

IV

PROCLAMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN WRITERS' UNION

(23 October 1956)

"We have arrived at a historic turning point. We shall not be able to acquit ourselves well in this revolutionary situation unless the entire Hungarian working people rallies in a disciplined camp. The leaders of the Party and the State have so far failed to present a workable programme. The people responsible for this are those who, instead of expanding socialist democracy, are obstinately organising themselves with the aim of restoring Stalin's and Rakosi's regime of terror in Hungary. We, Hungarian writers, have formulated the demands of the Hungarian nation in the following seven points:

"(1) We want an independent national policy based on the principle of socialism. Our relations with all countries, and with the USSR and the people's democracies in the first place, should be regulated, on the basis of the principle of equality. We want a review of inter-State treaties and economic agreements in the spirit of the equality of the rights of the nations.

(2) An end must be put to national minority policies which disturb friendship between the people. We want true and sincere friendship with our allies - the USSR and the people's democracies. This can be realised on the basis of Leninist principles only.

(3) The country's economic position must be clearly stated. We shall not be able to emerge after this crisis unless all workers, peasants and intellectuals can play their proper part in the political, social and economic administration of the country.

(4) Factories must be run by workers and specialists. The present humiliating system of wages, norms, social security conditions, etc., must be reformed. The trade unions must be the true representatives of the interests of the Hungarian working class.

(5) Our peasant policy must be put on a new basis. Peasants must be given the right to decide their own fate freely. The political and economic conditions for free membership in co-operatives must be created at last. The present system of deliveries to the State and of tax payment must be gradually replaced by a system ensuring free socialist production and goods exchange.

(6) If these points are to materialise, there must be changes of structure and of personnel in the leadership of the Party and the State. The Rakosi clique, which is seeking restoration, must be removed from our political life. Imre Nagy, a pure and brave Communist who enjoys the confidence of the Hungarian people, and all those who have systematically fought for socialist democracy in recent years, must be given the posts they deserve. At the same time, a resolute stand must be made against all counter-revolutionary attempts and aspirations.

(7) The evolution of the situation demands that the PPF* should assume the political representation of the working strata of Hungarian society. Our electoral system must correspond to the demands of socialist democracy. The people must elect their representatives in parliament, in the Councils and in all autonomous organs of administration, freely and by secret ballot."

We believe that in our Proclamation the conscience of the Nation has spoken.

* People's Patriotic Front.

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Annexes

to Chapter ~~VIII~~ IX

League of Working Youth (DISZ)

Executive Committee for the Building Industry
and Technical University.

Resolution addressed to the Participants of the DISZ Mass Meeting

Following began on 22 October 1956.

the following
On the basis of the resolution of the Central Committee in July, a new process of democratization started. In our opinion, the tempo of the implementation of these decisions is not quick enough; in many places we notice delays and therefore the University youth proclaims its just, topical and resolute demands.

the decisions taken
welcome and support have not been implemented quick enough, timely
We greet the resolutions of the University youth and we support them. We demand resolute and quick actions in the solution of the national and University problems. The youth of the Building Industry and Technical University, having regard to the present political and economic situation of the country, demands the most urgent implementation of the following points:

1. We want to see competent leaders in the political and national leadership who have the confidence of the people. For instance, Comrades Janos Kadar, Imre Nagy, Zoltan Vass, Geza Losonczy, Gyorgy Lukacs. *Furthermore* Arpad Kiss.
2. *Also* Open trial in the case of Mihaly Farkas and other criminals. Who knew about the innocence of Rajk?
3. Hungarian-Soviet friendship, ~~built~~ on the basis of complete equality.
4. *The use Hungary* Facts about the utilization of the Hungarian uranium ore.
5. In planning of the new uniforms of the Hungarian National Army, our national traditions should be taken into consideration. The old uniforms should be used up during training.
6. We demand that ~~the day of~~ 15 March should be a red letter national holiday (a day of general cessation of work) and that ~~the day of~~ 6 October should become a school holiday.
7. We demand that Comrade Imre Nagy should be reinstated into his previous ~~State function~~.
8. *Official post* We demand that Istvan Friss, the representative of the University youth, should give an account of his work to date, and that, in particular, he should ~~clear~~ his attitude regarding his article in Szabad Nep.
9. The filling of leading posts in our economic life should depend on education and professional skill.
10. The system of wages and norms in the building industry should be ~~settled~~ by experts.

explain
II

Established

11. We ask that Parliament should investigate our foreign trade situation. Why is there a deficit and who are responsible for it? For instance, what is the responsibility of Ferenc Biró in this matter?

12. We ~~agree with~~ ^{support} the reorganization of the delivery system on a completely new basis. The willingness of the peasants to produce more should be raised.

III.

13. We demand ~~the~~ moral and financial recognition ^{for} of the technical profession. Young engineers should be attached to technical projects. Their initial salary should be during the first three months not less than 1300 forints plus premiums.

14. It should be made possible that, independently from IBUSZ, educational trips abroad could be organized. There should be no discrimination ~~made~~ between trips to the West and East. ~~The~~ misuse of such freedom of travel and refuses to return, is not needed at home.

15. University autonomy should be restored. We should be trusted.

16. The students' identity card should entitle the holder to a 50% discount on all cultural and sport programmes. The ~~formation~~ ^{education} of cultured persons demands sacrifices.

17. Students' cafeterias should be placed under the authority of the Universities ~~proper~~. The ~~norm~~ ^{purchase power} of the forint should ~~possibly~~ ^{perhaps} be raised.

18. Students should receive five times in a year a 50% discount on the railways as was the case before 1951.

19. The price of the University textbooks should be reduced.

20. The accommodation of University students in students' hostels is not satisfactory. We ask for gradual improvements in this matter as ~~such~~ ^{the} situation does not help to raise ~~the~~ standards. The preparation of drawings demands more space. We expect action in this matter.

IV.

21. We ask for the introduction of the system of free examinations.

22. The results of military exams should only be taken into ~~consideration~~ ^{account} when ranks are granted.

23. Students should ~~already~~ ^{Such action} be able to decide in the first semester of the first year as to which foreign language they wished to study.

V.

24. We do not agree with the withdrawal of the University students of Szeged from DISZ ~~because this~~ ^{recent} would lead to a scattering of our forces. Their misgivings are not justified because ~~experience proves~~ ^{has shown} that ~~lately~~ the Budapest Committee of the DISZ and the Central Committee of the DISZ were truly representing our interests. This was proved by the fighting stand taken by the daily paper of the Central Committee of DISZ Szabad Ifjúság. In the present situation there is a need for the unity of youth within DISZ.

Sacrifices must be made to provide education for the people.

(X) Name = State Travel Bureau.

25. We demand the reorganization of the University students' movement ~~with~~ in the framework of DISZ. A Youth Parliament should be established. We ask that a DISZ Congress be convened.

Should we not receive a definite answer to our demands defined in points 2, 7, 8, 14, 16, 18 and 19, we shall resort to the method of demonstration.

We consider our demands as just and realistic. We call the youth of our University ~~into battle~~ ^{to fight} for their fulfilment. ~~But~~ ^{At} the same time we definitely condemn all kind of demagogy.

Our aim is not trouble-making but to ~~obtain the~~ ^{win} recognition ^{for} of the rights of the University youth and the ~~continuation~~ ^{to ensure that} of the process of democratization which has already started.

will continue.

The Preparatory Committee for
the Mass Meeting.

Budapest, 22 October 1956.

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League of Working Youth (DISZ)

Executive Committee for the Building Industry
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Resolution addressed to the Participants of the DISZ Mass Meeting
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Our aim is not trouble-making but to obtain the recognition of the rights of the University youth and the continuation of the process of democratization which has already started.

The Preparatory Committee for
the Mass Meeting.

Budapest, 22 October 1956.

Annex

III

THE TEN POINTS OF THE PETOFI CLUB

(22 October 1956)

Central Committee

1. We suggest the convocation of a meeting of the CC at the earliest possible date in view of the situation which has arisen in our country. Comrade Imre Nagy should take part in the preparation of the meeting.

about 2. We consider it necessary that the Party and Government ^{should publish the facts} reveal openly the economic situation of the country, review the guiding principles of our second five-year plan and work out a concrete constructive programme corresponding to the peculiarities of our country.

3. The CC and the Government should promote the development of socialist democratism in Hungary, ^{conditions obtaining in} by all means available, ^{use all available means to} by developing the real role of the People's Front, by satisfying the justified political demands of the workers' class and by establishing factory autonomy and workers' democracy.

4. In order to create prestige for Party and State leadership we suggest that comrade Imre Nagy and other comrades fighting for socialist democratism and for the Leninist principles occupy a worthy place in the leadership of the Party and Government.

removal 5. We propose the expulsion of Matyas Rakosi from the CC of the Party and his recalling from the National Assembly and the Presidential Council. In order to establish tranquillity in the country, the CC must take a stand against the prevailing attempts ^{current} for a Stalinist or Rakosist restoration.

6. We suggest a public trial, corresponding with socialist legality, in the case of Mihaly Farkas.

7. We propose a reviewing of the resolutions of recent times, which have proved wrong and of a sectarian nature, primarily of the Resolution of March 1955, the Resolution relating to literature of December 1955 and the Resolution of June 30, 1956 relating to the Petofi Club. These resolutions should be invalidated and the CC should draw the necessary personal conclusions from them.

for 8. Let us expose to public opinion ^{what have been the highly} the economic balance of our foreign trade agreements and the plans relating to the utilisation of the country's uranium stocks.

9. In order to further strengthen Soviet-Hungarian friendship let us develop even more intimate connexions with the Soviet Party, State and people on the basis of the Leninist principle of complete equality. ^{of the USSR,}

10. We request the CC of the DISZ to ^{pronounce itself on} adopt an attitude in connexion with these points at their meeting of October 23 and to pass a resolution concerning the democratisation of the Hungarian youth movements.

* Central Committee of the Communist Party.

** People's Patriotic Front, the Communist-Patriotic Front

mass organization with participation of non-Communists.

23 Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party
People's Patriotic Front
Communist Party
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(22 October 1956)

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2. We consider it necessary that the Party and Government reveal openly the economic situation of the country, review the guiding principles of our second five-year-plan and work out a concrete constructive programme corresponding with the peculiarities of our country.
3. The CC and the Government should promote the development of socialist democratism in Hungary by all means available, by developing the real role of the people's front, by satisfying the justified political demands of the workers' class and by establishing factory autonomy and workers' democracy.
4. In order to create prestige for Party and State leadership we suggest that comrade Imre Nagy and other comrades fighting for socialist democratism and for the Leninist principles occupy a worthy place in the leadership of the Party and Government.
5. We propose the expulsion of Matyas Rakosi from the CC of the Party and his recalling from the National Assembly and the Presidential Council. In order to establish tranquillity in the country the CL must take a stand against the prevailing attempts for a Stalinist or Rakosist restoration.
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7. We propose a reviewing of the resolutions of recent times, which have proved wrong and of a sectarian nature, primarily of the Resolution of March 1955, the Resolution relating to literature of December 1955 and the Resolution of June 30, 1956 relating to the Petoefi Club. These resolutions should be invalidated and the CL should draw the necessary personal conclusions from them.
8. Let us expose to public opinion the so-called most delicate questions, the economic balance of our foreign trade agreements and the plans relating to the utilisation of the country's uranium stocks.
9. In order to further strengthen Soviet-Hungarian friendship let us develop even more intimate connexions with the Soviet Party, State and people on the basis of the Leninist principle of complete equality.
10. We request the CC of the DISZ to adopt an attitude in connexion with these points at their meeting of October 23rd and to pass a resolution concerning the democratisation of the Hungarian youth movements.

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