

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

Hungarian Calls Szabo 'Traitor' to Refugees 1957. 09.16-30

- Nagy Group Gets Bid By Budapest
- Hungarians Warned on Anniversary
- Hungarian Calls Szabo 'Traitor' to Refugees
- Tortured Priest's Collapse Blocks Hungary Trials
- Nagy Writes Ironic Epitaph...
- Hungarian Offer on Cardinal Seen

NY Times

9-18-57

Wash Post

NY Times

NAGY GROUP GETS BID BY BUDAPEST

Vienna Hears Compromise
With Exiles in Rumania
Is Aim of Kadar

By JOHN MacCORMAC

Special to The New York Times.

VIENNA, Sept. 17—Secret negotiations are being conducted between agents of the Hungarian Government of Janos Kadar and some members of the Imre Nagy group that was deported to Rumania, reliable sources have reported here.

These negotiations, it is believed, are designed to bring about a compromise between some of Mr. Nagy's adherents and a Hungarian regime headed by some leader other than Mr. Kadar. One possibility is that Mr. Kadar would remain First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) party, while Ferenc Muennich, Minister of Interior, would succeed him as Premier.

Zoltan Vas and Zoltan Szanto, two prominent members of the Nagy group, are reported to have left Sinaia—to which they were deported—for Bucharest. They are said to be living in one of the best Bucharest hotels and to have been seen lunching with officials of the Hungarian Embassy and strolling about the streets in apparent freedom.

Persistent rumors are in circulation in Budapest about the eventual return of these prominent politicians to the Hungarian capital. Observers predict that Mr. Szanto, whose name has been excepted from the denunciations heaped by the Kadar regime on most of Mr. Nagy's adherents, may even receive a prominent party or Government post.

However, no such changes are believed likely to be made before the first anniversary of the Hungarian revolution on Oct. 23.

Mr. Nagy returned as Premier late last October. While he was negotiating for the removal of Soviet troops from Budapest, the Russians attacked the Hungarian capital last Nov. 4.

Mr. Nagy, along with Messrs Vas and Szanto and Gyorgy Lukacs, a Communist philosopher, took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest. The group was later seized and deported to Rumania. Mr. Lukacs returned to Budapest last May.

Mr. Vas spent sixteen years in prison in Hungary before World War II, together with Matyas Rakosi, who ruled Hungary and its Communist party from 1945 to until July, 1956. Like Mr. Rakosi, Mr. Vas returned from Moscow after the war to occupy important party and Government positions, including that of chief of the State Planning Office.

He took Mr. Nagy's side after that Communist politician succeeded Mr. Rakosi as Premier of Hungary in 1953 and denounced Mr. Rakosi's grandiose plans for an iron and steel industry in a country that has neither iron ore or coking coal as a "megalomaniac swindle."

Mr. Szanto, who was secretary general of the small pre-war Hungarian Communist party in the Nineteen Thirties, lived for many years in Russia before returning to become a member of the party's Central Committee and Ambassador to Warsaw. He was head of the Information Office in the 1953 Nagy Government.

Kadar Minister Reported Held in Mental Hospital

VIENNA, Sept. 17 (AP)—Hungarian refugees recently arrived here reported today that Gyoergy Marosan, Minister of State in Premier Janos Kadar's Government, is under police custody in a Budapest mental hospital.

These sources reported widespread rumors in Budapest that Marosan had been purged for talking out of turn and trying to maneuver for power in July when Kadar was on a holiday in Russia.

They pointed out that Marosan, who had made frequent public pronouncements during June and July, had not been heard from since Kadar's return early in August. They said he had disappeared from his home and was believed a patient in Budapest's Harshegy Sanatorium, where he is "under at least half custody."

EXILES APPEAL TO U. N.

Ask Moves to Get Red Bloc
to Return Those Deported

The Assembly of Captive European Nations, meeting yesterday concurrently with the opening of the Twelfth General Assembly of the United Nations, concentrated attention on Soviet deportations from Moscow-dominated Eastern European countries.

A resolution adopted by the group called on the United Nations to demand the cessation of these practices, and to require the Communist Governments to return those forcibly removed. It also called for a special body to report on compliance.

The Assembly, which includes former officials from Baltic and Balkan areas, met in the Carnegie Endowment Building, 345 East Forty-sixth Street.

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Sept. 17—Twenty-two pickets, each carrying a placard bearing a three-foot letter, together spelling out "Gromyko to Outer Mongolia," greeted delegates to today's opening sessions of the General Assembly. The demonstrators were members of the Hungarian National Committee and the American Hungarian Federation.

Wash Post

Hungarians Warned on Anniversary

By Ronald Farquhar
Reuters

BUDAPEST, Sept. 21—Minister of State Gyoergy Maros-an warned today that the "workers' power" would curb any street demonstrations next Oct. 23, first anniversary of the outbreak of the Hungarian uprising.

"Everyone wonders what will happen on Oct. 23," Maroson said. "I can tell you. It will be a normal working day. Children will go to school. Workers will be in the factories."

He spoke to about 5000 persons at the Budapest stadium.

Raising his voice to a shout, Maroson said amid loud applause:

"We will see who will be absent from his place. And if it occurs to someone to walk on to the street, alone or in groups, then the workers' power will be there in 10 minutes and will make order."

Maroson spoke after the presentation of colors to a local battalion of workers' guards, recruited from plants and factories in Budapest.

He said that when he asked a young Budapest worker his opinion of Oct. 23, the youth replied, "at first it was a revolution, and later a counter-revolution."

Maroson said he retorted, "You were able to go to a university because there was a revolution here between 1945 and 1949. That was the revolution and not what happened on Oct. 23."

Maroson said it was not true that innocent and honest people were jailed in Hungary. "But we will put the enemy in jail and under internment," he said.

NY Times

HUNGARIANS WARNED

Minister Says Demonstrators
for Revolt Will Be Curbed

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Sept. 21 (Reuters) — A Communist Cabinet minister warned today that the "workers power" would curb any street demonstrations Oct. 23, the first anniversary of the outbreak of last year's Hungarian uprising.

"Everyone wonders what will happen on Oct. 23," said Gyoergy Maroson, Minister of State. "I can tell you. It will be a normal working day. Children will go to school. Workers will be in the factories."

He spoke to about 5,000 persons at the Budapest soccer stadium after the presentation of colors to a local battalion of workers guards, recruited from plants and factories in Budapest's ninth district. This area was the scene of some of the bitterest fighting during the uprising.

NY Times

CUBANS PICKET AT U. N.

100 Carry Signs Calling for
Ouster of Batista

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Sept. 21—More than 100 men and women carrying crudely painted signs calling for the ouster of Gen. Fulgencio Batista, President of Cuba, picketed the United Nations today.

The group, known as "The Twenty-Sixth of July Sympathizers," a reference to a revolutionary attempt against General Batista July 26, 1953, has been picketing the United Nations for three years in an attempt to have the Commission on Human Rights investigate the Batista Government.

Singing the Cuban national anthem and bearing United States and Cuban flags, the pickets marched between Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Streets on First Avenue for two hours. They carried signs reading, "Batista Is Conducting Germ Warfare Against the People of Cuba" and "Cuba, the Hungary of America."

9-22-57

Hungarian Calls Szabo 'Traitor' to Refugees

United Press

A congressional witness said yesterday that thousands of full Hungarian revolution last fall.

Hungarian anti-Communists are in danger of being executed because a "traitor" has exposed their identity.

"In Hungary today everybody is frightened," the witness, Bela Varga, said.

Varga was the presiding officer of the last Hungarian Parliament to be chosen in a free election in 1946. He now is president of the Hungarian National Council, a refugee organization with headquarters in New York City.

Varga testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee regarding the defection of Miklos Szabo, a Hungarian refugee leader. Szabo suddenly returned to Hungary from Austria two weeks ago carrying with him confidential information about the Hungarian resistance movement and the unsuccessful

Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.), who conducted the one-man hearing, placed into the record a news dispatch from Vienna reporting that the confidential documents included names of Hungarians who gave secret testimony before the United Nations group which investigated Soviet Russia's intervention in the Hungarian rebellion.

Varga voiced fear that their relatives in Hungary will be persecuted. He said Szabo also took with him names of

THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD

... Wednesday, September 25, 1957

B9

Hungarian leaders of the uprising who remained in Hungary.

Szabo was among the thousands of refugees who showed up in Austria during the uprising. He became one of the founders of the Strasbourg Revolutionary Council organized by refugees after the uprising was crushed.

Varga said he had a "deep suspicion" that Szabo was a

"well-educated spy" who had worked with the Hungarian secret police from the beginning.

W ash Post 9.25.57

Noel Field Reported Visitor in Warsaw

WARSAW, Sept. 24 (AP)—Mystery man Noel Field recently visited Warsaw presumably in connection with the secret trial of three Polish former security chiefs, it was reported reliably today.

Field, employed by the State Department in the 1930's, accepted asylum in Communist Hungary in 1954 after five years in jail as an alleged American spy. Exonerated after Stalin's death, he declined to return to the United States. He is a translator for a Hungarian Government publishing house.

Tortured Priest's Collapse Blocks Hungary Trials

GRAZ, Austria (NC)—Hungarian Father Egon Turcsanyi suffered a mental and physical collapse while being questioned by Communist police in a Budapest prison, according to reports reaching here.

The collapse of Father Turcsanyi, former private secretary to Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, has halted Red plans to bring the priest and 15 others to public trial.

Father Turcsanyi was reported arrested by the Reds shortly after Soviet intervention put down last year's anti-Communist uprising. He has been charged with helping to loot the government Religious Affairs Office during the uprising and shipping secret documents to Cardinal Mindszenty.

Reports here said the priest collapsed as the result of torture, exhaustion and grave sickness during a pre-trial interrogation in the central Budapest political prison. Two brain surgeons, summoned to attend Father Turcsanyi, declared he

was unable to stand trial scheduled for Aug. 10.

The news of the priest's condition leaked out when two of his close relatives were called to the prison in the hope that their presence might have a good effect on him, the report stated.

The trial of the Cardinal's former secretary has been expected to be the Kadar government's answer to the United Nations' condemnation of Soviet armed intervention in Hungary's anti-Communist uprising.

Hungarian Red officials have been particularly bitter in their denunciations of Father Turcsanyi, charging among other things that he aimed at becoming secretary of state under a government headed by the Cardinal.

Because of the priest's inability to stand trial at present, the Reds postponed the trials of 15 other priests and laymen indefinitely.

Austrian Shrine Notes 800th Year

MARIAZELL, Austria (NC)—A tape-recorded radio message from His Holiness Pope Pius XII was a high point of the final week of the six-month-long 800th anniversary jubilee of the Shrine of Our Lady here.

More than 6,000 Austrian pilgrims and several thousand pilgrims from other countries heard the voice of the Pope.

The Holy Father traced the history of the shrine from its modest beginnings to its present influential place in the spiritual lives of Austria, Hungary and other Central European countries. He said that the particularly difficult times experienced by the Church over the past two centuries because of the growth of rationalism and empiricism only highlight the importance of Our Lady of Mariazell.

The revered statue of Mariazell is carved from limewood. It shows the Blessed Virgin seated and pointing to the Christ Child who is on her arm. It is reputed to be the original statue brought to the shrine by a Benedictine monk in the 12th century.

According to legend, a Benedictine monk lost in the mountains here prayed before a little wooden statue of Our Lady which he set up on a rock. Water is supposed to have suddenly gushed from the rock beneath the little statue. In 1157, a Benedictine monastery was built on the spot and the little statue was enshrined there.

Nagy Writes Ironic Epitaph...

Reviewed by Edwin D. Gritz

World Editor (Night) and specialist on Eastern European affairs.

IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM. Praeger. \$5.50.

IN A ONCE-SECRET document as astounding as it is illuminating, former Premier Imre Nagy of Hungary has unwittingly penned an eloquent and historic epitaph to Sovietism.

Written during 1955 and 1956, when Nagy was ousted from his first term as Premier and expelled from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party, this document is in general a faithful Marxist's justification of his official conduct—



Nagy

an ironic plea of a fallen comrade for understanding and compassion from former colleagues whom he at the same time condemns as traitors to Marxism.

Prepared specifically for the eyes of the Communist hierarchy in Hungary and indirectly for Hungary's Soviet overlords, this lengthy dissertation subsequently appeared in various forms at clandestine political gatherings and later was smuggled out of the country in its entirety.

IN WEIGHING the importance of this work, it is well to keep in mind that Nagy, now in Romanian custody, is not a political hack. Although Hungarian by birth, he drank deeply at the fountainhead of communism in Moscow. There he spent most of his adult life, assuming Russian citizenship and becoming an expert on Marxism generally and agriculture specifically.

Upon becoming Premier the first time in July of 1953, he launched his impoverished, terror-stricken nation on the "June Road" or the "New Course." This involved an appreciable degree of liberalization in all spheres of national life, including a slow-down in forced industrialization, some decollectivization of farms, an increase in private trade, more consumer goods and greater freedom in the arts and sciences.

THE "NEW COURSE" soon foundered on the reefs of Stalinism, of resurgent Sovietism with its political and economic rigidities in which man was the lowest denominator and such power-minded individuals as Rakosi and Gero again held sway.

Nagy was deposed. Disillusioned and also fearful of the usual consequences, he desperately compiled what he himself termed a "defense" of his "New Course"—and in so doing bared the

brutality, the fraud and the insoluble inequities of Sovietism. More than that, he exposed the bankruptcy and basic frailties of Moscow's satellite structure.

Noting that Hungary's leaders lack mass support, Nagy bitterly declares, "These are the people who because of their cowardice and their spiritual poverty cannot do without the Stalinist autocratic rule . . ."

STRIKING AGAIN at Sovietism, the deposed comrade cries: "The leaders of the party and the country must understand that the fate of the nation and that of the people are identical. The people cannot be free if the nation is not independent, if it does not possess complete sovereignty, if foreign influences prevail in its internal affairs . . ."

HIS GREATEST BLOWS, perhaps, are aimed at Communist morality, Nagy declares:

"We must fight for the assertion of humanism, the principles of humanity in Communist activity, and we must renounce at every turn, and take energetic measures against, anti-social efforts, inhuman methods and means and the anti-democratic spirit that is becoming more dangerously dominant in our state and party life . . ."

... While Tito Breaks New Paths

TITOISM. By Charles P. McVicker. St. Martin's Press. \$6.

THE HERETIC. By Fitzroy Maclean. Harper. \$5.95.

INTO THE HAZE of misconceptions and often sheer poppycock about Titoism has come a bright torch in the form of a new book on this political phenomenon.

Masterfully written by Charles P. McVicker, former member of the Foreign Service specializing in Balkan affairs, this book presents the overlapping, sometimes indistinguishable and yet fundamental differences between Titoism, Sovietism and national communism.



Tito

Basically, stresses McVicker, this infant ideology called Titoism or "social democracy" is the adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to Yugoslavia's particular environment. And the inherent difference between this and Sovietism or Stalinism is that Titoism is at least avowedly directed toward the immedi-

ate benefit of the people, whereas Stalinism with its world power concepts operates in the dead end of state capitalism.

AS FOR TITOISM and national communism, McVicker notes that there is a direct kinship when patriotism is involved. If Marxists, for example, were to choose between national patriotism and socialism under foreign domination, they would likely choose patriotism. Beyond this point, however, the kinship between Titoism and national communism disappears, with Titoism assuming universal overtones keyed to modern interpretation of the equally universal Marxist-Leninist concepts of society.

While pointing out, further, that Titoism radically departs from Sovietism by recognizing that man does not live by bread alone, McVicker cautions that "there is still an inexcusable discrepancy (in Yugoslavia) between the liberality of its essential theory and the totalitarianism of its actual practice." Still missing is the most important ingredient—political liberty.

In short, Yugoslavia still suffers minority rule, albeit under a "benevolent dictatorship" which bows to the impor-

tance of human rights, yet it does not dare to grant them in fear of jeopardizing its prescribed form of socialism—that is, social ownership of the basic means of production, workers' self-management, citizens' self-government through so-called "direct democracy" and citizens' self-management of social services and institutions.

WHILE COINCIDENTAL, a worthy companion work to TITOISM is Fitzroy Maclean's biography of the man Tito. Also a former foreign service officer, but a Briton, Maclean draws the substance of his book from first-hand knowledge of the scene and many long conversations with Tito and Tito's colleagues. What Dedijer performed in terms of intimate detail in the only other noteworthy book on Tito, Maclean ably matches in scope, perspective and dramatic writing.

Through it all, Maclean conveys with considerable effectiveness that Tito has been and still is an extraordinary man—a man of great courage whether it be fighting savagely with knives and guns against enemy soldiers or standing up unquaveringly against threats of destruction from formidable political foes.

EDWIN D. GRITZ.

HUNGARIAN OFFER ON CARDINAL SEEN

Diplomats Suggest Budapest
Would Let Mindszenty Go
to Ease Western Tie

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29—

Hungarian diplomats have recently dropped two hints suggesting that the Hungarian regime is eager to ease its relations with the West.

The hints are these:

1. That if the United States and the Vatican would make the necessary arrangements the Hungarian Government would let Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty leave the country. The Roman Catholic primate has been in refuge in the United States Legation in Budapest since the Hungarian revolt last fall.
2. That Premier Janos Kadar would resign his Government post and devote himself entirely to his function as secretary of the Socialist Workers (Communist) party if Western propaganda pressure would ease.

Generally held responsible for inviting Soviet troops to suppress the rebels, Mr. Kadar has been a main target for Western criticism.

The Hungarian Government has made no direct approaches to the United States on these subjects. But the State Department has heard both these reports. They have been particularly persistent in the last week.

It seems plausible to United States officials that the Hungarian regime would like to escape the international limelight that the United Nations and the Western press have kept focused on it.

The removal of two symbols, the Cardinal representing anti-Communist resistance, and the Premier representing Soviet tyranny, might well serve this purpose, they observe.

As far as the Cardinal is concerned, they say any decision to accept an offer of safe-conduct would be up to him and to the Vatican. A report, circulated by the Hungarians, that the State Department has already discussed the subject with the Vatican, and that the Vatican refuses to consider moving the Cardinal from Hungary, is described at the State Department as "purely imaginary."

The possibility of Premier Kadar's resignation has been widely reported. State Department experts do not profess to have any authentic information on who might replace Mr. Kadar. Whether he goes or not and the nature of his successor, they believe, will depend on how the Soviet Union decides to resolve its present dilemma in Hungary.