

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION COMMISSION OF
THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

REPORT
ON
HIGHER EDUCATION
IN
HUNGARY

Extract from RIC YEARBOOK 1956-57
Research and Information Commission,
Post box 36, Leiden, Netherlands

The Research and Information Commission is an independent, fact-finding body of five individual students elected by the Supervision Committee of the International Student Conference with a mandate to prepare factual reports on the educational situation in countries about which the International Student Conference wishes to receive further information. Problems concerning any particular territory, however, may be raised only by a National Union of Students having its base in that territory unless otherwise raised at the request of five National Unions.

During the year 1956-57, that is from the Sixth International Student Conference held in September 1956 to the Seventh International Student Conference held in September 1957, the Research and Information Commission studied the situation in Algeria, Cuba, Cyprus, Goa, Hungary and Nicaragua, and reported its findings to the Seventh International Student Conference. The Conference adopted the reports without opposition, and requested that they should be published and distributed as widely as possible.

For this purpose the RIC Yearbook 1956-57 has been produced, containing the five studies of the Commission during that year. However, due to the urgency and the special interest to many readers of the problem discussed in this booklet, an extract from the Yearbook has been printed separately.

Readers interested in the other studies of the Commission can obtain the full RIC Yearbook 1956-57 by writing to the Commission.

Research and Information Commission

CONTENTS

Introduction	5
Part I — 1950 to October 1956	7
Section A — The Hungarian University and the State	7
Section B — University courses and methods of study	9
Section C — Discrimination, admissions, expulsions	10
Section D — Student organisations and activities	12
Part II — October 1956 to March 1957	15
Section A — Brief historical introduction on the role of the university	15
Section B — Courses and methods of study	16
Section C — Discrimination, arrests, deportations	18
Section D — Student organisations and activities	20
Part III — Recent developments	24
Conclusions	29
Appendices	30
Resolutions	44

HIGHER EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

In accordance with Resolution 97 of the Sixth International Student Conference, the Research and Information Commission included the study of higher education in Hungary in its agenda following the requests of Confederación Nacional de Estudiantes of Mexico of 3 November 1956, Nederlandse Studenten Raad of 2 December, Studentenschaft der Universität des Saarlandes of 6 December, Union Nationale des Etudiants du Luxembourg of 8 December, United States National Student Association of 8 December, Danske Studerendes Faellesraad of 21 December and Österreichische Hochschülerschaft of 21 December.

The Secretariat was charged with collecting information and documentation; further it was decided that a team should be sent to Hungary. As members of this team, Osman Sid Ahmed Ismael (Sudan), Emil Salim (Indonesia), and Niels Thygesen (Denmark) were selected. Visas were applied for, but were not granted.

With the summer meeting of the Commission approaching and no visas granted, the Secretariat, in order to increase its efforts to collect material, engaged Carman Bickerton (Canada), former member of the Research and Information Commission, to travel around Europe, interviewing organisations and individuals connected with the problem. During the period of 26 June till 7 July Mr Bickerton visited Paris, Geneva, Zürich, St. Gallen, Vienna and London, gathering information.

On the basis of the material thus collected in the Commission files, the following report was adopted by the Seventh International Student Conference without opposition.

INTRODUCTION

This report seeks to show the general pattern of higher education in Hungary during the past few years. It is not a study of the events which occurred in the last months of 1956, nor even of the part played by students in those events. Naturally the effects of the happenings of that time on the higher education of Hungary form an important part of the report; but, as will be seen from the facts related in the body of the report and in the appendices, the great upsurge of national feeling, and in particular the demands of the Hungarian university community, brought into sharp relief in a most dramatic, and tragic, way the grave situation that had existed for many years in the universities and other institutions of higher learning in Hungary.

Systems of higher education in Eastern Europe were by tradition of secular supremacy inherited from the institutions of the Byzantine Empire.

In Hungary the creation of the modern state in 1867 gave this fundamental historical fact a double emphasis. The university, now moulded after the German pattern, was placed under the State Ministry of Culture and Religion. However, its internal autonomy was guaranteed. Professors and lecturers, who were nominated by the faculty and appointed by the Ministry of Culture and Religion, were not prescribed by what they should or should not teach. The spirit of academic freedom was as indigenous to the university as the admirable Hungarian peasant is to the soil of the great Hungarian plain.

Despite the periods of political oppression which followed the failure of the 1848 revolution, the bankruptcy of the 1867 political compromise with Austria and the First World War, the university was steadfast in protecting its autonomy and academic freedom. Hungarian scholarship was of a high calibre, known the world over, and as it grew in stature the independence of the university became more entrenched. From 1920 to 1940 Hungary's best ambassadors of good will were her university scholars.

As long ago as 1920 the state in Hungary controlled a considerable part of the country's industrial economy and social services. This growing industrial and social complex required a well-trained civil service. A substantial number of posts required state certificates which could be granted only by the universities, consequently the influence of the universities spread beyond the traditional intelligentsia and academic classes.

The university emerged from the war with its autonomy comparatively intact. The majority of professors and lecturers had waged a spiritual resistance against the infiltration of the university by Nazi ideals. While some of the faculty members professed pro-Nazi feeling others joined a united front against Nazism. Scholars such

as Szekfű, an eminent Hungarian historian, openly opposed the Nazis. After the liberation in 1945 these men became the universities' new leaders.

There now began a period of intensive academic work in the universities. Scholars dismissed by the conservative governments and the short-lived Nazi regime of 1944-45 were re-appointed to their posts. A few brilliant communist ideologists such as George Lukács were also appointed. The universities now gave special facilities for study to students of the working and peasant classes, and courses of instruction aimed at preparing them for university work were arranged. The universities themselves were taking steps to provide higher education for the worker and peasant students.

This work continued to flourish undisturbed for four years. An indication of what was to come was given by one of the Communist Party's leading ideologists, Joseph Rívai, in an article in *Szabad Nép* of 17 September 1948. After admitting that the numbers of university students of worker, and especially peasant, backgrounds had increased since the end of the war three years before, Rívai said:

The disproportion between the political power of the workers and their participation in school is intolerable! We must finish with it. . . . Those changes which have taken place in the political and economic spheres must be reflected in the social composition of the pupils of the high schools and universities. We want to enforce class points of view in our cultural policy by establishing rules of matriculation in the universities.

By July 1949, sweeping changes had been made in the system of university admission and scholarships; see *Szabad Nép* of 1 July 1949. The government decrees that followed from 1950 onwards (see Part I, Section B) broke the bond the Hungarian universities had with the past — their academic freedom and autonomy.

PART I - 1950 TO OCTOBER 1956

Section A - The Hungarian University and the State

As was pointed out in the introduction to this report, the universities in Hungary have long held an important place in society, and followed the German tradition of a high degree of autonomy and independence. In September 1956, there were universities or colleges situated in the following cities: Budapest, Miskolc, Szeged, Veszprém, Sopron, Debrecen, Pécs and Eger.

Since the war there has been a tremendous growth in the numbers of students following courses at these universities, reaching a total of approximately 45,000 in 1956. In the year 1954-55, 84 per cent of the students were in receipt of scholarships.

The position of the universities in relation to the state stems from statutes of the Minister for Culture and Religion in which the state lays down, in the most minute detail, the workings of the university, not only in administrative fields, but also in normal academic matters and details of academic discipline. A study of these statutes and other regulations and decrees issued by the Minister shows that there was no university autonomy or freedom existing in Hungary. The state interfered at will in all university academic and administrative matters.

Statute No. 1400 — 77/1950 (XII — 19) V.K.M. states:

Article 1:

1 In every faculty of the universities of arts and sciences and of the technical universities there is a Deanery which acts under the guidance of a Dean or deputy Dean.

2 The Deanery is divided into the following sections:

- a study section
- b section for staff matters
- c economical section

Article 2:

The study section helps the Dean and the faculty in providing well-trained students faithful to our People's Republic with a thorough Marxist-Leninist knowledge in order that graduates will build socialism with enthusiasm.

The following articles then enumerate the various duties of the study section to fulfil this objective, such as:

Article 3, para. j:

It organises the ideological and Russian education and secures the technical preconditions for this work (classrooms, library, etc.).

Article 4, para. 1a:

Registers the undergraduates as far as their study and political development are concerned.

Article 4, para. 2:

In fulfilling its activity regarding the above enumerated duties the study section is in close connection with the DISZ. (For the nature of DISZ see Part I, Section D).

These articles also lay down in detail the duties of this section with regard to every possible facet of university student life, economic, academic and social. Other articles deal in the same way with staff matters and matters of finance of the Deanery.

Statute No. 1400-65 — 11/1951 (II-18) V.K.M. lays down the general rules of the universities and colleges relating to the studies, discipline and examinations at the universities and colleges.

Again, this lays down in great detail all matters relevant to the conduct in the universities. For example, Chapter 2:

Article 3:

The lectures — with the exception of evening classes — have to start at 8 a.m. The length of the teaching hour, taking local circumstances into consideration — 45 to 50 minutes.

Article 6:

The curriculum of studies and the theme (tematology) of the compulsory lectures are to be approved by the competent minister. Lectures which are not compulsory but serve the deepening of the scholarly disposition of the undergraduates should be approved by the competent minister following the proposition of the Head of the special study in question and after the opinion of the Dean has been heard.

Chapter 4 of this statute deals with the life and conduct of the undergraduates, for example Article 3 states:

The undergraduate must behave at the university and in his private life in accordance with the socialist ethics.

Chapter 5 lays down the details of examinations, the methods, the type, oral or written, and even the method of marking.

Chapter 6 enforces two of the things that were the subject of violent objections at the time of the students' demands in October 1956 (see Part II, Section D):

At the end of the studies a state examination has to be passed in Marxism-Leninism, on the general knowledge of the subject (one or more examinations), and in the Russian language.

Other chapters deal with such matters as the form of the diploma awarded, absenteeism, and disciplinary matters. (With regard to this last, see Part I, Section C).

The fact that the system of state interference in the freedom of the universities existed to an excessive degree is proved by statements made by Hungarian ministers themselves.

Magyar Távirati Iroda reported on 29 September 1956 a statement of Albert Konya, Minister of Education, who said:

The leaders of the universities must be given wider powers. It would be cor-

rect for the Ministry of Education to lay down only examination requirements and to leave the universities to work out their own curricula.

In the same broadcast there was an interview with Istvan Soeter, Deputy Minister of Education, who said:

Universities must clearly enjoy autonomy on the principal subjects of education and instruction. There must be more independence for the universities as regards the direction of scientific work, the management of their own economic, social and student affairs, and in other matters. The present excessively restricted system must definitely be relaxed.

How this relaxation was achieved, and how brief was its life, are shown in later sections in this report.

Section B - University courses and methods of study

During the period 1950 to March 1956, study in the university was closely confined by the obligatory nature of several subjects, the content of courses of study and the method of instruction.

Marxism-Leninism and Russian According to Statute No. 1400-65 — 11/1951 (11-18) V.K.M.:

The aim of higher education is that such excellently trained specialists should leave the universities who, furnished thoroughly with Marxist-Leninist knowledge, are faithful to our People's Republic, and who build up socialism with enthusiasm and are always ready for the defence of the country.

Article 21 of the same statute says:

At the end of the course a state examination has to be passed on Marxism-Leninism, on the general knowledge of the subject and... the Russian language.

The number of hours devoted to the instruction of these obligatory courses, the attendance of which was compulsory, varied from faculty to faculty. Usually four hours were devoted to Marxism-Leninism and two to Russian. (See Appendix B1.)

National defence Home defence formed a third compulsory subject of university instruction. One of the demands most often put forward by the students in October 1956 was the abolition of home defence from the curriculum. Women students also were obliged to study the subject (see Part II, Section D). Three hours a week were devoted to its instruction. (See Appendix B1.)

Content of courses of study "Ideological tenets," said Mr Endre Szekely in *Koznevelis* of 1 January 1956, "cannot be separated from the teaching material itself." In another article in *Koznevelis* of February 1956, Mr Szekely drew attention to the importance of contents and methods of training and educational work in the "communist ideological-political education". A frequent subject of editorial comment in *Szabad Nép* of these years was what it called the failure of the teachers and professors to relate "ideological and political education to the subject matter of the university curricula" (Budapest Radio, 10 July 1954).

The biggest trouble, thought Mr Ferenc Vadasz, Head of Department, Ministry of Culture, in an article in *Köznevelés* of 1 May 1957, was that:

teachers are afraid to adopt a political attitude and instead adopt an idle attitude of expertancy. We are well aware of the fact that often it constitutes a task exceeding their strength to approach the excited young people with a political firmness in the teaching of their subjects.

Method of instruction Mr. Szekely in *Társadalmi Szemle* of February 1956 underlined the importance of acquainting pedagogues with "the pedagogical teachings of the Marxist-Leninist classics". The March Resolution had "directed their attention to the close relations between education and socialist thinking". It prescribed that curricula and text books were to radiate Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The close government supervision of teaching methods can be seen in Statute No. 1400-65 — 11/1951, where certain rules are laid down regarding the activities of professors (see Appendix B2). In addition, the Hungarian Workers Party took great interest in the content of courses and methods of instruction at the universities.

The new term raises the problem of how to improve the ideological-political education of our university youth, in which field a serious lagging behind has been noticeable in the past years.

The pernicious effect of the rightist views made itself strongly felt at the high schools. Among other things it was maintained that ideological indoctrination can be neglected, professional training alone being necessary.

In many places the raising of the standard of study was carried out in such a way that it conflicted with the targets of class policy set by the party. (See Appendix B3.)

Section C - Discrimination, admissions, expulsions

By the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic of 20 August 1949: "The Hungarian Republic ensures the right to education for every worker." (Article 48.) This right is ensured "by means of an extension to all of educational facilities". Thus nominally every Hungarian has the right to secure an education proportionate to his ability.

Many instances where admission has been denied once, twice and even three times during the period 1950 to 1956, on grounds other than those of academic merit, have been cited to the Research and Information Commission. One of the most outstanding examples of a brilliant man being denied permission to enter university is attached to this section as Appendix C1. Having gained distinction in all of his 13 subjects in secondary school, he submitted his *Matura* to the Ministry of Education for admission to the University of Budapest. The Ministry's reply reads: "On the basis of the resolution of the Faculty meeting of 24 November 1948, Mr Marghescu Sándor's application for enrolment is rejected." All of the three reasons printed on the form were crossed out. No reason was given.

Admission to the universities was by law determined by social origin, and has been since 1949 (*Szabad Nép* of 1 July 1949). Section II of Decree No. 1. 011/5 —

12/1950 (VII) on tuition fees in art colleges, illustrates the process of selection of university students:

The child of a worker or a working peasant shall be admitted during the first year of his studies free of tuition fees regardless of his academic accomplishments or economic standing.

Section III of Decree No. 1 270-10/1950 (X-4) V.K.M.:

From the point of view of social origin, the pupils fall into the following categories:

- a Children of workers, artisan helpers, and members of a productive cooperative
- b Children of working peasants... the manual workers of the service... and public employes.
- c Children of working peasants... employed intellectuals... and the children of janitors.

Reaction to this system of admission aroused opposition. Mr. Ferenc Vadasz, writing in *Koznevelis* of 1 May 1956, cites the case of a girl who

applied for admission to the secondary school of Bekes. She is a good pupil and an excellent pioneer. The general school supported her application. Her father is a much respected cowherd in the local cooperative farm. But the "origin of the pupil is class-alien because of her grandfather's conduct". The secondary school is sorry but such a little girl cannot be admitted.

It is, however, significant that the criticisms in this article are not levelled at the principles underlying such a method of selection, but at the fact that the system is not working properly.

This attitude is stated specifically at times, for example in *Népszava* of 25 August 1956:

In the faculty of law a great many youths of worker and peasant origin have been admitted, having only 13 to 14 good points, while masses of youths with 20 and more points were refused. This was done under the pretext that special care is needed in the faculty of law where the majority of students are trained for important state posts and therefore it is important to ensure an adequate proportion of students of worker and peasant origin. The principle in itself is perfectly correct. It is wrong, however, to urge the enrolment of worker and peasant youth with a poor knowledge on the basis of this principle.

That the leaders themselves realised that the situation was not as it should be is shown by the following quotation, made by Albert Konya, Minister of Education in *Szabad Ifjuság* of 28 August 1956:

Talking of the matriculations of this year, Comrade Konya said that out of 16,000 applicants 5500 were admitted. This cannot be called satisfactory, we ought to think of making the secondary school certificate a prerequisite for the attaining of certain posts. In order to make admissions more lawful and more democratic we must come gradually to a phase when students of intellectual descent are judged at the same level as those of peasant or worker descent. A directive concerning this matter will be issued by the Ministry of Public Education by February.

To the question "what will happen with the rehabilitation of the university students who were wantonly expelled?" the Deputy Minister said that each of the cases will be re-examined immediately after its presentation.

That this discrimination of a social nature was recognised as being harmful to the educational system as a whole is clear from statements during the course of the summer of 1956, and there were indications of an easing of the situation.

The principle to be followed in future is that applicants with "excellent" and "good" marks must be admitted irrespective of whether they are of intellectual origin or not. (*Szabad Ifjúság* of 21 August 1956.)

Undoubtedly the increasing pressure for the relaxation of this discrimination began to have some effect, at least on the surface.

We shall do our best to cut out favouritism in enrolments. There is no doubt of the fact that it still prevails. (*Szabad Ifjúság* of 29 September 1956.)

In addition to the discrimination practised in the admission of students to the universities a system of constant watch was kept upon the behaviour, attitudes and activities of those who were able to obtain entrance. The results of these observations were kept in personal files, and the remarks in these personal files range from mention of the student's hobbies to his political possibilities or otherwise. Three examples of these personal files are contained in Appendix C 2.

As well as maintaining this very close watch upon the students other devices were used to ensure that the "wrong" kind of student did not remain long at the university. As an example we find the following statement in *Társadalmi Szemle* of September 1955:

Ideological debates have been started and a movement is afoot to expel students who are openly hostile to our peoples' democracy. (See Appendix B 3.)

During the period of some relaxation, September 1956 to January 1957, admissions of the evil results of these discriminatory practices were made, as were also promises of rehabilitation.

In the course of rehabilitation in universities there have been 40 students taken back, who through excessive charges were shut out of the universities. (*Szabad Ifjúság* of 29 September 1956).

Section D - Student organisations and activities

Dolgozó Ifjúság Szövetsége During the period dealt with in this section of the report there was no separate student organisation in Hungary; students were members of the overall youth organisation *Dolgozó Ifjúság Szövetsége* (DISZ). There was a department of the administration of DISZ which was supposed to attend to specifically student matters, the student section, but there was no separate membership section for students.

The DISZ was a party political organisation, as is shown clearly in its statutes,

Clause 2:

The Union of Working Youth (DISZ) is the reserve of the party and its auxiliary in all aspects of the building of socialism. The DISZ operates under immediate direction of the Hungarian Workers Party; the resolutions of the party are obligatory for the DISZ. According to the principle of regional division, the organisations of the DISZ are directed by the appropriate organs and committees of the party. The Central Committee of the DISZ is directly subordinate to the Central Committee of the party.

and in Clause 3:

The DISZ supports in all its work the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Clause 4 states:

In the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism DISZ develops in the youth an unshakeable faith in the Soviet Union, liberator of our country, whose continual and friendly aid is the gauge of our national independence, of the results we have obtained, and of our peace.

The units forming the DISZ consisted of groups in factories, cooperatives, educational institutions, etc. These units had to hold regular meetings and submit reports to the Central Committee. The DISZ was the only national youth organisation existing in Hungary.

As the only organisation for the students the DISZ exercised certain influences in the administration and control of the universities. For disciplinary and work purposes the students were divided into study groups of 15-30 members. Group leaders were appointed by the Deans upon the proposition of the DISZ. In disciplinary matters in the university the Deans officiated as judges, acting upon a report of a committee "formed with the participation of the DISZ".

Each faculty Deanery was divided into three sections: study section, staff section and economic section. The study section, amongst other normal academic duties, had to "register the undergraduates as far as their study and political development is concerned" and to "deal with affairs relating to the military service of the undergraduates".

In fulfilling these functions the section was "in close connection with the DISZ". (Statute of the Ministry of Religion and Culture No. 1400-77/1950 (XII-19) V.K.M. Article 4.)

Despite the advantages given to it by official party and government support it is clear that DISZ did not obtain the following among the youth, and in particular the students, that was expected.

Particularly important was the role of the DISZ at the universities and colleges... the work of the DISZ at the universities, however, was far from satisfactory, and during the last years a certain amount of regression was noticeable. (Speech by Szakali, first secretary of DISZ Central Committee at the DISZ Congress, 15 June 1955.)

It is clear that dissatisfaction with DISZ grew, and there were strong moves for

more independence of the organisation. On the other hand fears were expressed that this might "weaken the party's role" (*Szabad Nép* of 28 August 1956).

In fact there can be no doubt that far from voicing the feelings and aspirations of the youth and students DISZ did what it could to stifle any such expression. For example, the demands put forward by the students in October 1956 show quite clearly their feelings on questions of curricula, living and studying conditions and academic freedom, (see Part II, Section D), but in all public statements, particularly those at international student meetings, the DISZ gave no hint of the existence of any problems in these fields, e.g. the reports of DISZ delegations to the 1953, 1954 and 1955 Council meetings of the International Union of Students.

Towards the autumn of 1956 the pressure for freedom of expression inside DISZ was growing so strongly that it was proving impossible to quell. A realisation of this was shown at a meeting of DISZ secretaries at universities reported in *Szabad Ifjúság* of 21 August, where Bela Szalai stated that DISZ leaders should arrange "free debates" and that they should not prevent the students from voicing their opinion freely. On 24 August the same paper printed a draft resolution from the meeting dealing with university problems. The resolution points out that colleges need a form of autonomy which is in harmony with the society. In students' hostels the political, pedagogical and economic conditions were inadequate, and necessary reforms should be introduced immediately.

These statements only underline the total inadequacy of the DISZ as an organisation which had claimed for years to speak on behalf of the Hungarian students. Later parts of this report show its reaction to the events of October and November 1956, and the attitude of the students to it when they had the freedom to express their true feelings towards the body that had claimed to represent them for so long.

PART II - OCTOBER 1956 TO MARCH 1957

Section A - Brief historical introduction on the role of the university *

Protests against the stifling of cultural and academic freedom in Hungary were first voiced by some Hungarian writers as early as the autumn of 1955. Despite arrests the protests continued, and were strengthened in the summer of 1956 by the foundation of the Petöfi Club. The club was originally sponsored by the DISZ and was intended mainly as a forum for young communist intellectuals.

On 19 October 1956 the Minister of Education, Albert Konya, announced certain changes as the result of student demands (see Part I, Section D). This announcement was followed by student manifestations in Szeged where more far-reaching demands were made. These events were followed, on 22 October, by student meetings in Budapest where a large number of requests were put forward (see Part II, Section D). On the following day, 23 October, the news of the students' initiative became known throughout the city, and many thousands of people joined the mass demonstration organised by the students. A number of students left the mass meeting and went to the radio station with the intention of having their demands broadcast. A delegation of students entered the radio station, and after a while it was rumoured amongst the large crowd that one of them had been shot by the AVH members guarding the building. Shortly after, the AVH men in the building opened fire, killing a number of people. From this time on fighting broke out in various parts of the city in which the students played a leading part.

The intervention of Soviet forces in strength began the next day, and for five days there was intensive fighting by the Hungarian students, workers, some army units and police against the Soviet forces and the AVH.

On 27 October Imre Nagy formed a new government with participation from various political parties and it was announced that negotiations would commence for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Budapest. In addition it was stated that the AVH was to be disbanded and that free elections were to be held. The cease fire, ordered on 28 October, became effective on 30 October and Soviet armour began to withdraw from the city. However, on 1 November it was clear that additional Soviet units were entering Hungary and the government protested to the Soviet Ambassador. Despite this no satisfactory reply was received and accordingly the Hungarian government stated its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and issued a Declaration of Neutrality. Meanwhile negotiations had been going on for the with-

* For further details see: Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary.

drawal of all Soviet forces. However on 4 November a large scale attack on Budapest began, and at the same time Janos Kadar announced that he had formed a government and had asked for the help of Soviet troops to quell "fascism and reaction". By 11 November fighting had virtually ceased in all districts. This was followed gradually by the dissolution of bodies which had provided a forum for free discussion; the Revolutionary Council of Intellectuals was dissolved on 9 December, the Petöfi Club ceased to function and the Writers' Union was disbanded in April 1957.

As will be seen in the following section of this report, during this period the university community put forward a large number of demands relating both to university and student life, and to the general social and political life of the community as a whole. These demands show clearly the great desire of the students to have the opportunity to study in an atmosphere of academic freedom, with the possibility of developing their cultural aspirations to the full.

Section B - Courses and methods of study

During the period from October 1956 to March 1957 there were considerable variations in the laws, decrees and regulations governing the content and type of courses for universities and other centres of teaching. These variations were the result of pressures from the university community and parents of students on the one hand, and the clear desire of the Kadar government to recover absolute control on the other.

At the beginning of the period, despite the stirrings in the academic and intellectual groups in Hungary (see Part II, Sections A and D) the rigid adherence to the old system was maintained. It had earlier been made quite clear that the principal purpose of teachers' training institutes, for example, was not necessarily to produce the best teachers, but properly politically indoctrinated communists. This is shown quite clearly in a speech by Gyula Bizo in the Union of Teachers and reported in *Köznevelés*, an official educational publication, in its issue of 15 October 1955 (see Appendix B4). However, the mounting demands for greater intellectual freedom (see Part II, Section D), began to have an effect.

On 19 October 1956, the Minister of Education made several important announcements at an extraordinary meeting of university lecturers: examinations would be abolished in the general schools; the question of allowing students to choose freely the subjects of their examinations was being considered; compulsory learning of the Russian language at the universities would cease, students would be allowed to choose themselves which foreign language they would learn; physical training would henceforth be optional; national defence education i.e. compulsory military training at the universities, would be re-examined. The minister also stated that the curriculum of the universities must be drawn up by the universities themselves, and there would also be opportunities for optional attendance at lectures, the present system of supervision of attendance would be abolished. (Budapest Radio 19 October and 20 October 1956)

These concessions, however, came too late, for on the same day, 19 October 1956,

a mass meeting of Budapest technical students was held and a series of demands relating to many aspects of student life were formulated. (See Appendix D1.) Students' meetings in other centres were held during the next few days, their resolutions becoming stronger as time went on. (See Appendices D4 and D7.)

On 3 November the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Education issued a statement (see Appendix B5) broadcast over Radio Kossuth, dealing with courses in schools, in which it can be seen that almost complete freedom of education was intended and the Soviet domination in this field was to end. That this was also to apply to the universities is clear from the statement of the Minister of Education on 19 October.

During the period of fighting, and indeed until the beginning of February 1957, most of the universities remained closed. Nevertheless from time to time statements were made regarding the curriculum at schools and universities. For example on 30 November 1956, Albert Konya, who had regained his position as Minister of Education, declared that:

the autonomy of the universities could no longer remain an empty slogan.

One obstacle in the way of autonomy was the need to assure professors that they would be able freely to express their opinions and scientific views.

In the field of ideological instruction major changes are needed. Instruction in party history has already been abolished. Instruction in economic policy is essential in certain faculties. But it is a debatable point whether this should be done by teaching political economy, or by means of courses in industrial economy and other lectures.

The Minister also announced that "personnel departments" would be abolished in the universities and Marxism-Leninism departments would also cease to exist.

This attitude towards academic freedom and intellectual liberty did not, however, last. As the situation became more and more "stabilised" signs are increasingly evident of a reversion to the pre-revolutionary policy of suppression. Hints were made in announcements and talks, for example on 10 February 1957 on Budapest Radio the separation of religious teaching from schools was advocated; freedom of religious teaching inside the schools had been granted on 3 November (see Appendix B5); and at the same time it was clearly stated that "the basis of education is still the Marxist-Leninist materialist ideology". At about this time it was announced that religious instruction would be limited to those students whose parents had already entered them in such courses at the beginning of the academic year. (*Magyar Közlöny* of 24 March 1957, and UN Report, para. 782, page 136.)

The impression that the Hungarian government was planning to reverse the pledges given at the end of 1956 is further strengthened by the report, in the *London Daily Worker* of 4 February 1957, that the Deputy Health Minister, Istaran Simonovits, told a meeting of medical school professors that the compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism could not be excluded from the sphere of higher education.

At the same time talk of university autonomy and independence was continued, but with no real effect whatsoever. For example, an article on the "independence of the universities" in *Népszabadság* of 23 January 1957 shows to what degree independence is contemplated:

According to several views it is the State that will prescribe in the future at which department teaching should be carried on, determining also the time of studies and the order of exams, as well as the requirements with which the students will have to comply after concluding their studies.

Within this scope it will be the universities that will decide on the number of terms during which the several subjects are to be taught as well as on the number of lectures required, and they will also be responsible for seeing to it that the students reach the required level.

It is clear that during this period a real measure of academic freedom was fought for by the university community and promised by the authorities. The kind of demands made, and the strength with which they were made, indicates clearly the degree of repression that had existed, and the fierceness of the opposition secretly harboured by the entire academic community. It is also clear that the freedom and autonomy promised was not to last, as later sections in this report show.

Section C - Discrimination, arrests, deportations

The upheaval of October and November caused the relaxation or cancellation of many decrees and regulations (see Part II, Section B) that had led to discrimination against students and teachers. At the same time severe dislocation of the educational system due to the closing of the universities and the destruction of many school buildings was caused. Nevertheless there was hope that university life could soon begin on a new basis. This was clearly expressed by Miklos Viragh, Rector of Loránd Eötvös University who said that the "only determining factor" for entry to the universities "should be the results of matriculation and other entry examinations" (Hungarian Home Service, 3 December 1956).

Despite the hope that, as a result of the students' struggle, discrimination and arrests would cease, there can be no doubt that this was not the case. As early as 6 December 1956 the newspaper *Népakarat* felt it necessary to deny that students and professors were being placed under arrest "as a result of the order by the police to seize students and professors for having taken part in the popular movement of 23 October". But the article also shows clearly that the Revolutionary Students' Committee and provisional committees of MEFESZ considered that such arrests had taken place.

That the fears of these students were well founded is shown by a statement of the Minister of Education, Albert Konya, who in an interview in *Magyar Hírszó* of 5 January 1957 stated:

The bulk of the arrested students have been released. For instance, at the University of Veszprém a number of students had been arrested in the first days of Christmas, but all of them have now been released. This of course does not mean that no arrests will be carried out in future for anti-state activity.

On 12 January, as reported in *The Observer*, the entire Revolutionary Students' Committee of Budapest was arrested, except for one, who escaped abroad. Trial dates were fixed for two of the leaders, Istvan Pozsar and Tyoergy Vintze.

Further arrests were reported in *Népszabadság* of 5 February, which tells of the

arrest of seven students and three lecturers during a police raid on the student hostels. Three names were given in the article:

Tibor Beke, a member of the MEFESZ secretariat at the Technical University, who was accused of making and spreading anti-government leaflets; in his quarters a typewriter, leaflets and typing paper were found.

Joszeif Nemes, a member of the provisional committee of MEFESZ was arrested on the same charge.

Istran Kornidesz, a professor's assistant, was charged with being the organiser; a typewriter and stencils were found in his room. (See Appendix C3.)

Evidence from the Hungarian official sources, of many more arrests, has been collected by the International Commission of Jurists and published in their book *The Hungarian Situation and the Rule of Law* (see Appendix C4).

Deportations From a careful study of all available information there can be no doubt that numbers of students were deported from Hungary to the USSR.

From the testimony of witnesses and from other evidence received, the Committee has reached the conclusion that, since 4 November 1956, deportations of Hungarian citizens to the USSR have taken place in considerable numbers, which cannot be accurately assessed, but which run into thousands. The Committee has no proof that more than a part of the deportees has been returned to Hungary. (UN Report, para. 740, page 127.)

On 3 December newspaper correspondents reported that Istran Szirmai, chief of the Hungarian Government Press Department, had admitted:

that there were isolated cases in the first days of chaos after 4 November when the Russian authorities arrested and deported young people; however, when the government was stabilised, it intervened and all persons deported were returned. (UN Report, para. 717, page 123.)

This admission was later denied.

However, reports from many sources showed the conviction that deportations were continuing. In some estimates made to the UN Committee it was stated that about 20 per cent of the deportees were students.

One witness, a professor in Budapest, testified that he and his colleagues had made several efforts to secure the repatriation of a number of students. According to the witness, Lieutenant-Colonel Sidorenko of the Soviet Central Military command at first denied that the Russian authorities had given orders to deport anyone. If such a thing had happened it must have been individual action. The witness then handed him a list of names thrown from a deportation train and also told him of several fourteen and fifteen year-old children who had recently been brought back with heads shaven from Uzgorod and Kolomea in the Soviet Union. Lieutenant-Colonel Sidorenko then admitted that deportations had taken place, but he said that their object was to get the students away from the scene of fighting and that once order had been restored they would be sent home. (UN Report, para. 738, page 126.)

The full story of the arrests and deportations of Hungarian students for political reasons cannot yet be fully told. But the facts, as they are now clearly known, show

that the university community in Hungary faces a situation of repression equalling any that existed during the Rakosi regime.

Section D - Student organisations and activities

For some time, in fact since early summer of 1956 (see Part I, Section D), students have demanded reforms of a system that determined admission to the universities on social and political grounds, overstrained the capacities of both students and teachers, denied choice of study, blocked effective student organisation and offered little opportunity for suitable employment after graduation.

After the party's July Resolution on the intelligentsia, students' demands became comprehensive. The first appeal came from the students of Hess Andreas Hostel of the Budapest Technological University, as reported in *Szabad Ifjúság* of 22 October 1956. The students indicted DISZ for its disregard of problems that have been facing students for years. Of the 15 points, 14 were appeals against the intolerable conditions of university study and lack of suitable employment after graduation (see Appendix D1). The University Council supported the students' demands.

The same issue of *Szabad Ifjúság* reported the students of Pécs University as prepared to take part in the reform of the university system. They also asked that the independence of universities be furthered by a reorganisation of faculty studies and test military training should be modified in order that the general progress of students would not be impeded. The Pécs students declared their solidarity with DISZ. The students regretted that the Minister of Education failed to consider the matter of university admissions.

The rejuvenation of DISZ had been debated ten days before the Technological students met to draw up their 15 points. *Szabad Nép* in its leader of 4 October called for a tightening up of the party organisation at the university, where they could assist the teaching staff "of the chairs of Marxism-Leninism to obtain information on university and political affairs". Concerning the party's important duties in the universities the leader commented that they could not be discharged "without relying on DISZ, which has proved its reliability by consistently representing the policy of the party on the university admission committees". *Szabad Ifjúság* of 11 October reported Ervin Hollas, secretary of the Central Committee of DISZ, as saying that it was "becoming more and more evident that the organisations of the Youth Federation cannot be identical with the party organisations". The editorial comment of the same issue of *Szabad Ifjúság* condemned the anti-democratic election of DISZ leaders. The paper said that the organisation "should elect whom they like by secret ballot" and that the "whole style of work should change".

The Hungarian Home Service reported on 18 October 1956 that the DISZ executives' lengthy statement favoured a more independent atmosphere in the university and that the work of DISZ organisations in the universities must come under review in the students' parliament to meet in November. The DISZ statement, which was summed up in seven points, stated that the "overloading of the university curriculum must end. Students should have the choice of attendance at a number of specialised colleges. The roll call system must be discontinued." (See Appendix D2.)

The demands included optional instruction of languages in universities and that the "teaching of Marxism-Leninism should be in the right proportion to the branch of study being pursued and that lecture hours devoted to it should be reduced". The question of national defence instruction required re-examination. Students should be housed in better hostels and should have better food.

The Hungarian Home Service's report, on 18 October 1956, of the meeting of what was described as the "first students' parliament", included interviews with students, all of whom criticised the system of university admissions, the obligatory course of Russian and the preparation of new text-books.

A report of the Szeged students' meeting on the Hungarian Home Service 19 October 1956 told of the demands for the rehabilitation of two Szeged professors, both of whom "had been removed from their chairs and whom this year's events had proved right".

Reports that thousands of Hungarian students were resigning from DISZ was confirmed by a Hungarian Home Service Report of 21 October 1956 of mass meetings at Szeged, where members of the University Student Council announced their decision after a meeting with the students to form a separate student organisation, *Magyar Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgató Egyesületeinek Szövetsége* (MEFESZ). Criticism was aimed at the inability of DISZ "to protect the specific interests of university students". The council made clear that they would not "hold aloof" from DISZ as there were "no differences between MEFESZ and DISZ either as regards to their objectives or their relations with the party". The objective of MEFESZ was declared to be the protection of university and college students' interests. Within hours of the Szeged announcement the DISZ Central Committee secretary reported his agreement with the MEFESZ programme. Other executive committees of DISZ were similarly disposed. (See Appendix D3.)

The council announced that "the statutes of MEFESZ showed testimony to the students' determination to follow the party's political line in the spirit of the XX Congress and Marxism-Leninism". The majority of the 20 points of the MEFESZ programme concerned the improvement of the students' study and living conditions. From this important event until the Russian intervention of 4 November, students' demands came from universities and colleges throughout Hungary. Nothing can bear better testimony to the restricted framework DISZ provided for effective student organisation than the fact that in order to air these demands new specific student bodies had to be formed by the students.

Szabad Ifjúság of 20 October welcomed the Szeged development, pointing out that the Szeged students had "for some time been demanding university autonomy, less military training and Marxism-Leninism". The paper said that DISZ's slowness to act had given birth to a new organisation.

From 22 October onwards the demands of students assumed national character. The meeting of Budapest architectural students (Hungarian Home Service 22 October 1956) produced a draft resolution of which the first part dealt with the economic and political situation. The remainder consisted of demands for university autonomy, optional language courses and other university problems and tasks. The students seceded from DISZ by a sweeping majority. The same broadcast reported

the 22 demands of the Budapest University of Economics. These too included criticisms of national policies. There appeared on the evening of 22 October the famous *Topolino Points* (see Appendix D 4) drawn up by the students of the Building of Technological University of Budapest. Only one of the ten demands stemmed from university conditions of study and students' activities.

The same day the DISZ members of the University of Medical Science in Budapest issued an appeal consisting of seven points. Several demanded modifications and reforms of aspects of university study and student activities. The medical students appealed particularly for the unity and "mass basis of youth" (see Appendix D 5).

Debates continued in hostels and university rooms throughout the afternoon and evening of 22 October. Two groups, the general meetings of students of the University of Architecture and the Budapest University of Technology, issued early on the morning of 23 October a joint resolution calling the students of the two universities to join in a silent demonstration which would proceed to the Bem monument where "the students shall form a circle around the statue, then lay the wreath and sing the National Anthem". After marching to another square in the city, "the demonstration will come to its end". (See Appendix D 6.) The councils of both universities addressed a joint appeal extending full support to the students (see Appendix D 6). The councils cautioned the students not to join in "loud demonstration and rioting".

The DISZ Central Committee at its meeting in the afternoon of the scheduled demonstration expressed its approval of the demonstration (Budapest Radio 23 October 1956). The meeting convened in order for the committee members to join the march.

Meanwhile the new MEFESZ organisation in Budapest issued its 14 point resolution. It stated that the organisation would "give expression to the students' opinion as regards the grave political questions as well as find a solution to a number of student problems so far unsolved". (See Appendix D 7.)

MEFESZ emerged from the final Russian intervention with its autonomy still intact and on 30 November issued a nine point statement (Hungarian Telegraph Agency 30 November 1956). The organisation adhered "without any change to the demands concerning university tuition, for instance, the autonomy of universities and the abolition of the system of attendance". It demanded "...that students and teaching staff still under arrest shall be immediately examined with strict fairness and that they shall be released". Other demands included a guarantee that the work of the MEFESZ committee continue unhindered, an end to compulsory instruction in Marxism-Leninism, and an opportunity to study Western languages and literature. *Eti Hírnap* of 6 January reported MEFESZ's loyalty to the ideals of the 23 October resolution. *Népszabadság* of 2 February reports a minister of the Kadar Government telling a meeting of professors that "the students' demand for an end to the compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism could not be met". After this time demands ceased and with the arrest of MEFESZ leaders, the organisation was considered to "have no real influence" (*Népszabadság* of 11 April 1957).

It is clear that students' demands during the period embraced long-standing grievances in the study, life and student organisations of the universities, and that they became increasingly concerned with the larger economic and political problems

facing the nation after the Gerö-Hegedüs government failed to recognise their problems. It is also clear that the demands ceased, not because they were satisfied but because the MEFESZ leaders were gradually arrested and the organisation made impotent (see Part II, Section C).

PART III - RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

On the basis of recent and up-to-date official pronouncements of the Hungarian government, this report concludes with a survey of the situation of Hungarian students from March to August, 1957.

The beginning of March is a good dividing line for a new period in the life of the Hungarian students. Between November and March 1957 the government concentrated on the control of the industrial and political field, leaving the cultural and intellectual life comparatively alone for the time being. This policy took a radical turn after March and we see a tightening of government and party rule over the cultural life of the country and especially over the university.

A supplement of *Koznevelis* of 15 May praises the lecture given by Gyula Kolloi, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party:

In January — February 1957 the schools became one of the main fronts in the fight between the forces of the revolution and of the counter-revolution. In those days the Ministry of Education committed several serious mistakes. Yielding to the storming of the schools by counter-revolution, it issued many incorrect and contradictory orders in connection with religious instruction and its liberal attitude in the course of a series of attacks that destroyed order was detrimental.

In place of this relatively liberal and hesitating attitude we find now the leading role of the party and government in the cultural life categorically reasserted.

The resolution of the National Conference of the party is published in *Népszabadság* of 30 June 1957. The resolution deals with the ideological policy of the party and with the "aim of winning again the petty bourgeois and intellectual strata". The conference decided to establish the various types of party schools and

to suggest to the state organs to make the teaching of Marxism-Leninism again obligatory at the universities and colleges, and thereby to ensure the education of the whole young Hungarian generation in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The resolution regarded the main aim of the counter-revolution to be the denial of the leading role of the party. The counter-revolutionaries, the resolution states,

spread on a large scale the revisionist view that in the atomic age the leading force is not the proletariat but the intelligentsia.

The denial of the leading role of the workers' class, however, means the denial of the proletarian dictatorship.

An earlier resolution of the Provisional Central Committee of the party, printed in *Népszabadság* of 17 March 1957, states that

the enemy tried to disintegrate DISZ because they saw in it rightly the trustee of the party's youth policy. By smashing the DISZ they wanted to obstruct communist leadership in the ranks of the youth.

Now we shall have to create a youth organisation which makes use of the experiences of the DISZ and of other Hungarian youth organisations, but which does not commit their faults.

These faults are not the frustration of students' demands and aspirations - whenever in the documents the faults are mentioned they refer to the mistakes that made the revolt of the people against the party and government possible.

The hostile elements that attacked the people's power to overthrow it did not attack the DISZ because it had committed faults. Such faults only arouse the joy of the enemy. (Same resolution.)

The Provisional Central Committee of the party in the above-quoted resolution of 17 March declares that this new youth federation is the *Kommunista Ifjúsági Szövetség* (KISZ):

The youth federation of the party of the communists. The resolutions of the party are binding on the organisations of the KISZ.

The National Party Conference of 30 June confirmed the proposal of the Central Committee on the formation of KISZ. This party conference states that:

our work is the following: to strengthen the military positions of the party, also in the fields of science and culture and to continue fighting for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Thus in the field of student organisations it is found that a new body on the pattern of DISZ is set up and so the aim and aspiration of the students to have their own independent specific student bodies is destroyed again. "The future leads to ideological unity, and the organisation of Hungarian youth by KISZ" (*Népszabadság*).

At the inaugural meeting of KISZ, broadcast by Radio Budapest on 21 March 1957, the head of KISZ National organising committee, Zoltan Konocsin, spoke thus:

Comrades, in recent months it has become the custom on the part of various organs and organisations including youth organisations to repeat "We are an organisation independent of the party". We, however, start by declaring: "We are not independent of the party." Every member of our union regards the resolutions of the party as fully binding.

The Hungarian Home Service on 10 April 1957 broadcast the speech of Ferenc Varnai, member of the KISZ organising committee. Discussing relations between KISZ and MEFESZ he said that cooperation between them must be close. Young communists must conduct "lively political activity" within MEFESZ organisations. To rectify the mistakes committed by DISZ, KISZ would pay more attention to university youth's special problems. KISZ would set up a university council to deal with questions concerning university students. The following day *Népszabadság* printed Varnai's speech. It stated that MEFESZ was losing influence, but where both MEFESZ and KISZ existed, their relationship was a general problem in the universities.

Comrade Konocsin stated in an interview in *Magyar Ifjúság* of 1 June 1957, that

until 25 May about 3500 cells of KISZ with more than 80,000 members were set up all over the country. He mentioned two things which had a curbing effect on the development of KISZ. One was the:

false view according to which the counter-revolutionary attack as well as the revisionist poison has confused our youth so much that for some time to come it has lost interest in politics and therefore we must approach them rather by means of entertainment and not by discussing politics.

The other point he mentioned was sectarian isolation of KISZ from the masses. Official pronouncements continually refer to the cynicism and nihilism of the youth as a result of the events of October 1956. An interesting statement on the attitude of intellectuals and also on the implicit pressure of authority and force is made by Gyula Kolloi, secretary of the Central Committee of the party, printed in a supplement to *Koznevelis* of 19 May 1957:

The largest group of teachers is composed of educators who keep aloof from any kind of political declaration. A part of those who show loyalty do so because they recognise force relations. Political work among them is extremely difficult due to the fact that they do not clearly define their political attitude, because they carefully avoid all political allusions in their speech, and if they must express one at all costs, they take the official one without, however, feeling any sincere conviction.

Another statement, most significant in indicating the circumstances of students in Hungary, deserves to be quoted at length. It comes from an article entitled: "The KISZ membership-book cannot be a Letter of Recommendation to the University", in *Magyar Ifjúság* of 8 June 1957, written by Csaba Kemeny:

Recently many schoolboys have raised the question: what is the connection between the KISZ membership of secondary pupils and admission to the universities? Many, while raising this question, acted immediately. All over the country suddenly the secondary school KISZ organisations began to grow. When in a number of schools the applications for membership have been studied, it has turned out that 80 to 90 per cent are fourth-year pupils. It is impossible not to see the connection between the fourth-year pupils storming the KISZ and the correct resolution of the Ministry of Education that provides for a representative of the KISZ to be present in the committee deciding on the enrolment of secondary school pupils and in the committee deciding on admissions to the universities.

Is the numerical growth of the KISZ by such means a healthy one? Obviously not. The best thing is, of course, if at the membership meetings fourth-year secondary pupils who ask for admission only because they wish to facilitate their university admissions that way, are not accepted at all.

Is it true that only KISZ members can get into the universities? Our frank and honest answer is: It is not true. A further question is: Political viewpoints are not considered at all in admitting youths to universities? This, too, requires a straight-forward answer. It is necessary that also political viewpoints should be considered. The main consideration is, however, knowledge, talent and a good report from the secondary school. In the absence of these nobody can be admitted to the universities however much he is a KISZ member.

But also political reliability is an important consideration. We demand that no secondary pupils should be allowed to study at the universities, who either consciously or because they were misled took an active part in the counter-revolutionary events, in organising demonstrations, in the armed fights and after 4 November in anti-party and anti-state actions. Our wish is that primarily young people of worker-peasant origin should study in the universities, who are talented and learn well and in addition carried on an active political fight, and still do so, against the counter-revolution and for strengthening the KISZ.

Besides the failure of the Hungarian students to secure their aspirations and demands for an independent student body that would represent their points of view without bias, all the other demands were refused and frustrated.

Budapest Radio broadcast on 3 February 1957 that Comrade Simonovits, a minister of the Kadar government, told a meeting of university professors that the students' demands for an end to the compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism could not be met. This, of course, follows naturally from the resolution of the party conference discussed above. On 30 July the Ministry of Education announced that the teaching of Russian would again be compulsory in all Hungarian schools in the autumn. The only concession made was that beside Russian another modern language should be taught at schools, free of charge. Many measures had been taken to raise the standard of teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Gyula Kolloi, in his earlier quoted lecture, states:

What does freedom of teaching mean to the teachers? It does not mean at all that the teacher of literature can decide himself with which writer he wishes to deal and how much time he wishes to devote to certain writers, as voiced at the meeting of the Petöfi Circle. Nor can it mean that by referring to the deficiencies of various text-books teachers simply discard the text-books.

There, however, life raises a great problem, a contradiction awaiting solution, in the present stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. The curricula and the text-books are based on Marxism-Leninism, while at the same time the majority of the teachers have not yet adopted the outlook on life of scientific materialism.

Koznevelis of 15 March 1957 devotes an article to the text-book publishing for 1957. The original plan of the Ministry was to introduce new text-books in 1958, but it became evident to the Ministry that the old books could not be used even until that date and so it has speeded up the rewriting of text-books.

Laszlo Jolesc in *Koznevelis* of 9 June 1957 discusses the principles guiding the rewriting of text-books in the field of literature. The changes are not towards meeting the students' demands of academic freedom, but towards more effective political indoctrination. "It is unnecessary to discuss the question whether schools can be free from politics or not, because they cannot be."

Bela Kopecsi discusses the problems of book publishing in *Magyarország* of 27 March 1957:

It is no secret to anyone that for years we neglected the publishing of Western literature that is progressive, but not socialist, in content.

He regarded this neglect as being harmful, for two reasons:

Readers were only much too eager to get hold of older editions since books by Hemingway or Steinbeck had the extra attraction of "forbidden pleasures".

By not publishing these books, we prevented our reading public, but mainly our youth, from getting a realistic picture of contemporary capitalist society.

Nobody denies that after 4 November the implementation of this correct principle was also accompanied by unsound symptoms. There started a rivalry among the publishers to publish certain works of Hemingway, Faulkner, Maugham, not to speak of Walt Disney. The Board of Publishers has put an end to this "free competition", has coordinated the plans of publishers and restricted the publication of Western literature to adequate proportions. One cannot draw the general conclusion from all this that our publishers do not publish the works of foreign socialist writers.

No further comment is necessary on these recent reactions to the upsurge of feeling for freedom in the universities. It is appropriate to close this report with a quotation from Zoltan Nagy, printed in *Eszakmagyarország* of 10 February 1957:

Many university students do not agree with the government's "Iron fist" policy. Also in the West much is being said about the red terror raging here. Well, let them speak and on our part let us have a look at the facts! As to the policy of "iron fist", this is true. And it could not be otherwise. Comrade Mao Tung has said somewhere in this connection that if a scythe is bent, it has to be straightened. And in order to prevent it from bending back, it must be bent a little bit in excess in the other direction. It is true, nobody likes it — neither the university students, nor the workers, nor the government. But could it be otherwise?

CONCLUSIONS

The Research and Information Commission finds:

- 1 that in Hungary there existed, prior to October 1956, a total suppression of academic freedom. The universities were subject to the interference and dictation of the state in all levels of their activities, social, administrative and academic;
- 2 that discrimination of a political nature existed in determining scholarships, examination results, and in obtaining entry to universities. That students were expelled for political reasons, and without regard to their academic abilities;
- 3 that freedom of association of the students was impossible, and that the organisation nominally representing the students in no way served their interests. That this organisation, the DISZ, failed to satisfy the needs of the students, and in fact misrepresented the living and studying conditions in Hungary;
- 4 that in October 1956 the students took the lead in attempting to obtain academic freedom and intellectual liberty. That they expressed their desire for properly autonomous universities where their natural culture could be taught without foreign domination;
- 5 that the students showed clearly their complete and utter dissatisfaction with the DISZ as being unrepresentative, as having failed to support their just desires for freedom of study, and as having proved to be totally ineffective for the purposes of student cooperation. That the students themselves set up and attempted to organise a body independent of the general youth movement, which would serve the students and devote its energies to their welfare;
- 6 that all these latter manifestations show the intense desire of the Hungarian university community to pursue its education in an atmosphere of freedom, devoid of external state and foreign domination, and to develop in independent and free institutions their national culture and learning;
- 7 that the governments in Hungary went some way towards the relaxation of external control that the students had demanded, such as the abolition of compulsory courses of Marxism-Leninism and Russian. That statements were made indicating that at least some degree of autonomy in their own affairs would be granted to the universities.

The Commission finds further:

- 8 that since the early months of 1957 the promise of such relaxations and the possibility of academic freedom has not been fulfilled;
- 9 that despite the tremendous efforts of the students to obtain the independence of thought and teaching necessary to proper university education the situation in Hungarian universities has reverted to a situation as bad as that existing before October 1956;
- 10 that state and foreign influence is now again paramount in the universities, and that the efforts of the students to follow their national heritage in educational matters have been suppressed;
- 11 that the attempts of the students to maintain their own student organisation, the MEFESZ, are being negated, and that the new youth organisation, the KISZ, is in no better position to represent the students' interest than was its predecessor the DISZ;
- 12 that students and university professors are being arrested and persecuted for political reasons, and that many students are being held unjustly in prison. That discrimination is once more operating in the universities of Hungary.

APPENDICES

Appendix B 1

Student Index Cards:

Subject	Lecturer	No of lectures		Examinations		I. Term	II. Term	
		I	II	I	II	Result	Result	
Physics	Dr.	6	6	oral	written	First class	First class	
Chemistry	Dr.	10	10	oral	written	First class	Second class	
Anatomy	Dr.	6	6	oral	oral	Third class	Second class	
Marxism- Leninism	Dr.	4	4	oral	oral	Fourth class	Third class	
Biology	Dr.	5	5	oral	written	Second class	First class	
Military studies		3	3	oral	oral	Passed	Second class	
Attendance and examinations							satisfied	
(Signed)								

Subject	Lecturer	No of lectures		Examinations		I. Term	II. Term	
		I	II	I	II	Result	Result	
Biology	Dr.	8	8			Passed	Second class	
Anatomy	Dr.	6	6			Passed	First class	
Histology								
Embryology	Dr.	6	6			Passed	Second class	
Biochemistry	Dr.	8	—	written		First class		
Microbiology	Dr.	—	4				Passed	
Marxism- Leninism		4	4			Passed	} Failed Third class	
Russian		2	2			Second class		Second class
Military studies		3	3			Passed	Second class	
Attendance and examinations							satisfied.	
(Not signed)								

Appendix B 2

Extract from the Statute of the Ministry of Religion and Culture, the Ministry for Agriculture and the Ministry for Health, No. 1.400—65 — 11/1951 (II-18) V.K.M. about the general rules of the universities and colleges relating to the studies, discipline and examinations at the universities and colleges:

Article 6

1 Lectures can be held by the professors of the universities and colleges, and as "invited professors" either by such specialists or by other members of the teaching staff who, upon the suggestion of the Dean, are invited by the Rector or by the Director of the college. Such invitation can be cancelled during the academic year, if it is necessary. The Head of the Chair can appoint other members of the auxiliary teaching staff for casual teaching, but if the Head of the Chair wants to appoint a member of the teaching staff for a period of more than two weeks of teaching, then he must obtain the agreement of the Dean to it.

2 The curriculum of studies and the themes of the compulsory lectures are to be approved by the competent Minister. Lectures, called special *collegiums*, which are not compulsory but serve the deepening of the scholarly interest of the undergraduates, should be approved by the competent Minister after the proposition of the Head of the Chair of the special study in question and after the opinion of the Dean has been heard.

3 The seminars, which serve the deepening of the interest towards the compulsory subjects, have to be held in smaller groups of undergraduates; they should consist of about 20 to 30 undergraduates, in order to make possible the individual dealing with the pupils. By appointment given by the Head of the Chair, seminars can be conducted by members of the teaching staff or by the agreement of the Dean, by outside experts or by undergraduates of higher year classes. The subject matter of the seminars should fall into line with the subject matter of the lectures. The Head of the Chair is responsible for the standard of tuition and for the result of the seminars.

Appendix B 3

Extract from leading article in *Társadalmi Szemle* of September 1955: The tasks of our universities in the new academic year.

The new term raises the problem of how to improve the ideological-political education of our university youth, in which field a serious lagging behind has been noticeable in the past years. After the year of change the whole of our higher education had to be radically re-adjusted. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism had to be enforced. Expert-cadres had to be trained in masses, the social composition of the students had to be improved and so forth. While these tasks were being accomplished, the issue of raising the standard of studies was relegated into the background. It was correct, therefore, that the Third Party Congress and the February 1954 Resolution of the Central Committee relating to public education laid the greatest possible emphasis on the importance of this issue. Thanks to the new spirit the defeatist view has been liquidated, it maintained that "The university student really does a favour to the people's democracy by making the "sacrifice" of studying and for this self-sacrifice he deserves a scholarship, regarded as a salary, even if he

does not learn at all". The new scholarship system has consolidated discipline by making the students "financially interested" in the results achieved.

The pernicious effect of the rightist views made itself strongly felt at the high schools. Among other things it was maintained that ideological indoctrination can be neglected, professional training alone being necessary. The raising of the level of studies was used as a pretext for launching an attack on Marxist-Leninist indoctrination and on Russian language courses. It was claimed that the study of these subjects hinders university youth from devoting all their energies to the study of scientific subjects. Our whole higher education system was attacked and this was coupled with the glorification of the Hungarian universities of the Horthyite-capitalistic regime. In many places the raising of the standard of studies was carried out in a way that it conflicted with the targets of class-policy set by the party. This entailed, particularly at the technological universities, an increase in the number of students who failed to pass their examinations and as a result more and more students, especially of worker-peasant origin, gave up their studies. Rightist deviation also became manifest in university appointments, as often only professional proficiency was taken into consideration and political aspects were neglected.

But the rightist views could spread, mainly for the reason that the ideological-political education of our youth is unsatisfactory and the ideological-political development of the teachers slow, hence neither teachers nor students were well-equipped to fight against these views and trends. The DISZ, the Party and State organs took up a liberal attitude. Now the March Resolution has had its beneficial effect also upon our universities. The party organisation launched an attack on rightist views. The activity and self-assurance of the students of worker-peasant origin have grown. Ideological debates have been started and a movement is afoot to expel students who are openly hostile to our people's democracy. 65 per cent of the newly-enrolled students are of worker-peasant origin as against 56 per cent of last year. On the whole a political progress is noticeable at the universities. Self-complacency, however, would be a grave mistake. No doubt, the political ideological fight in the new academic year has to be enhanced. Leaders, professors, teachers, must realise that their task does not cover only training of new intelligentsia coming from the people, but also the training of a new type, socialist intelligentsia. The formation of a new intelligentsia and the social development of the bulk of the old intelligentsia are two processes complementing each other which must eventually lead to the merging of the two layers.

Appendix B 4

Extract from article in *Koznetelis* of 15 October 1955 by Gyula Bizo: Political indoctrination in institutes for training of teachers.

We must turn the training institutes for kindergarten teachers and schoolmasters into a workshop of communist pedagogy. We are all perfectly aware of the fact that our only aim is to educate communist men and women. From this it is clear that political indoctrination is not a part of educational work but constitutes its supreme target. The importance of theoretical education has been stressed time and again by our Party. There is, of course, no doubt that considerable successes have been attained in this field. However, if during a psychology class a pupil gives — as has happened — as an example of will-power the strength to overcome the feeling of hunger while fasting on Good Friday — I repeat, if such things can happen there

is still plenty of work to be done in theoretical political indoctrination! Are there opportunities to increase our efforts in this respect? Yes, we have in our own hands the factors that will contribute to improvement.

Every school staff must become a firm political unit in which all have their place and role.

Appendix B 5

Broadcast by *Radio Kossuth* at 10.20 a.m. on 3 November 1956:

Pupils attention!

The revolutionary committee of the Ministry of Education makes it known that: All history books for elementary and secondary schools will be withdrawn.

Those responsible for the teaching of Hungarian literature at elementary schools will treat only those sections which deal with Hungarian literature.

The chapters on Russian literature are to be disregarded. In the teaching of geography at elementary schools the geography of the Soviet Union is to be created only to the same extent as that of other countries.

All geography books used at elementary schools will be withdrawn.

In the fourth grade of the secondary schools, the biology text-books will be withdrawn.

In the eighth grade of the elementary schools, free religious instruction must be given. Special enrolment for religious instruction is hereby abolished.

In all schools of the country, Russian as a compulsory language will be abolished.

The elementary schools which are based on the Russian pattern will be abolished.

Appendix C 1

Certificate no.: 23/1948

GYMNASIUM MATRICULATION CERTIFICATE

Marghescu Sándor, who was born at Temesvár, county of Temes, on 28 August 1929, his religion being Roman Catholic, conducted his gymnasium studies at: class I at the Hungarian Royal State Gymnasium of Nagybanya 1940/41, class II at the Royal Catholic Gymnasium of Szatmárnéti 1941/42, classes III and IV at the Hungarian Royal State Gymnasium of Nagybanya 1942/43 — 1943/44, classes V — VIII at the St. Stephen Gymnasium of the Society of Jesus at Kalocsa 1944/45 — 1947/48, and his conduct was exemplary; he had his matriculation examination before the undersigned committee, with the following results:

Hungarian language and literature	distinction
History	distinction
Latin language	distinction
German language	distinction
Physics	distinction
Mathematics	distinction

In other subjects of the gymnasium, his results were:

Knowledge of faith and ethics	distinction
Economics and sociology	distinction
Geography and anthropography	distinction
.....language	
Philosophy	distinction
Natural history	distinction
Chemistry	distinction
Drawing and history of art	distinction

He satisfied the prescribed requirements with distinction, and therefore according to statute 1934: XI: paragraph 38: subparagraph (3), we declare him to be matured for university and higher educational studies.

For this we give him this certificate with the stamp of the St. Stephen Gymnasium of the Society of Jesus at Kalocsa and with our signatures:

Date: Kalocsa, 26 June 1948

(signed) chairman of committee	(signed) master of history
(signed) rector master of Hungarian language and literature	(signed) master of German and Latin languages
	(signed) master of physics and mathematics

Szeged City
Hungarian Royal Horthy Miklos Science University, Faculty of Physics
and Mathematics

5/number 1948-49

RESOLUTION

On the basis of the resolution of Faculty meeting on 24 September 1948,
Mr. Marghescu Sándor's application for enrolment is rejected because

the absolute number of places is full
the relative number of places is full
he does not yet have the necessary documents.

This resolution has the force of law by V.K.M. (Ministry of Religion and
Education)

Szeged, 26 September 1948

(signed)
Dean

Appendix C 2

Extracts from personal files of students:

Report Number I:

Intelligent, not at all diligent. He is often absent but due to the fact that his father is a doctor he can always produce a certificate. From a political point of view he is not reliable. DISZ member. On party seminars often puts forward faulty points of view, but only because he does not study. Generally he speaks through his hat, but because he is sensible he can talk himself out of anything. He is of a completely religious orientation.

Report Number II:

Son of a doctor. His study average is second class. He has a wide professional interest. He works all the time as an auxiliary physical worker, he worked as a joiner for a longer period of time, where he achieved good working results. He is also interested in music. Religious. His father was member of the directing committee of EPOL.

He was cleared with cautioning. (Clearing was the political screening after the war concerning the attitude of people during and after the war: RIC.) /Investigate/. He seems capable of development.

Independent, active, DISZ member.

Proposed F. 145. scholarship.

Report Number III:

Comes from an academic family. Born in Budapest, 2 October 1932. There are seven children in the family. His father is district surgeon. His examination results

are: physics first class, chemistry second, biology first, biochemistry first, anatomy first, histology second, life-study second. He passed Marxism with third class after having failed once.

According to the opinion of DISZ he is intelligent, but his attendance at lectures and practicals was not satisfactory. He was often absent, but always produced a doctor's certificate. He was never prepared for party seminars, this was exactly the reason why he failed in Marxism.

He did some cultural work in his faculty.

5.VIII.1953 (signature)

Appendix C 3

Extract from *Népszabadság* of 5 February 1957:

Three teachers and seven university students arrested in a raid on students' hostels

The majority of university students have been watching with grief in the past few weeks whether university life would begin again or not. Several reports have been made to the police that in order to set up normal university work they must again hold searches in the students' hostels to save a riot or something breaking out after teaching has begun.

In Sunday's paper we gave news of the communiqué of the National Chief of Police that the police and the militia held searches and certifications of identity on 31 January in several student hostels and university buildings. Several readers have asked us to give more details of this work and of the results, in order to save hostile scare news getting around.

The police held searches in the students' hostels... Tibor Beke, 23 year-old university student, member of the secretariat of the MEFESZ at the Technical University, for example, made and spread inciting anti-government leaflets. In the course of the search they found a great part of the leaflets, and they found the hidden typewriter and a great amount of typing paper too on which Beke made the leaflets. Jozsef Nemes, 25 year-old university student, member of the provisional executive committee of the MEFESZ, was also arrested for the same thing, for the spreading of counter-revolutionary leaflets. There were many leaflets found in his room too. Istvan Kornidesz, 36 year-old professor's assistant, was the organiser of the whole network. The police found a typewriter and a large number of stencils, and also the letters that were to be sent out to give information on his organised conspiracy.

Appendix C 4

Extract from *The Hungarian Situation and the Rule of Law* issued by the International Commission of Jurists, The Hague 1957; see opposite page

Appendix D 1

Appeal adopted by a meeting of Budapest Technological Students at the András Hess Students' Hostel held on 19 October 1956:

We know very well that recently serious changes took place in the political and economic life of our country. Statements that delight one's heart have been made

From "List of arrests":

File No.	Source	Date	Name	Age	Profession	Possible Aggravating Circumstances	Place of Arrest	Charge
130	RB	Dec. 24	Szűlek (Fülöp'), I.		teacher		Karczag	printing leaflets
175	Nsz	Jan. 24	Kövecses, F.	23	student	leader of the group	Dabas	murder of Chairman of local CP
179	Nsz	Jan. 24	Kollar		Stud. med.		Budapest	not reporting 3rd party h.d.g arms
252	RB	Feb. 5	Beke, T.	23	student	member MEFESZ		writing leaflets
253	RB	Feb. 5	Nemes, J.	25	student	member MEFESZ		distributing leaflets
254	RB	Feb. 5	Vekerdi, J.	30	Univ. lecturer			printing illegal paper "Eszmelet"
255	RB	Feb. 5	Kornidesz, I.	36	Univ. lecturer			organising c-r network
256—262	RB	Feb. 5	7		students			partic. in c-r network
263—265	RB	Feb. 5	3		Univ. lecturers			partic. in c-r network
338	MTI	Feb. 17	Veigl, Jozsef		student		Vac	running clandestine transmitter
113—M	Nep	Jan. 26	József, K.	16	schoolboy	hiding arms		hiding arms

Abbreviations used:

CP = Communist Party

Nep = *Nepakarat* (newspaper)

c-r = counter-revolutionary

Nsz = *Népszabadság* (newspaper)

MTI = Hungarian Telegraphic Agency

RB = Radio Budapest

concerning the revelation of faults, but very little has been done to remedy wrongs.

The education of youth is on the wrong track too. We, the students of the Technological University, disapprove of the role the DISZ played in the education of Hungarian youth. In our university, the Technological University, the DISZ committee became an automatic machine of superior organs. It should have been the duty of the DISZ to represent the views of youth, but it failed to comply with this obligation. Our most important problems have not been adjusted for years.

The students of the Technological University are sick and tired of the helplessness of the central committee of the DISZ which has been unable to fight consistently for the interests of university students.

The new students' Committee of the central students' hostel of the Technological University, together with the students, consider the position of students intolerable. As a result of the demands set by our students, the students' meeting convened for 19 October at 9 p.m. demanded the execution of the following measures:

1 We demand moral and material appreciation for engineers. Engineers should be assigned to jobs for engineers, their pay should be about 1500-1600 forints and they should also obtain premiums.

2 Leading posts and positions should depend on school training and professional knowledge.

3 We demand the abolition of compulsory attendance at lectures, the optional teaching of languages and non-professional subjects and the teaching of one obligatory language which can be chosen freely.

4 University students must be offered possibilities to undertake journeys abroad in groups with state subsidies and also undertake private journeys independent of the IBUSZ (Hungarian State Travel Bureau).

5 It should be made possible for young engineers to find employment abroad which is not subjected to either political or family conditions.

6 Overcrowding in students' hostels must cease.

7 We demand the raising of the "forint-norms" of canteens to 15 forints a day.

8 Undertakings providing food for students should come under the supervision of competent universities.

9 Restore the autonomy of the universities.

10 We demand the reorganisation of the university youth movement and the democratic election of a new leading committee of students.

11 We demand the restoration of travelling allowances of 50 per cent once a month.

12 Reduce the prices of technological literature for students and grant text-book allowances to each student.

13 We demand the fixing of a realistic number of engineers to be trained every year.

14 Students should obtain higher scholarships for the period due to work out their final theses, the "diploma plans".

15 We demand a public trial in the case of Farkas and his associates.

The meeting passed a resolution that, unless the points 3, 4, 7, 11, 14 and 15 are carried into effect within a fortnight, students will arrange a demonstration to manifest their dissatisfaction.

We request the students of all universities to support us in fighting for and achiev-

ing our demands. Simultaneously we are ready to support the demands of other universities.

The meeting of the Central Student
Hostel of the Technological
University and their Student
Committee.

Appendix D 2

The seven demands of the DISZ Central Committee of 18 October 1956:

1 The overloading of the university curriculum must end. Students should have the choice of attendance at a number of specialised colleges. The roll-call system of supervising attendance at lectures must be discontinued.

2 Language instruction in the universities must be made optional. Only knowledge or study of a freely chosen foreign language should be compulsory.

3 Instead of formal P.T. at the universities, more attention must be paid to giving undergraduates wider opportunities for sports.

4 To promote the constructive acquisition of a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the DISZ Central Committee deemed it essential that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism should be in the right proportion to the branch of study being pursued and that lecture hours devoted to it should be reduced. It would be "correct" to make certain special courses in Marxism-Leninism optional if they were linked to the study of special subjects. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the universities must be based on the study of the classics of Marxism.

5 The question of national defence instruction in the universities should be re-examined. Military service for students should be compulsory only on completion of their studies.

6 More and better food should be served in university canteens. Suitable buildings should be handed over to house more student hostels.

Appendix D 3

Hungarian Home Service report on a students' meeting at Szeged, 21 October 1956:

The university students of Szeged met again yesterday afternoon. They set up their own independent youth organisation, called MEFESZ. The students welcomed the measures already published by the Ministry of Education which meet the demands of the undergraduates. They expect similarly prompt measures about their other justified demands.

The undergraduates discussed the draft statute of their new youth organisation. The statute says that the youth of MEFESZ follows the Party on the road of building socialism. It is an independent and free youth organisation, whose ideological foundation is Marxism-Leninism. The participants... stressed that DISZ had been unable to represent the interests of the university students satisfactorily. They therefore found it necessary to create a new organisation. MEFESZ recognises as its highest forum the National Parliament of University Youth. MEFESZ membership does not preclude membership and work in DISZ.

... The meeting discussed MEFESZ's programme. This includes the university students' many justified demands, including the abolition of the system which over-

burdens university students and opportunities to visit cultural institutions at reduced fees.

Janos Gosztonyi, Secretary of DISZ Central Committee, said that he was basically in agreement with the programme. The Party Executive Committees of the City of Szeged and County Csongrad took a similar attitude; so did the Csongrad County DISZ Committee.

Appendix D 4

The *Topolino Points* of 22 October 1956:

The MEFESZ is set up. It will solve the problems of the students:

- 1 New central leadership. Prior to this, new party leadership.
- 2 Government under the leadership of Imre Nagy.
- 3 Hungarian-Polish and Hungarian-Yugoslav friendship and the withdrawal of Soviet troops.
- 4 New elections.
- 5 New economic policy. Uranium, foreign trade, etc.
- 6 Organised workers and autonomy for factory workers.
- 7 The situation of agricultural workers and of peasants farming individually.
- 8 Revision of political and economic trials and amnesty.
- 9 15 March 6 October. Old emblem!
- 10 Freedom of press and the MEFESZ must have its own paper. Destroying of the secret cadre-files.

Statement: Complete solidarity with Warsaw and the Polish movement for independence.

Appendix D 5

Appeal issued by DISZ Members of the Medical Faculty of the University of Budapest, 22 October 1956:

Students of our university wish to support the realisation of the demands of the students of other universities as well as the justified demands of all Hungarian youth.

They think that the realisation of their justified demands depends on two fundamental conditions:

- 1 The unity and "mass basis" of youth must be safeguarded as only a united youth federation can fight consistently and energetically for the interests of all youth of our country.

- 2 We consider it necessary to hold new elections in all leading organs of the DISZ from the lowest ones right up to the Central Committee of DISZ, as well as the convocation of the congress of the DISZ.

The Conference of DISZ delegates of the Medical Faculty of the University of Budapest, fixed the following objectives:

- 1 We demand that the progressive national traditions should be put into practice by deeds, that 15 March and 6 October be declared as National Holidays and that the Kossuth coat of arms should be restored.

- 2 We demand free, international information, exchange of opinions and sciences.

3 We demand the full assertion of parliamentary democracy, as well as the elaboration and realisation of a new, democratic election system.

4 Women students should be exempted from military training and military service and the theoretical and practical military training of men reviewed.

5 We demand individual rules for examinations, instead of examination orders by groups.

6 Hungarian textbooks and notes should be available in time, adequate quantities, and under favourable conditions of payment by instalments.

7 We demand the reviewing of the scholarship system and demand that students who are orphans, half-orphans or the breadwinners in a family should obtain at least 500 forints scholarship a month.

(Points 8, 9 and 10 refer to housing problems)

We express complete solidarity with the democratic evolution in Poland. We wish to play a lion's share in the sound and democratic development of our country by standing firmly on the ground of Marxism-Leninism.

The Conference of DISZ Delegates
of the Medical Faculty of the
University of Budapest.

Appeal to students of the Technical University for Architecture and Transport and of the Budapest University of Technology!

The Council of the two universities wholeheartedly welcomes the movement of the university youth and the right initiative they have taken. The Council of the two universities, their professors, their teaching staff and workers fully agree with this movement.

The staff of the university had been gladly partaking in recent student meetings and they approved of the students' rightful demands and they will fully support such efforts as are directed towards the fulfilment of these demands.

It has come to our knowledge that the students of our universities are planning to march this afternoon to the Bem monument. With this solemn march they want to give expression of their sympathy with the aspirations of the Polish people and as a symbolic gesture they want to lay a wreath at the foot of the statue of General Bem, the great freedom fighter.

The Council of the two universities has however some misgivings regarding this street march. In view of the fact that the crowds in the street are likely to mingle with the demonstrators, certain disorderly elements will thus get the opportunity to join the other and will try to use the well-regulated student movement for furthering their own aims. Therefore the Council fears that by creating confusion these people may endanger the success of the movement. The Szeged example clearly showed that serious results can also be achieved without taking recourse to demonstrations.

Should the students however decide to go ahead with their march in spite of aforementioned considerations, the Council of the two universities requests them to remain calm, to abstain from any loud demonstration and rioting and to march up to the monument for the laying of the wreath in perfect order and in a disciplined manner. Budapest, 23 October 1956.

Council of the Technical University
for Architecture and Transport

Council of the Budapest
University of Technology

Appendix D 6

Joint resolution passed by the student Committee of the Budapest University of Technology and the MEFESZ Organisation of the Technical University for Architecture:

Today at 2 p.m. the students of the two universities will assemble in the courtyard of the University of Technology and will make ready for the march. In connection with this march we have come to make the following decisions:

1 We shall walk arm in arm, in closed lines of ten people.

2 No slogans will be used. It will be a silent demonstration because any other demonstration would be unworthy of us.

3 We shall leave the university by the Budafoki u. No. 2. entrance and we shall take the following route: — Gellért square — Gellért embankment — Döbrentei square — Döbrentei street — Lánchíd street — Fő street — Jégverem street — Bem embankment. Arrived at the Bem monument the students shall form a circle around the statue, we shall then lay the wreath and sing the National Anthem.

4 We shall then march along the Bem Jozsef street — Mártírok street — Marci-bányi square and here we shall sing the "Szózat." With this the demonstration will come to its end.

5 Time-table: start: 2.30 p.m.
laying of the wreath: 3.15 p.m.
departure 3.45 p.m.

In order to secure smooth running of our demonstration you are all requested to keep to the above-mentioned times.

Student Committee

MEFESZ Organisation

Appendix D 7

Resolution passed by the MEFESZ Committee, Technical University of Architecture, 22 October 1956:

We agree with the proposal put forward by the University of Szeged and we set up the MEFESZ organisation. This organisation is also joined by students of the Technical University and Horticultural College.

It will be the task of this new MEFESZ organisation to give expression of the students' opinion as regards the grave political questions as well as to find a solution to a number of undergraduate problems so far unsolved (army education, students' canteen, students' homes, railway fare reductions, free examinations, individual travelling abroad).

The MEFESZ was brought into being by a spontaneous meeting of university students, in the presence of about 4-5000 undergraduates.

The following points sum up the young people's political demands.

1 Immediate convocation of the Central Leadership of the MDP. In the meantime election of a new party leadership by the rank and file of members and the setting up of the new Central Leadership by this new party leadership.

2 New government under the leadership of Imre Nagy.

3 Establishing of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. This friendship must be based on full equality and on the principle of non-interference as regards internal affairs of the countries concerned.

4 Immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops under the terms of the Hungarian peace treaty.

5 General, equal, secret elections with the participation of several parties and the election of new representatives to the National Assembly.

6 We demand the most economic and exclusively Hungarian use of the uranium.

7 Immediate fixing of labour norms for all industrial workers and introduction of autonomy in factories and plants.

8 Revision of system of compulsory deliveries and lending assistance to the individually working peasantry.

9 Revision of all political and economic court cases, total amnesty for such prisoners as had been innocently condemned and rehabilitation of persons who had been discredited.

10 Open trial in the case of Mihály Farkas.

Mátyás Rákosi must return and be publicly called to account for his actions in the past.

Revision of cases where Hungarians had been innocently condemned in Russia and their subsequent release.

11 Restoration of the old Kossuth emblem to replace the present one so totally alien to the people. 15 March and 6 October must be publicly declared as national and general holidays.

A new uniform for our army.

12 Full freedom of speech and press (also broadcasts) and within this framework the MEFESZ organisation must have its own newspaper. The old files of cadres must be brought before the public and then destroyed.

13 The statue of Stalin, which is the symbol of tyranny, must be removed immediately.

14 We are bound together in complete solidarity.

The university youth gives with unanimous enthusiasm expression of their solidarity with workers and young people of Warsaw and with the Polish national movement for independence.

MEFESZ Committee
Technical University
for Architecture

22 October, 1956.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

The Seventh International Student Conference receives the report of the Research and Information Commission regarding the position and structure of higher education and the situation of students in Hungary.

The Conference recognises

a that although no visas were given by the Hungarian government to the Research and Information Commission team, the report is supported fully and adequately by documentation almost entirely from Hungarian sources;

b that there exists a clear pattern of suppression of academic freedom in Hungary, and that the universities are subject to the interference and dictation of the State at all levels;

c that political and social discrimination is exercised in obtaining entry to the universities, in determining scholarships and in deciding examination results;

d that students and teachers have been arrested, imprisoned and deported because of their attempts to obtain academic freedom and human rights;

e deplores and condemns the lack of academic freedom in the universities of Hungary, the complete negation of any real university autonomy by the State, and foreign interference with the development of the national cultural heritage of Hungary;

f requests the establishment of true freedom in Hungarian universities as demanded by the Hungarian students and teachers themselves in October 1956;

g appeals to the Hungarian government to release all university students and teachers imprisoned for political reasons.

Finally the Conference

a expresses its admiration of and support for the university students of Hungary in their struggle to achieve that independence of thought and action necessary for the proper development of higher education and the development of a truly national culture; further recognises the heroism of those students who died in this struggle;

b recommends that the work of the Research and Information Commission regarding the position of higher education in Hungary should be carried on, irrespective of whether they are able to obtain visas to enter Hungary or not;

c expresses its opinion that this report is an adequate and objective survey and most heartily thanks the Commission for its excellent work;

d instructs the Secretariat to make available the Research and Information Commission Report on Higher Education in Hungary to all the governments of the world as the contribution of the International Student Conference towards a fuller understanding of the educational problems of Hungarian students.