

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

Kadar in Warning to Foes in Hungary 1957. 09. 1-15

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N.Y. Times

KADAR IN WARNING TO FOES IN HUNGARY

Special to The New York Times.

HONG KONG, Oct. 3—Janos Kadar, Premier of Hungary, compared Communist China's "Rightists" to the forces behind last year's Hungarian uprising in a speech in Peiping today.

According to a Peiping radio broadcast, Mr. Kadar described the rebel activities in Hungary as similar to those attributed to the "Rightists" in Communist China. He said the "Imre Nagy clique" had begun by advocating that the leadership should be handed over to the intellectuals, exaggerating the mistakes of the Communist party and casting doubts on the "people's democratic system." Mr. Nagy was named Hungarian Premier during the short-lived revolt.

Mr. Kadar said "our most valuable experience" had been "not to persuade those rebels who have gone over to the enemy camp, but to wipe them out as enemies."

He asserted that "there should be no compromise in dealing with counter-revolutionaries; instead there should be fighting as one would fight a tiger."

10-4-57

Wark Post

Wan's Moscow Bid

Reported Rebuffed

N. Y. Herald Tribune News Service

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 3 — Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko has told Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand that he would not be welcome in Moscow to discuss restoration of Hungarian independence, it was learned today.

Prince Wan, who was named last month by the U. N. General Assembly as its "special representative" on the Hungarian question, met with Gromyko for 20 minutes last Monday, according to a highly placed diplomatic source. Gromyko told Prince Wan at that time that his mission could not be discussed in Moscow.

Shortly after his appointment as the General Assembly's envoy on the Hungarian question, Prince Wan had announced that he planned to visit both Moscow and Budapest to achieve restoration of Hungarian independence. A Hungarian government spokesman immediately announced that the Prince would not be welcome in Budapest if he came as a "political personality."

It was learned that Prince Wan had experienced a number of delays in his attempts to see Gromyko. When he finally did get to see him last Monday, the reception accorded him by the Soviet Ambassador was "cordial" but his request to visit Moscow was "rebuffed," the source said.

It was understood that Prince Wan next would attempt to see Endre Sik, Hungarian deputy Foreign Minister, to arrange a visit to Budapest for a discussion of his mission.

W. Ark Post 10.4.57

Hungarian Refugee Re-Defector Says West Sought Recruits for NATO PH

By Ronald Farquhar
Reuters

BUDAPEST, Oct. 3—A Hungarian emigre leader who returned to Budapest said today that NATO leaders had discussed the formation of a NATO division of Hungarian refugees with another refugee leader.

Miklos Szabo made the statement at a press conference of 100 Eastern and Western correspondents. Hungary's Communist government specially invited three Western newsmen from Vienna for the conference.

Szabo fled to the West two years ago after six years imprisonment. He said he returned here a month ago because he saw "the real nature" of the refugee movement abroad.

He charged that the Italian Government had offered 1 million forints (about \$87,000) for a new Hungarian revolt early this year and had sent a first installment to Italy's Legation in Budapest. The planned uprising, he said, was backed by Britain's secret service and other Western organizations.

Italian sources said the Italian Legation had distributed food and clothing donated by Italians. But no financial aid was given and they knew of no transfer of money which could have given rise to Szabo's claim, they added.

Szabo said one of the kingpins in the plan was Bela Kiraly, rebel commander of the Budapest garrison in the revolt last October. Iraly, he said, had gone to Washington and won the support of American military leaders.

Kiraly has been active in Europe in the past year in trying to form a "Hungarian freedom fighters" federation.

Szabo added that Iraly had been shown "the most secret weapons of the Pentagon" and had held talks with NATO leaders about forming a NATO division of refugees.

[Szabo had been a member of the exile Hungarian Revolutionary Council in Strasbourg, France, until his defection a month or so ago. Western circles feared at the time that Szabo had taken with him a list of leading anti-Communist exiles, whose families in Hungary might now be subject to reprisals.]

He appeared calm under the glare of newsreel arclights. He sat at a table flanked by Hungarian press officials and replied to questions after reading a lengthy statement. Asked about his future plans, Szabo said: "That depends on

decisions of the Hungarian authorities about me."

'Must Use Force,'

Kadar Tells Chinese

HONGKONG, Oct. 3 (AP)—Hungary's visiting Premier Janos Kadar told a welcoming throng of 8000 in Peking today that force must be used to put down uprisings.

Peking radio quoted him as saying, "We must use our rifles, not nets, to deal with tigers which eat men. We must not use persuasion but must eliminate counter-revolutionaries as enemies."

Red China has been experiencing anti-Communist activity.

NY Times 10.4.57

BUDAPEST DISPLAYS A RECONTING EXILE

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 3 (AP)—The Hungarian Government staged a showy news conference today at which it presented Miklos Szabo, an anti-Communist refugee who returned last month.

Mr. Szabo, a member of the exile Hungarian Revolutionary Council in Strasbourg, France, said at the news conference that he had come back because he was disappointed with the West.

He said the recent United Nations action condemning Soviet intervention and Communist rule in Hungary "did not serve the interests of the Hungarian people and can only lead to another catastrophe."

Mr. Szabo was introduced by Istvan Darvas, deputy chief of the Government press department, who accused the United States and other "Western imperialists" of inspiring last October's Hungarian revolution and continuing to conduct subversion and espionage against the Soviet-installed Hungarian government.

To give the news conference added publicity, the Budapest Government yesterday granted twenty-four-hour visas to five Western correspondents to visit Budapest to "receive an important statement."

10.5.57

N.Y.T. news

Budapest Nervous at Approach Of Anniversary of 1956 Revolt

Communist Leaders Warn the Workers and Students Against Marking the Oct. 23 Rising—City Seems Grim

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY
Special to The New York Times.

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 3—The Hungarian Government is showing growing nervousness over the approach of the anniversary of last autumn's revolt. Leading members of the regime have been haranguing workers and students, warning them that no manifestations of any kind will be permitted Oct. 23, the anniversary of the start of the uprising. Great efforts have been made to end the sit-down strike of writers, which has been in progress since the revolt was crushed.

Another symptom of concern has been a tightening ban on foreign correspondents. Several Western correspondents have been in Hungary on short-term visas that compel them to leave before Oct. 23.

Precautions Are Taken

Precautions appear to be the order of the day in Budapest. Double teams of Tommy-gunners stand at entrances to the radio building, where so much fighting occurred last October. Heavy guards patrol the Parliament grounds, where the Government has its headquarters.

So far as foreign observers can tell, the mood of the country is not one of revolt. Apparently no one but the most confirmed Communists supports the Government. But no one is thinking any longer of a new venture in rebellion. Even for Hungarians there can be too many Soviet tanks.

The Russians are the invisible guests at the Hungarian feast. There is hardly a sign of their presence in Budapest, although they are in evidence in the countryside. In the capital they keep within their barracks.

A sure sign of the hate that the ordinary Hungarian bears toward the Russians is the fact that no displays of Soviet books and magazines are to be found in Budapest. Here and there a news seller still stocks Pravda, Soviet Communist paper, but he tucks it deep down behind a pile of L'Humanité or L'Unita, the French and Italian party organs.

The Books Budapest Reads

The mood of the Budapest populace perhaps is best in-

dicated by the kind of books that fill one big shop-window on Kossuth Street. Here you will find Jaroslav Hasek's "The Good Soldier Schweik," Hendrik van Loon's life of Rembrandt, several works by Upton Sinclair, Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi," John Galsworthy's works and odd volumes of A. A. Milne, P. G. Wodehouse and John Steinbeck, most of them in Hungarian translation.

People in the streets go about with a kind of grim resignation. When you talk with them, you find that they are deep in bitterness. They do not see what the future can bring that will improve their lot.

They hate the Russians and they hate their present government. But they despair of doing anything about either.

There is some bitterness toward the United States and the West, a feeling that they let Hungary down. Not a few persons have emerged from the revolt with a dislike of Western propaganda broadcasts, especially those of Radio Free Europe, which some describe as a cynical speculator upon Hungarian patriotic feelings.

Along with this, there is gaiety in restaurants and night clubs. Nowhere in Eastern Europe will you hear hotter jazz or see more violent rock'n'roll antics than in Budapest cafes. Traditional Gypsy and light operetta strains have been replaced by Tin Pan Alley tunes.

The Budapest radio broadcasts American music hour after hour. Much of the best of this music comes from tapes given to the station by a jazz addict at the United States Legation. What the Russians may think of this performance is difficult to imagine.

A Revolt Leader Doomed

BUDAPEST, Oct. 4 (Reuters)—Laszlo Balogh, described as a commander of an insurgent group in Budapest during last fall's uprising, was sentenced to death today by a Communist People's Court for "plotting to overthrow the People's Democratic system."

U. S. MENACES SYRIA, CHOU AND KADAR SAY

PEIPING, Oct. 4—(Reuters)—Communist China and Hungary charged today that the United States, in trying to implement the Eisenhower Doctrine, "had recently engineered openly a series of subversive activities against Syria."

A joint statement issued by Premier Chou En-lai and Hungarian Premier Janos Kadar, at the end of their talks here, said the "Western imperialist bloc is resorting to every means to restore or maintain their colonial rule lost, or being lost, as a result of the effective liberation struggles of the people of the Near and Middle East."

It went on: "The two parties pointed out with special emphasis that United States imperialist aggressive circles resorted to direct military intimidation in an attempt to seize control over Syria so as to realize their criminal objective of further suppressing the national liberation movements of Asian and African countries and enslaving Asian and African peoples."

The statement said that "thanks to the heroic struggles taken by peace-loving countries and the peoples of the world, tension created last autumn by the imperialist forces of aggression launching armed attacks against Egypt and the subversive activities against Hungary has been eased."

Star

Kadar Leaves China

HONG KONG, Oct. (AP).—The Hungarian government delegation led by Premier Janos Kadar left Peiping today for home after a state visit to Red China, Peiping radio reported.

NY Times 10.7.57.

Writers in Hungary May End 'Strike' Dating From Revolt

**Budapest Authors Expected
to Break Year-Old Silence
and Resume Working**

**Prague Shows Independence
of Rigid Soviet Precepts
in Literary Matters**

The following dispatches on the political attitudes of writers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia come from a correspondent of The New York Times now visiting countries in the Soviet bloc.

respondent of The New York Times now visiting Eastern Europe.

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Special to The New York Times.

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 3—

It appears that the Kadar regime is on the verge of breaking the year-old "strike of silence" by Hungarian writers.

However, efforts to confirm this by interviewing some of the leading writers have met with a notable lack of success.

Just a fortnight ago, Istvan Dobi, President of Hungary, scoffed at foreign rumors that Hungarian writers had been coerced into signing a declaration opposing the United Nations resolution on Hungary, which condemns the Soviet Union for crushing the revolt last fall.

Mr. Dobi invited the correspondents to question Geza Fejja, Aren Tamasi, Istvan Simon and others among the 200 signers of the statement. Every effort to get in touch with these writers has failed.

The writers uniformly were described as "ill," "out of town," "too busy to see you" or "not wanting to talk to a foreign journalist."

This reluctance to discuss relations with the Government seems to cast some doubt on reports that they have, in fact, reached an understanding with the Government of Premier Janos Kadar.

'Bargain' Is Described

It was rumored in Budapest that the free writers had agreed to resume writing if the Government would spare the lives of their colleagues who were arrested after last October's revolt—Gyula Hay, Tibor Deri, Tibor Tardos and Zoltan Zelk.

What some persons in Budapest suspect is that the Government and the free writers struck a bargain but that the Government has welshed on its end of it.

Budapest has been filled with reports in the last seven days that trials of writers are about to begin. Some of the rumors were that the trials already had started. Most of these rumors named Mr. Deri.

However, three Government spokesmen have publicly denied that Mr. Deri has yet been placed on trial. One denied that a determination had yet been made as to what charges Mr. Deri would be tried upon.

Since the writers' declaration against the United Nations resolution was signed by every outstanding Hungarian writer not in prison, with the notable exception of Ter Shanzky, the action obviously represented an important group decision.

At the same time, many writers made their first appearance in print since the revolt in a new literary journal called Kortars. Another new journal is also about to appear.

Pressure of Hunger Cited

One element that may have played a role in bringing the Hungarian writers to end the strike has been their stomachs. Since they have not been publishing anything for nearly a year, many have come to the end of their financial resources. Some have been supported in their strike by more wealthy friends.

It is difficult to believe that the capitulation of the writers—if, indeed, it proves to be a capitulation—means that they have changed their views on last October's revolt, the Kadar regime or the Soviet intervention.

But as the writer Pal Szabo puts it in a "Letter to the West" appearing in the initial issue of Kortars:

"The great trouble was that the twentieth century appealing to great human qualities left us in the lurch. This century, which we Hungarians protected by fighting for centuries for European culture and civilization, has often left us to ourselves, left us to shed our blood

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia, Oct. 5—

Without fanfare or proclamations Czechoslovakia's literary world has quietly declared its independence of Moscow.

The Czech writers are indulging in no polemics with Soviet ideologists. They have simply dumped overboard most of the cant and clichés of Moscow's literary Marxism and proceed on their way.

The depth of their detachment from the Soviet party line perhaps is best illustrated by the analysis that half a dozen writers, all party members, offered for the Hungarian and Polish events.

The explanation they gave included not one word about "foreign intervention," "White Guards," "Horthyites" or "counter-revolutionary elements."

Instead they found the explanation in historic antagonisms between Russia and the peoples of Hungary and Poland, in the absence of democratic or liberal positions in Hungary, and in the planned and deliberate distortions of the Stalin era and the failure of Hungary's Communist rulers to consider the Hungarian people.

Czech's Explanation

"You can create an economic basis in a country," said Vladislav Fikar, director of the Writers Publishing House and himself a poet. "Factories can be built. But if this is not accompanied by the same process of development in the minds of the people it can lead to tragedy. If, as under Stalin, the emphasis is placed on economic and social assets and relations between peoples are neglected then, as in Hungary, it leads to tragedy."

In both Poland and Hungary, the writers said, the main cause of unrest was an ever-widening disproportion between the standard of living and what was said about it.

"Hungary was one of the oldest Fascist countries in the world," M. Fikar added. "The Red Army entered there as a victorious army in a defeated country."

In contrast, the writers noted that Czechoslovakia had for generations regarded Russia as "the big brother." The Red Army entered Czechoslovakia as a liberator, they said, the people had a tradition of liberal thought and literature and the economic disparity so evident in Poland and Hungary never developed.

"This is not to present our socialism as a paradise without conflict," M. Fikar added. "Czechoslovakia is no paradise, but neither is the world."

Kafka Work to Appear

M. Fikar revealed that Franz Kafka's "The Trial," probably the most profoundly anti-totalitarian work ever written, was now on the presses of his printing house and would soon be published.

Jan Ocenasek, secretary of the Czech Writers Union, described himself as a Kafka enthusiast. He said:

"No one can understand Prague, and particularly the life of the Prague Jewry, without reading Kafka."

The Czech writers expressed their profound admiration for Rainer Maria Rilke, a German lyric poet born in Prague.

"He was a German", said one, "but without Prague's bridges and Prague's beauties, Prague's peace and Prague's quiet he would not have become the poet he was. The stones of our bridges and the spires of our churches were medieval man's prayer. Rilke heard that prayer and from it expressed his mystery of life."

The names of Kafka and Rilke are both anathema in Moscow, which regards them as the most decadent of the deca-