws drawn up in such a way as to take account of the present condition of the victims and of Hungary's economic situation. Any attempts by individuals to obtain arbitrary redress must be prevented.
9. Political mistakes and misdeeds committed up to the time of the settlement should be judged in a spirit of reconciliation. No one should be convicted for deeds committed as a result of honest political conviction. The death sentence must be abolished.
10. The principles included in points 1 - 9 above must be safe-guarded by constitutional law. Provision must be made so that these laws may not be modified or revised in any way for a period of five years and then only by a two-thirds majority in the legislature, confirmed subsequently by a two-thirds majority of those entitled to take part in a plebiscite. No political party may function

whose aim is to change the political, economic and social order established by these laws. Finally, an independent court of constitution must be set up whose task it will be to declare invalid all laws which run counter to the Constitution and with the power to licence or ban any political party.

The democratic parties and organizations declare as their own the principles set out above which have been drawn up on an ideological basis as a result of their political conviction without regard to any consideration of negotiations or tactics and irrespective of whether they participate in the political solution outlined below or not.

II

The democratic parties and organizations are ready to take part in a settlement of the present political situation. They agree that the unconditional participation of the party of Hungarian Communists is necessary for the future evolution of the State and for a political life based on democratic socialism. The revolution has shown beyond doubt that the masses of Hungarian Communists agree with the basic principles set out in this declaration and with the plan for a settlement which follows and that they will officially express their approval of it when the time comes to do so.

On the basis of what is set out above, a settlement could be reached in the following manner:-

- (1) The democratic parties and organizations should set up a Provisional National Governing Council, consisting of three to seven members who enjoy nation-wide respect, which would exercise the supreme power of the State.
- (2) The National Governing Council should appoint a provisional National Government. The President and Ministers of this Government would be appointed from among the nominees of the separate democratic parties and organizations. Experts, irrespective of their political affiliations, should be appointed to specialist ministries.
- (3) The democratic parties and organizations should elect a Revolutionary National Assembly from among their national and local representatives in the shortest possible time. This National Assembly would draw up a Constitution based on the principles set out above, and would pass laws until a new Parliament could meet. Thus, among other tasks, the Revolutionary Assembly would draw up the election law and settle the problem of which body should exercise the supreme power of the State.
- (4) Parliamentary elections would be held in the autumn of 1957.

III

That the democratic parties and organizations may take part in a settlement of the situation based on the principles set out above; that they may win the full support of the Hungarian people in this task; and that Hungary may co-operate with the Soviet Union on the basis of true friendship and equality, the Government of the Soviet Union has a real opportunity of ensuring this if it receives with confidence and good faith all the democratic forces of the Hungarian people and their present approach. One of the main factors which has brought about the present serious situation has been the misleading information and analysis of the character and objectives of the Hungarian revolution which has reached the leading statesmen of the Soviet Union from those who stand for the evil régime destroyed on October 23, 1956, or who want to restore it and its methods. This faulty assessment has resulted in a failure to recognize the fact that in Hungary the forces of revolution have made and are making a united stand in the cause of socialism, and, furthermore, that they are able to safeguard the achievements of socialism and to maintain the internal order of the country in the face of all attempts aimed at a restoration of the former régime. Clearly, the Soviet Government's decision not to enter into negotiations about the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary and the adjustment of Hungarian-Soviet relations until order has finally been restored is due to such misinterpretation of the facts. However, in the present situation, created by the presence of Soviet troops, it is impossible to restore internal order and to ensure normal production, i.e., the very presence of Soviet troops prevents the realization of the condition demanded by the Soviet Government for the withdrawal of their forces.

The only escape from this impasse would be for the Soviet Union to authorize the democratic parties and organizations to publicize the directive on the basis of which the Soviet Government would be ready to reach an agreement, concerning settlement of relations between the two countries, with the provisional Hungarian government, which would be set up on the basis of such directing principles as would assist in gaining the trust of the people for this government. This agreement would involve a re-examination in conjunction with the other member States of the obligations laid down in the Warsaw agreement, the method and date of the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungary, the repatriation of Hungarian citizens arrested by Soviet authorities (that is their transfer to Hungarian

authorities) and, finally, the adjustment of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations in the spirit of the Polish-Soviet economic agreement. With such a declaration in their possession, the democratic parties and organizations, i.e., the Provisional Government which would be set up by these parties, could ensure that internal order would be restored without any outside help and that socialist achievements would be safeguarded.

IV

If the Soviet Government consider it necessary to have further guarantees over and above those laid down in this declaration, the following conditions, which the undersigned and the democratic parties and organizations regard as natural, could be guaranteed by constitutional law, namely:-

- (1) No foreign armed units whatsoever should be stationed within Hungary's frontiers and no foreign military bases should be established therein:
- (2) The use of fissile material for military purposes should be banned. Such material or that part of the raw material suitable for its production which would not be required for domestic use would, in return for adequate payment, be placed at the exclusive disposal of the International organization for the promotion of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, founded by all the Great Powers last summer. Finally, the International Organization mentioned above would be entitled to control the production, storage, use and sale of all fissile materials and the products made in Hungary therefrom.

Budapest, 8th December 1956.

Signed:

Smallholders' Party
National Peasant (Petőfi) Party
Workers' Council of Budapest
Revolutionary Council of the
Intelligentsia
Hungarian Writers Federation
National Federation of Hungarian
Academic and University Students.

a/ That he be instructed to move the immediate convening of the general assembly of the United Nations for the purpose of discussing Hungarian neutrality.

b/ That he be instructed to move that the Soviet Union be declared an aggressor, that the United Nations police force be sent to Hungary, so that the Hungarian nation can finally decide the question not only of its fate but of its very existence.

c/ That he be further instructed to move that the United Nations Organization hear the delegates of the Hungarian nation, whose credentials are sealed with the blood of sixty-five-thousand dead and with the will of a whole nation. We respectfully request that the representatives of the illegal Kadar-clique be not recognized as partners for negotiation, particularly since Kadar is a Soviet citizen.

The representative of Cuba has in essentials already made these suggestions, and we respectfully request that you, Mr. President, add the force of your authority to this proposal, in order that the United Nations may come to adopt a similar viewpoint. At the same time the United Nations, in our opinion, should be urged to instruct the Secretary General H a m a r s k j ü l d to put the decisions of the General Assembly into immediate effect. In firm trust in God and the people of Cuba we believe that you, Mister President, will grant our request, and that this memorandum will not be the epitaph of the Hungarian people but the foundation stone of the independence of a sorely-tried nation and also an important part of the structure of world security.

Mr. President, in the name of the Council of the South Budapest revolutionaries, of the Hungarian government that has fallen a victim to Soviet violence and also in the name of the whole Hungarian nation we beg you to accept our sincerest respects and greetings.

V i e n n a, November 28th, 1956

(Signed) V a r f a l v i Lajos

Chairman of the Council of
South Budapest Revolutionaries

(signed) O l t v a n y i Laszlo

Commandant of the South Budapest
National Guard

(signed) B u r i Istvan

Commandant of the National
Guard of Csepel.