

# Hungary & Eastern Europe - Sixty Years Ago

## A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee

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# Big 3 Ministers Adopt Strategy

By Chalmers M. Roberts  
Staff Reporter

PARIS, July 15—The Western Big Three foreign ministers formally agreed here today on their strategy to win Russian agreement on German unification within the framework of a European Arms limitation arrangement.

The atmosphere of today's meeting of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, British Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan and French Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay was clearly hopeful that a way may be mapped out at next week's summit meeting which would bring the first major break in the East-West controversy which has split Europe in the past decade.

Like an iceberg, part of the Western strategy is visible and part submerged. What follows is first the visible and then an educated guess on what remains submerged in the ministers' brief-cases.

The West will propose (as an "idea" rather than as a "plan") that Russia agree to free elections in East Germany leading to unification with the new Germany free to continue the Bonn regime's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

To lessen Soviet fears of a rearmed Germany tied to the West it will be proposed that

what is now East Germany be demilitarized.

In addition it will be proposed that East and West work out arms limitations covering men and guns in continental Europe, probably from the Atlantic to the Soviet border.

The West will argue that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer already has pledged that he would not ask for a unified Germany more than the 12 divisions which West Germany is due to have in NATO. It also will be argued that the arms control scheme within NATO ties Germany to France and thus offers more real security to Russia than would the unified neutralized Germany which Moscow talks about, but which would, in fact, become a formidable danger to both East and West.

Further it will be argued that German unification can take place only within the framework of a European security arrangement, using the word "arrangement" advisedly to avoid the idea of a "system" which has overtones of mere paper promises to behave. The West will contend that it is impractical to consider a security arrangement based on a continued division of Germany as Moscow has been repeatedly suggesting of late.

It will be suggested that the combined German security problem be referred by a heads of government directive to the four foreign ministers with the thought that the western three could represent West Germany by speaking for NATO. This device would avoid the problem of the west having to recognize East Germany during negotiations.

However, it is quite clearly realized that all of this will not be enough to win Soviet agreement. It is frankly recognized that Russians just do not believe the western argument that NATO arms control machinery offers security to the Communists.

Here we get to the hidden part of the strategy iceberg. If the informal talks, especially those between President Eisenhower and Russian Defense Minister Georgi K. Zhukov and perhaps between Communist



With Mrs. Eisenhower at his side, the President waves from the ramp of his plane before leaving for Big Four parley.

United Press

Party Boss Nikita Khrushchev and Russian-speaking French Premier Edgar Faure, indicate a Soviet willingness to at least take these ideas as a basis for discussion then a lot of other possibilities are opened up.

The two most important would be these: A cut in the number of German divisions from 12 to say 6 and agreement to pull back American and Soviet troops approximately equal distances. This could mean American forces would draw back behind the Rhine, yet remaining in Germany while Soviet troops would draw back behind the Oder River or behind the Eastern German frontier in what is now Polish territory.

Further possibilities could conceivably include a later cut in American ground forces on the continent and a later withdrawal of Soviet troops from those satellite nations where they are now stationed. This would not alter existing American or Russian nuclear air-power relationship.

These are all ideas in the wind and perhaps in the brief-cases. The point is that only some combination of them is likely to give the Soviets any real relief from the armament burdens of which Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin spoke again yesterday in Moscow. The price to Russia would be giving up East Germany and a loosening of the Soviet hand on other satellites. It is not revealing secrets to point out that a cut in the proposed 12 German divisions would make

for easier breathing in France and some other western European nations which felt the Nazi heel just as did Russia. Yet it would be done not as discrimination against Germany but as continental arms limitation and perhaps even as a prelude to world wide arms limitation.

Beside the combined German-security issue the other major Geneva topic in western eyes is disarmament. Harold E. Stassen, the President's adviser on disarmament, is here to aid Mr. Eisenhower if the Russians want to talk details, especially on the key issue of control and supervision mechanism. The arms issue probably will be referred back to the United Nations subcommittee which has been considering it the past year.

The French and the British agreed here today that it is right for Mr. Eisenhower to raise issues of satellites and international communism, but this is viewed as partly for the record and partly to nudge the Russians into unilateral action in case of agreement on the German and security issue.

It now is clear that western Big Three hope Eisenhower, Bulganin, British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, and Faure will agree on some rather explicit directives to the foreign ministers and the U. N. arms committee. If there is no agreement or an agreement so vague as to be meaningless then the conference will have been a failure. If there is an agreement, however, that will not necessarily prove it has been a successful climb to the summit. Much will depend, it is said, on the spirit, temper and demeanor of the Russian bosses.

N. Y. Herald Trib. 17 VII 1951



Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty

Associated Press

## Mindszenty Will Live in Monastery

### His Release Is Held Temporary

By The Associated Press

VIENNA, July 16.—The Budapest radio announced tonight that Josef Cardinal Mindszenty has been released from prison in Hungary to take up life in a monastery.

The broadcast, on the eve of the Big Four conference at Geneva, said the Cardinal's prison term has been "interrupted" because of his health and age. It added that a "Catholic Church conference" will select the Cardinal's new home. It called his release "temporary."

#### Sentenced in 1949

Cardinal Mindszenty, now sixty-three years old, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a "people's court" at Budapest on Feb. 8, 1949. He was found guilty of treason, of attempting to overthrow the Hungarian Communist government in favor of the Hapsburg monarchy and of trading illegally in dollars obtained from the United States and the Vatican.

His arrest, trial and imprisonment produced indignant protests throughout the world.

Many persons in the West, including Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York, charged the cardinal was either tortured or drugged to obtain the confessions and recantations which he voiced at his trial. His conviction and sentencing brought on all those involved in his prosecution the Catholic Church's most severe penalty, excommunication.

#### Hitler Jailed Him, Too

The Communists arrested Cardinal Mindszenty on Dec. 26, 1948, after a long controversy. It was the second time he had been jailed. He had been imprisoned by the Nazis for defying Hitler.

From the time of his elevation in 1946 to the Cardinalate, Mindszenty, as Archbishop of Budapest, was unrelenting in his opposition to the Communists, who were then taking over the Hungarian government.

Times

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## HUNGARIAN FREEDOM DOUBTED IN VATICAN

ROME, July 18—The release of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty from prison does not mean a fundamental change in the anti-religious policy of the Hungarian Communist Government, 'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper said today.

To be confined to an ecclesiastical building is certainly less hard than to be locked up in prison, L'Osservatore Romano observed.

"But, the innocence of the Primate of Hungary has not been established, his freedom has not been restored and the rights of the Church have not been recognized," it added.

The Vatican newspaper conceded that Hungary, within the framework of her gravely restrictive religious laws, had been granting Roman Catholics wider "possibility to worship" than other Soviet satellite countries.

VIENNA, July 18 (UP)—Hungarian officials indicated today that Cardinal Mindszenty still was under police control despite a government announcement he had been released from prison. The Justice Ministry refused to disclose the Cardinal's whereabouts.

Times 20 VII 955

## Despite Bulganin Speech

# Reds Jamming Broadcasts Of Allies on Big-4 Talks

By Joseph Newman

*By Wireless to the Herald Tribune*

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GENEVA, July 19.—The Soviet Union is blotting out all American and British broadcasts which are attempting to give the Soviet people a Western account of the Big Four conference in Geneva.

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai A. Bulganin in his opening speech yesterday said he agreed with President Eisenhower's proposal that artificial barriers between East and West should be lifted.

One of the first tests of how Russia would act on the words of its Premier came last night and today when the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp. beamed their Russian-language broadcasts about the Geneva conference toward the Soviet people.

### Hard to Penetrate

The discovered to their disappointment that the Soviet Air Curtain was as difficult to penetrate as ever.

The Soviet Iron Curtain was raised into the air during the regime of the late Prime Minister Josef V. Stalin. According to Western broadcasters, Soviet jamming was intensified by the present rulers who succeeded Stalin.

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts daily to the East European satellites, and Radio Liberation, which directs its transmissions to the people of the Soviet Union, also ran into the Soviet air curtain when they beamed their Geneva conference broadcasts eastward. These are

two privately supported American agencies operating from West Germany.

### Some Gets Through

Representatives of Radio Free Europe in Geneva said they are transmitting ten-minute newscasts and ten-minute commentaries on the conference round the clock. Despite Soviet and satellite jamming, they have reason to believe that some of their material gets through to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria.

Radio Liberation broadcasts to the different peoples of the Soviet Union in sixteen languages.

Prime Minister Bulganin, in accepting President Eisenhower's proposal, said yesterday: "The President pointed out the need to lift artificial barriers between the two peoples. We are in complete agreement with that, since the lifting of the said barriers would meet both the national interests of the Soviet and American peoples and the interests of universal peace."

The New York Times July 22, 1955

## Resistance in Hungary

### Acts of Sabotage Despite Arrests and Deportations Reported

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

One month before the Geneva conference the Communists reintroduced a regime of terror in Hungary. The quotas of industrial workers were raised. The collectivization of farms was resumed and speeded up. The good fields of peasants, who refused to join the kolkhoz, were exchanged with less fertile ones. Deportations were resumed in the cities of Budapest, Győr and Miskolc. The reason given was that housing had to be found for officers of the Soviet Army, and Soviet officials, withdrawn from Austria. However, the number of requisitioned apartments has by far surpassed the needs of these persons.

These deportations constitute one of Rákosi's acts of terror. There were rumors in Budapest that the workers, embittered because of the raising of their quotas, were going to stage a strike in the capital city, on July 18, the day of the opening of the Geneva Conference. On the same day harvesters in collectives and on free peasant holdings would likewise stage a collective strike. Rákosi, therefore, was afraid to take chances.

The plausibility of these reports seems to be confirmed by the fact that since July 1 secret police and military patrols cruise along the streets of Budapest by day and by night. Moreover, a large number of newspaper men—both Communists and old-timers—were recently arrested.

## Persecution of Journalists

Among them is Peter Ruffy, a prominent member on the staff of the Communist official daily, Szabad Nép, who wrote serials about the discontent among kolkhoz peasants, and Robert Kertész, one of the best-known journalists of the old guard.

Over 500 prisoners are now in the jails of Vác and Mária-Nostra—railroad men—who were sentenced for sabotage in course of this year. Cases of sabotage were detected in high schools, in printing shops, in barracks, and even among the secret police. Sabotage practiced by railroad men has taken alarming proportions. A thousand new investigators have been "scientifically" trained to detect sabotage in factories.

### Estimates of Sabotage

Sabotage is openly admitted in the June 12 issue of Népszava. According to this report, losses in industry in the year 1954 may be estimated at 4 billion forint, while in other branches of the people's economy losses caused by mismanagement may be put at 3 billion forint. This amount, that equals \$650,000,000, is rather considerable for a country with a population of 9,000,000.

Letters sent from Hungary to this country inform us that since the end of June the police, reinforced by squads sent from the provinces, stage nightly house-searching parties, looking for "American weapons" and arresting "spies." Furthermore, the letters inform us about arrests and deportations in subtle terms, saying that "many people went earlier this year on their summer vacations."

Despite such measures of terror, the silent revolution is holding its own. "Corrosion has eaten its way through to the surface," the writer of one letter comments.

Not only in Hungary, but everywhere throughout the Soviet orbit, the silent revolution constitutes the gravest menace to the Communist regime.

BELA FABIAN,  
Member Executive Committee, Hungarian National Council.

Big Indian, N. Y., July 15, 1955.

W. J. Herald Tribune July 22, 1955

## Mindszenty Mass Said At Eucharist Congress

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 21 (UP).

—Samuel Cardinal Stritch of Chicago celebrated today a special mass in honor of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Hungary's "prisoner of the faith," who the Communists announced Saturday was being released from prison after six and a half years.

Several hundred persons crowded the Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy, at the entrance of which stood a large picture of Cardinal Mindszenty in his red robes. At the opposite side of the entrance there was a sign reading, "Free the Hungarians!"

Cardinal Mindszenty is one of the four cardinals of the "silent church" behind the Iron Curtain who are being especially honored during the thirty-sixth International Eucharistic Congress here.

### Four Empty Thrones

At the huge congress altar there were four empty thrones, one each for cardinals of China, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia who were either imprisoned or banished by the Communists.

Cardinal Stritch, who is of Hungarian descent, said in a brief sermon: "We are only a small group of Hungarians here, but somehow we know that back home we join the people in fervent prayer for the church of Hungary, which is personified by Cardinal Mindszenty.

"They have imprisoned him,

but from the silence of his cell he speaks to the world as a true champion of liberty. I think that, despite the clouds, this is a glorious day. We must pray for the honest peace that comes from justice and charity."

The Budapest radio announcement said Cardinal Mindszenty was being freed because of his age and poor health. He was to be allowed to live in a church building, the announcement said. Church authorities said they believed that the Communists still were maintaining control over the prelate, who was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Communists for alleged crimes against the state.

### Spellman to Skip Argentina

Sources among the American bishops who are accompanying Francis Cardinal Spellman here said today that the New York Archbishop had abandoned plans to visit Argentina at the close of the congress here.

They said that after the congress ends, the bishops will sail on aboard the liner Brazil, en route to Uruguay and Argentina, but that Cardinal Spellman would remain in Montevideo, Uruguay, until the liner returns from Argentina.

In one of the main events of the congress today, 100,000 women and girls received Holy Communion during a mass celebrated by Benjamin Cardinal de Arriba y Castro, Archbishop of Tarragona, Spain.

The N. Y. Times July 23, 1955

## IRON CURTAIN YIELDS ITS 10,000TH REFUGEE

The 10,000th Iron Curtain refugee to be resettled under the United States Escapee Program arrived here yesterday morning. He was Georgi Vasileff, a 32-year-old automobile mechanic.

Mr. Vasileff and seven other refugees were properly greeted at New York International Airport, Idlewild, Queens. On hand were Edward J. Shaughnessy, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Watson B. Miller, former Commissioner of Immigration, now State Department consultant on the Escapee Program. Also present were representatives of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, which provided the refugees' transportation from Istanbul, Turkey.

After Mr. Vasileff's father was killed after the Communist coup in Bulgaria in 1948, the son went into the underground. Later he escaped across the Turkish border with two friends, getting employment with the Escapee Program there. In Gross Pointe, Mich., his sponsor, Peter N. Theodore, has a mechanic's job waiting for him.

Two other Bulgarian refugees and lifetime chums who worked together in the underground also were in the group. Ignat Vassilef Kalcheff, 27, and Koyu Nikolof, 26, were captured by the Communists, imprisoned for three years and finally escaped from a slave labor camp. They headed by bus for the Maine summer home of their sponsor, Mrs. Margaret Howe Yatsevitch of Chevy Chase, Md.

Others in the group were Oliver and Margit Papp, a couple from Budapest, who will settle in Stony Point, L. I.; Bayu Chevdaroff, 25, Julescho Jelescheff, 22, and Atanas Raykoff, all from Bulgaria, who are settling in New York.



# The Way of the Magyar

By Henry C. Wolfe

AS I came out of Budapest's Hotel Bristol that summer morning in 1948, I saw that the big Communist poster across the street had been defaced overnight. The faces of the working-class couple pictured wearing their Communist insignia had been slashed and anti-Soviet warnings had been scribbled in large green letters. All over the city, I discovered later, the poster had been similarly disfigured during a mysterious two-hour power failure which had plunged the Hungarian capital into darkness. The anti-Soviet underground had been at work.

In this time of quick political changes in Europe, the memory of such incidents helps bring Hungary to mind as a possible candidate for Soviet "disengagement." Like Austria, Hungary is a key nation in East-West relations. Economically, geographically and politically the land of the Magyar (pronounced Madyar) has an importance out of proportion to its actual size.

In some respects, indeed, the Hungarian situation is similar to Austria's before the Kremlin announced its intention to evacuate. Like the people in the Soviet zone of Austria, the Hungarians have fearlessly and stubbornly resisted Communist indoctrination. They have stood so stoutly by their old loyalties and traditions that to date the Kremlin's politico-economic campaign in Hungary has failed.

It was over a thousand years ago that the Magyars, a people of Finno-Ugrian origin, crossed the Carpathians and settled in the fertile Pannonian plain. Under the leadership of Arpad, these proud horsemen founded the Hungarian nation. Their descendants have not had a tranquil history. Invaded by many enemies, occupied for a century and a half by the Turks, the Hungarians have never lost heart. Right after World War I they survived the savage Communist dictatorship of Bela Kun. They have always outlasted their conquerors.

Romantically situated astride the Danube, Hungary is one of the most colorful countries in the world. Its peasant dances, Hortobagy cowboys, Lake Balaton beaches and nomadic gypsy musicians have long made it a tourists' paradise. Summer visitors have been stirred by the scenic glories of Budapest, the gay Corso, the heights of Buda crowned with the Citadel, Fisher's Bastion, the Coronation Church and the story-book palace illuminated at night against a dark background.

The men in the Kremlin were not, however, interested in Hungary's color, traditions or culture. What loomed large in Soviet calculations was Hungarian food production and the nation's geographical location as a military base for thrusts toward the Adriatic and through Austria toward Western Europe. Hungarian wheat and meat were earmarked as bounty for the Red empire builders.

From the beginning of the Soviet occupation, however, the Hungarians resisted, mainly by passive means. It was no problem for the Russians to deal with the old propertied classes. They were dispossessed and shorn of power and influence. The peasants, however, not only resisted communization but showed that they knew how to use their resistance to strategic purpose. They sabotaged the Soviet economic program. Instead of obtaining the vast amounts of food set down in the blueprints, the Kremlin, by Khrushchev's admission, is forced to send food from its own insufficient stores to prevent starvation in the Hungarian cities.

The Soviet food fiasco in Hungary has, of course, resulted in purges and liquidations that have eliminated some of the top figures in Hungary's Communist hierarchy. Blunders and failures have not only been blamed on anti-Soviet sabotage but also on "wrecking, diversionism and treason" on the part of Communists. What it all adds

up to is a food crisis in a country that is a natural granary.

Now no one outside the Kremlin, of course, would be justified in predicting that the Soviet is considering the evacuation of Hungary. There is, however, the possibility that the Russians may be preparing to withdraw from Hungary as they are doing from their zone in Austria. Such a "disengagement" would be motivated by at least two factors: the extension of a neutral area and the hope of more food from a free Hungary.

If Hungary were neutralized, the neutral belt would be complete from the border of France, through Switzerland, Austria and Hungary to the frontier of Romania. In the matter of food, the Kremlin could undoubtedly drive an extortionate bargain that would compel the Hungarians to deliver food "reparations" for years to come. Few Hungarians would be likely to object to the exorbitant food deliveries if only the Red soldiers would depart from the Danube and go back to the Don and the Volga.

There could even be a political maneuver worked into the evacuation of Hungary. For several years the captive nations have had representatives abroad and have been co-operating closely through the organizations that they have formed. This has meant a solid block of some eighty-five million people aligned against Soviet imperialism. Moscow might attempt to break up the anti-Soviet ranks by claiming that, while the Magyars were being permitted to adopt neutrality, the "brother Slavs"—Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Bulgars—insisted on remaining within the Soviet empire.

Of one thing, in this situation, the free world may be sure. If the Hungarians should win their freedom, it will be almost entirely due to strength of will, courage and patriotism in the face of terrible odds. That is the way of the Magyar.