

## Hungary & Eastern Europe - Sixty Years Ago A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee

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NY Times

# HOUSE GROUP HITS U.S. HUNGARY ROLE

## 'Opportunity of Generation' Called Lost by 'Inaction' in 4 Days After Revolt

By ALLEN DRURY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 16—A study group of the House Foreign Affairs Committee charged today that the Eisenhower Administration had lost "the opportunity of our generation" by failing to act more decisively during the Hungarian revolution last fall.

The group asserted that this Government had been "paralyzed by inaction" while hesitating to urge strong United Nations action for four days after the revolution against Hungary's Communist rulers broke out on Oct. 23.

"This inaction," it said, "in effect weakened the morale of the freedom fighters and emboldened the Soviets to take their ruthless action without fear of countermeasures from the free world. These four days gave comfort to the enemy when they should have given comfort to the freedom fighters."

Further, the group said, the Administration's "failure" to back words by "action" has weakened the North Atlantic Treaty organization and bred "insecurity, distrust and fear" in Europe.

### Women Study Leader

The study mission, headed by Representatives Edna F. Kelly, Democrat of Brooklyn, visited France, Austria, Germany and England between April 18 and April 30. Its report was signed by Mrs. Kelly and Representatives Armistead I. Selden, Democrat of Alabama; Frank M. Coffin, Democrat of Maine, and Alvin M. Bentley.

Representative James G. Fulton, Republican of Pennsylvania, submitted a sharply dissenting minority report. He argued that the United States "did exert constant and leading efforts to marshal every possible support for the Hungarian people in the United Nations and have continued to do so up to the present time."

Representative Fulton contended that this Government "took the only steps feasible

within the framework of its basic policy decisions." These decisions, he said, were to refrain from using force or the threat of force in Hungary, and to work through the United Nations in attempting to assist the Hungarian people.

The majority said that so far as they could find out, Administration policy toward the Soviet bloc of nations had been "first, a negative policy of not intervening militarily, either unilaterally or internationally, and, second, assurance of such policy in advance to the Soviets."

The majority said that while no one had expected the United States to send troops or weapons into Hungary for fear of provoking a third world war, "the fact remains that we were without any measures or devices at our disposal to meet this crisis."

"The study mission," it said, "believes that a new policy toward the satellites does not mean that we must either take steps which would bring about World War III or do nothing. To be realistic and responsible, United States policy must seek constructive courses between the extremes of military action and abandonment."

### Opposes Kadar Regime

The majority recommended against the acceptance by the United Nations of the credentials of the Hungarian puppet regime headed by Janos Kadar. It suggested the consideration of economic sanctions "and all other feasible steps" against Hungary and the Soviet Union so long as the authority of the United Nations was being rebuffed by those nations. It also recommended creation of permanent United Nations observer teams that could be sent into areas of international tension for observation and reporting.

"The survival of Western civilization," it said, "depends on the influence exercised by the United States, not alone upon the nations which are free today but, more important, upon those nations which yearn for freedom now—the satellite nations."

Catholic Standard

# Says We Won't Forget Refugees

(N.C.W.C. News Service)

A pledge that the United States will continue to meet "its full share of the free world's responsibility" in helping Communist-harassed refugees from Hungary was given here by President Eisenhower as he disbanded his committee for Hungarian Refugee Relief.

The President received the final report from his 15-member committee which was set up to handle the emergency Hungarian refugee situation immediately after the revolt by Hungarians against their Communist overlords last November.

The committee, headed by Tracy F. Voorhees, stated that 32,075 Hungarian refugees were admitted to the country and "virtually all of these have been permanently resettled."

Catholic Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference, the world-wide relief agency maintained by the U. S. Bishops, found new homes and jobs for 18,452 of the Hungarian refugees—more than 57 per cent of the total admitted to the country under the program.

President Eisenhower had words of praise for the religious, voluntary and government agencies which conducted the job of resettlement at "an unprecedented rate," and said that the program mirrored "the wonderful spirit of America in accepting and caring for these refugees."

5. 11. 51



# Gomulka Faction Gains in Fight On Stalinists at Polish Parley

By SYDNEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times.

WARSAW, May 17—Wladyslaw Gomulka's supporters fought back today against a concentrated attack on his efforts to maintain the measure of independence already won from the Soviet Union.

Reliable if scant reports on the meeting of the United Workers (Communist) party's Central Committee made clear the fierceness of the skirmishing. There was no doubt that the party still was divided despite the fervent plea for unity made by M. Gomulka, the party's First Secretary, at the opening of the meeting Wednesday.

The party's right or Stalinist wing sought an insertion in a proposed political resolution that had meaning far beyond its language.

According to information available tonight, the Stalinists were insisting that the resolution contain a reference to the Soviet Union's primacy in the struggle for communism and an outright condemnation of the Hungarian uprising as a counter-revolution.

M. Gomulka, who has been pressing for a "Polish road to socialism," had carefully avoided the language demanded by the Stalinists when he spoke about Hungary. He acknowledged differences of opinion with other parties on the subject and confined himself to saying that the Soviet intervention had been "unavoidable to save peace and the security of all Socialist countries."

## Overplaying Is Indicated

There were indications that the Stalinist faction, encouraged by M. Gomulka's bitter criticism of the left wing in his opening speech, had overplayed its hand. Available reports suggested that the fierceness of the Stalinists' attack had caused M. Gomulka to take a new look at the line-up of the forces within the party and to revise his position.

Roman Zambrowski, who spoke for the Politburo yesterday, reiterated M. Gomulka's contention that the revisionists were the greatest danger for the party. But he maintained—and this was something brand new—that they represented only an ideological danger.

In practice, M. Zambrowski was quoted as having said, the greatest danger came from the "conservatives" whom M. Gomulka had described as Communists unwilling or unable to use political activity and persuasion rather than police measures to enforce decisions.

M. Zambrowski, the only remaining Jew in the Politburo and significantly the only member of the Politburo whom the right wing attacked by name, was reported to have said:

"We are accused of not having asked the party activists for sufficient help. It is true. We

should have asked for help and based ourselves on the party members who were active in October and who did not allow Poland to become another Hungarian catastrophe. We are going to correct this mistake."

## A Gesture Toward Left Wing

This was primarily a rose thrown to the mass of the party apparatus, which M. Gomulka has been trying, so far futilely, to woo over to his side. But it was also open to being interpreted as a gesture toward the left wing, which did the most to restore M. Gomulka to power in the political upheaval of last October.

The list of speakers yesterday read like a rollcall of the leaders of the right wing—Kazimierz Mijal, Wiktor Klosiewicz, Stanislaw Lapot, Boleslaw Ruminski and Zygmunt Dworakowski, among others.

M. Mijal charged bitterly that the events of October had undone most of communism's achievements in Poland.

Today, Edward Ochab, whom M. Gomulka succeeded as First Secretary, made what was described as a "passionate defense of October" and, it was added, a defense of the press.

But the sensation of the day, was provided by Frantisekfwy according to reliable reports, was provided by Frantisek Mazur, who was in the Soviet Union during the October upheaval and is considered by many as the "brain" of the Stalinist wing.

M. Mazur was reported to have said that he was always in favor of what October meant for Poland and to have denied that he had ever been a member or a supporter of the right wing.

The trend of the Central Committee meeting, which had seemed to be going against M. Gomulka yesterday, was reported to have reversed itself markedly this afternoon. Provincial members of the committee, hitherto always considered to be with right wing, were said to be taking a centrist position behind M. Gomulka.

# Mao Backs Soviet Action In Hungarian Rebellion

TOKYO, May 17 (AP)—Communist Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung gave full support today to Soviet actions in quelling the Hungarian revolt last October.

He expressed support of the Russian intervention while receiving credentials from Sandor Nogradi, the new Hungarian Ambassador to Red China. Mao's remarks were reported by Peiping Radio, the official voice of the Communist Chinese.

Recent reports from Poland said Mao, in a speech in Peiping last February, bitterly attacked the Soviet action and

accused Russia of "big nation chauvinism." A full text of Mao's February speech has not reached Western nations.

Peiping Radio quoted Mao as saying today that "relying on the assistance of the Soviet Union in the spirit of internationalism, the Hungarian people completely smashed the counter-revolutionary plot" to overthrow the Socialist system in Hungary.

It was announced earlier that the National People's Congress, Red China's highest government body, would convene at the beginning of next month. No other details were given.

5. 18. 51



# Camera-Eyewitness of Hungary's Revolt

**NO MORE COMRADES.**

By Andor Heller. 175 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. \$3.50.

Reviewed by

JOHN C. CAMPBELL

IT IS SAID that when Communist leader Imre Nagy used the word "Comrades!" to address the great crowd which had surged into Parliament Square in Budapest on Oct. 23, the day it all started, the crowd roared back: "There are no more comrades! We are all Hungarians!" Legend or fact, there could be no truer reflection of the spirit of the Hungarian people on that dramatic day and those which followed. Andor Heller, an eyewitness and participant, here gives us his day-by-day story of the first week of the revolution in words and in pictures. On Oct. 31 he was sent abroad by the Nagy government to tell the world the truth about what was happening in Hungary.

The pictures—Heller is a news photographer by profession—make the book. Like those Western photographers whose work has already brought home to us the drama of those days, Heller has caught with his camera not only the demonstrations, the street fighting and the dramatic episodes but also the gestures and expressions which tell so much of the fervor and courage of the people, the hatred of their oppressors and the poignant sorrow over their dead.

The text, in the form of a diary, is rather thin—just enough to explain the photographs and tie them together—although its brevity and simplicity have a certain impact. One can follow the main events as they appeared to the revolutionaries themselves and the changing moods of discontent and elation, despair and hope, which swept over them. At the end of the personal narrative, which comes with his departure from Hungary and thus omits the crucial first days of November and the story of brave and hopeless resistance to the massive Soviet attack, the author then devotes the second half of the book to a description of the Communist regime as it was before the revolt. While basically accurate it adds nothing

to what has been said many times.

Perhaps with the passage of time the Hungarian revolt is already growing dim in American minds. Perhaps some of us have a bad conscience over the West's inaction and would prefer to forget it. For that reason every book like this—and there are and will be others—should be doubly welcome for its contribution to the record of history and for its stimulus to

Western thought and self-examination. As individuals and as a nation we have reflected too little on the lessons which the magnificent struggle of the people of Hungary holds for the policies of the free peoples of the West and for the future of human freedom itself.

John C. Campbell is Director of Political Studies, Council on Foreign Relations.

Wash Post 5 19 57

## A Perspective By A. A. Berle

**TIDES OF CRISIS.** By A. A. Berle. Reynal & Co. \$4.

THE SUBTITLE of this book by the former Assistant Secretary of State and envoy to Brazil is "A primer of foreign relations." He has written just that; a book jam-packed with backward glances at the stream of history as well as with hortatory passages on the nature of America's responsibilities in today's world. At some points, in fact, the pages seem so stuffed with facts that the main threads become obscure.

Aside from the stress on Latin America, Berle's specialty, perhaps the most interesting analysis has to do

with the fact that nationalism, in today's nation-state sense, is a Johnny-come-lately in a world long dominated by supranational regimes, a point too often forgotten by those who fear the lessening of sovereignty.

Berle's book includes last fall's twin Hungarian and Middle East crises and suffers from judgments thereon too quickly written.



N Y H T Tribune

# Vatican Speaks Out, Backs Mindszenty

## Cardinal Is Defended by Holy See; Rumors Against Him Called False

By Barrett McGurn

From the Herald Tribune Bureau  
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ROME, May 23.—The Vatican through its daily newspaper, "L'Osservatore Romano," today broke a long silence on Josef Cardinal Mindszenty to defend the Hungarian primate.

The paper pointed out that there had been rumors that the Holy See disapproved the action of the prelate in taking refuge in the American legation in Budapest last November. Cardinal Mindszenty so far as is known, is still there.

The rumors, the paper said, were "imagination" and false.

Cardinal Mindszenty, the paper added, "is as ever, the moral spiritual head of his great people."

### Under Attack

The Vatican paper indicated that the Cardinal is under strong attack now from the pro-Moscow Communists in control in Hungary. It said that an effort had been to lower the Cardinal's "high moral prestige," presumably to divide him from Hungary's predominantly Catholic population; that the story had been circulated that the Vatican had gone over Cardinal Mindszenty's head to pardon the leader of the Hungarian "priests for peace;" and that Cardinal Mindszenty had served as a link between the national Communists of former Premier Imre Nagy and "capitalistic imperialism and international reaction."

The latter charges appeared to be a stage setting for new

Communist political trials of a type notoriously familiar in the past, the Vatican paper said.

### Reports Denied

"L'Osservatore Romano" denied the reports, one by one.

The Holy See as well as Cardinal Mindszenty, it said, acted against one or more members of the Hungarian priesthood, imposing the penalty of excommunication, or expulsion from the church. Any lifting of the penalty was because the affected clergy had "submitted" to church demands, the Vatican paper said. The implication was that the offending priest or priests had given in to church insistence with regard to the shunning of Communist puppet organizations rather than that the Vatican had condoned previously deplored activities.

As for Mr. Nagy, the national Communist who led the brief revolt against the Soviet Union, Cardinal Mindszenty had preserved a quite aloof position, the Vatican paper insisted. The Nagy government decreed Cardinal Mindszenty's freeing in October only after the prelate already was at liberty, it said. Far from tying "his independence as a bishop to any political clientele or friendship," Cardinal Mindszenty had appealed promptly for free election and had demanded that the Nagy government speak out about the anti-religious behavior of the Moscow Communists who had preceded them, the Vatican paper said.

The article made plain that the Vatican is concerned about the Hungarian primate and is determined not to let wedges be driven between him and the rest of the Catholics of Hungary. It also made plain that the Holy See stands firmly with the Hungarian Cardinal despite limitations his presence in the American legation has imposed.

N Y Times

## MINDSZENTY IS LAUDED

### Vatican Terms Him 'Morally Spiritual Head' of Hungary

Special to The New York Times.

ROME, May 23.—The Vatican considers Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, "morally the spiritual head of his great people."

This was asserted in an editorial published today by Osservatore Romano, Vatican newspaper. It denounced Communist maneuvers to separate the Cardinal from both the central church administration in Rome and his own flock in Hungary.

The Cardinal lives in the United States Legation in Budapest where he took refuge last Nov. 4 when Soviet forces crushed the Hungarian revolt. Hungarian freedom fighters had liberated him from prison only a few days earlier.

The Vatican paper said that, in the short, turbulent period of his freedom, Cardinal Mindszenty's conduct "was in everything worthy of a pastor who in a tragic hour implored peace with justice above parties and passions."

The Catholic Standard  
Friday, May 24, 1957

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## Would Imprison Cardinal Again

VIENNA (NC)—The Hungarian puppet regime has threatened to throw Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty back into prison if he leaves his refuge in the American Legation in Budapest, it was learned here.

This new threat against the Cardinal was made by Jan Horvath, director of the Hungarian Office of Church Affairs, in a statement to western newsmen in Budapest.

"If anything happens, it will only be because the Americans take the initiative," Mr. Horvath said. "He (the Cardinal) won't spend eternity in the legation. If he is put out . . . the whole western world will curse the Americans for giving him up to Hungarian jailers, because we would put him back in jail."

5-24-57



Mar 5. 24. 57



### HUNGARIAN STUDENTS SEEK U. S. ENTRY

A group of 100 Hungarian students staged a demonstration outside the United States Consulate in Vienna yesterday demanding visas to enter the United States. Many were arrested for demonstrat-

ing without police permission. They were released later and sent back to their refugee camp.—AP Wirephoto.

5. 24.



NY Times

# Kin Urging Hungarians To Return

MILWAUKEE, May 25 (AP).—From twenty-five to thirty Hungarian refugees in the Milwaukee area have received letters from relatives in their Communist-dominated homeland asking them to return "home," it was revealed today.

But the refugees like it here, are "violently anti-Communist" and none has indicated any intention of going back, their sponsor in Milwaukee said.

Charles O'Neill, executive director of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which helped the refugees settle here, said the relatives might have been pressured by Communists to invite them back or perhaps the relatives simply missed them, he said.

When thousands of freedom-loving Hungarians fled during

the battle with the Communists last fall, more than 300 were taken into the Milwaukee area. Young and old, who last year were fighting for their lives, arrived here with tears of happiness and threw themselves into the American way of life—working, watching television, buying on the installment plan and being free.

"Many have received letters from relatives in Hungary," Mr. O'Neill said. "About twenty-five or thirty have said they got letters asking them to return home. Some were letters from parents to children."

**"Better Now," Some Say**

"Some relatives back in Hungary wrote that things are better there now. And in some cases the refugees received sec-

ond letters telling them to stay in America and ignore earlier requests to come home."

Mr. O'Neill said he doesn't know of a single case of a refugee wanting to go back, even though they miss their relatives.

"They like it here and they're violently anti-Communist," he said. "They've made a good adjustment here. They're happy in their new homes and they'll become U. S. citizens."

## Retiring at Princeton

PRINCETON, N. J., May 25.—Dr. Stanley E. Howard, Joseph Douglas Green, Professor of Economics at Princeton University, will retire on July 1 after thirty-nine years on the faculty, it was announced today.

Star

Wash Post

NY Times

## Like Aid Asked For Doomed Hungarian, 13

Associated Press

Rep. Charles B. Brownson (R-Ind.) appealed to President Eisenhower yesterday to use his "tremendous and world-wide influence" to save from execution a Hungarian resistance fighter who, Brownson said, is "hardly out of knee pants."

The boy, 13-year-old Csebe Tormendy, son of a Hungarian refugee couple now living in Indianapolis, reportedly has been sentenced to die within the next two or three weeks.

Brownson's aid was enlisted by Mr. and Mrs. Don Utterback of Indianapolis, who sponsored the boy's mother and stepfather when they came to the United States April 5 after fleeing Hungary.

Brownson said in a telegram to Mr. Eisenhower:

"A 13-year-old boy, Csebe Tormendy, son of a Hungarian refugee in my Indianapolis district, is under sentence of death in Budapest for resistance to the Communist regime there. I beseech you as a great leader and humanitarian to exert your tremendous and world-wide influence to rescue this patriot who is hardly out of knee pants."

Brownson has conferred with State Department officials about the case but said he felt little could be done officially through existing diplomatic channels to save the boy.

## HUNGARIAN BOY, 12, RETURNED TO FAMILY

A 12-year-old Hungarian boy, separated from his family in Budapest seven months ago, was reunited here yesterday with his mother and stepfather.

The boy, Guyla Szabo, arrived at New York International Airport, Idlewild, Queens, at 9 A. M. from Lisbon, Portugal, aboard a commercial aircraft. He was met by his mother, Mrs. Margaret Simon, and his stepfather, Laszlo Simon, who had come here from their home in Wilmington, Del.

Guyla had been left with his mother's parents in Budapest in November because Mr. and Mrs. Simon did not want him with them if they were caught trying to flee the country.

However, Guyla escaped to Austria, where an unidentified American newspaper man arranged for him to be sent to Portugal.

The Church World Service arranged with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service for the boy to be admitted to this country.

## U. S. AIDES CRITICIZED

Hungarians Chide Legation for Boycotting Functions

BUDAPEST, Hungary, May 25 (AP)—Hungary's Foreign Ministry criticized the United States legation in Budapest today for boycotting ceremonies honoring poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the American dead of World War II.

Laszlo Gyaros, a spokesman for the ministry, told a news conference it was not Hungary's fault that the "United States Government, to put it mildly, is unfriendly toward us." He said this attitude was expressed "in an unusually harsh manner by the American legation in Budapest."

United States diplomats had no comment on Gyaros' statement. Since the Russians crushed the Hungarian revolt last fall, Americans have been staying away from all official functions.

Wash Post

## 24 Hungarians Join Refugee List

VIENNA, May 25—Twenty-four Hungarians crossed the border into Austria last week bringing the total number of refugees from Hungary seeking asylum here since last October to 171,296. The figures were announced today by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

So far 136,900 refugees have left Austria for resettlement in other countries. In the coming week, ICEM said, 1300 refugees would leave for Australia and another 1000 for Canada.



**FACES DEATH**—Csebe Tormendy, 14, is due to be executed as a resistance fighter in Hungary, his mother, Mrs. Eva Szerdehelyi, of Indianapolis, says. She escaped from Hungary.—AP Wirephoto.



Mar 5. 27. 57

# Hungary's Right to Cut U. S. Mission Denied

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The United States today re-  
jected the concept that Commu-  
nist Hungary can dictate the  
size of the American diplomatic  
mission in Budapest.

The Hungarian regime ordered  
that 13 members of the United  
States legation in Budapest, more  
than one third of the staff, leave  
the country within six weeks.

State Department Press Offi-  
cer Lincoln White, commenting  
on the Hungarian action, said no  
Americans had yet left the Bud-  
apest legation. He refused to say  
whether the administration in-  
tends to withdraw them or not.

## Reduction Demanded

The Hungarians demanded  
that the legation's diplomatic  
personnel be reduced from 21 to

12 and administrative personnel  
from 13 to 9.

The latest State Department  
diplomatic list shows the Hun-  
garian legation has six persons  
of diplomatic rank in Washing-  
ton. The legation is in charge  
of Tibor Zador, First Secretary.  
Dr. Peter Kos, the legation chief,  
is absent.

The Hungarian note "is an-  
other instance of a restrictive  
and arbitrary measure imposed  
by a Soviet satellite regime at a  
time when the Soviet bloc pro-  
fesses to desire friendly relations  
with the United States," Mr.  
White commented.

"Only the United States can  
determine the number and type  
of individuals needed in its  
diplomatic missions adequately  
to represent our interests. An  
appropriate reply will be made  
to the note in due course."

## Soviet Singled Out

Mr. White asserted that  
"everyone knows here" where the  
"preposterous" note originated.  
The reference to Hungary as a  
Soviet satellite regime indicated  
he meant the Soviet Union was  
the source.

The State Department spokes-  
man said the Hungarian note  
"alleged that while our legation  
staff has been 'passive' in foster-  
ing cordial relations between  
Hungary and the United States,  
legation members have been ex-  
tremely active in their relations  
with elements who are hostile  
to the Hungarian Peoples Re-  
public and who are out to over-  
throw it. It is also alleged in the  
Hungarian note that members of  
our legation are engaged in 'il-  
legal intelligence work.'"

Mr. White said the United  
States decision about complying  
with the Hungarian order will  
become clear "in the days and  
weeks ahead."