

27 January 1958

NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO HUNGARY

1. Foreign Affairs

British views on the inclusion of Hungary in a "neutral belt  
(ceinture neutre) in Europe"

(1) The following are extracts from a plan presented by Dennis Healey, Labour member of the House of Commons, former Secretary for International Affairs of the Labour Party: "Il est ... indispensable si l'on construit une zone neutre englobant toute l'Allemagne qu'elle comprenne également les pays qui sont à l'est de l'Allemagne; ces pays pourraient ainsi à la fois faire contrepoids à l'Allemagne à l'intérieur de cette zone neutre et constituer une barrière géographique et politique qui empêcherait le contact direct entre l'Allemagne et l'URSS. Un nombre surprenant de personnes ont suggéré récemment de neutraliser toute l'Europe continentale. Non seulement M. Khrouchtchev, mais Sir John Slessor et M. Georges Komman ont, à plusieurs reprises, au cours de ces dernières années, suggéré que l'Occident pourrait fort bien accepter les propositions de fait de la Russie, c'est-à-dire un retrait total des forces anglaises et américaines de l'Europe occidentale, en contrepartie d'un retrait total des forces russes d'Europe orientale. A mon avis, ce plan présente deux points faibles. Le premier est que, là encore, l'Occident ferait beaucoup plus de concessions que la Russie puisque si les forces anglaises et américaines quittaient le continent et repliaient leurs bases, les Anglais traverseraient ainsi la mer du Nord et les Américains l'Atlantique alors que les Russes se contenteraient de quelques 1.000 km. Les Occidentaux ne pourraient donc s'opposer à une violation par l'URSS de la neutralité européenne que par des représailles massives en arrosant de bombes H le territoire soviétique. Or je ne crois pas qu'une politique de représailles massives - amenant avec elle un suicide de l'humanité tout autant que la destruction du pays qui en prendrait l'initiative - soit une politique possible, même si l'on ne tient pas compte de son aspect immoral. La grande faiblesse du plan de Sir John Slessor (Locarno de l'air) réside donc dans le fait que l'Angleterre ou les Etats-Unis accepteraient difficilement de prendre le risque d'une annihilation thermonucléaire de leur propre pays, en contrepartie d'une violation hypothétique de la neutralité d'une zone où ils ne seraient plus directement et physiquement engagés. Si l'on veut que la neutralité de la zone européenne puisse être effectivement protégée, il faut que l'Occident garde un pied-à-terre sur le continent européen d'où il puisse faire sentir sa force militaire sans avoir recours à une guerre totale. Cette ceinture neutre devrait donc comprendre la République Fédérale du côté occidental, l'Allemagne orientale, la Pologne, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Hongrie, du côté soviétique; on pourrait par la suite, y ajouter autant d'Etats qu'il serait possible de conquérir à coup de marchandages. Nous offririons par exemple le Danemark si les Russes voulaient bien y inclure la Roumanie, et ainsi de suite. Mais il serait indispensable de conserver à titre de bases militaires occidentales quelques enclaves sur le continent, nous permettant de nous opposer, le cas échéant, à une violation de la ceinture neutre par l'URSS". (France Observateur, No. 400, 9 January 1958, p. 8).

Note : The Healey plan was referred to by a London despatch of Drew Middleton of 25 January published in the New York Times of 26 January.



(11) The Associated Press reported from London on 26 January that Hugh Gaitskell, Leader of the Labour Party, called in a television interview for the withdrawal of 'foreign armies' from Central Europe. He suggested that a central zone with controlled national armaments, "a kind of experiment in controlled disarmament" be set up in West and East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The despatch continued: "Neither Gaitskell nor the TV interviewer, Robin Day, remarked on the similarity of his plan to the recent Polish-Soviet proposal for establishment across West and East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia of a zone free of nuclear weapons. Gaitskell said that after establishment of the neutral zone, Germany should be reunited on the basis of free elections and excluded from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization while the three Eastern nations should quit the Soviet-sponsored Warsaw pact. He advocated that such a neutral zone be sealed with an East-West Pact guaranteeing frontiers of individual states. He also told the interviewer: 'I think it would be a good thing if the West were to say 'yes' to summit talks.' Gaitskell is first in line to become Britain's Prime Minister if the Labourites win the next general elections due anytime before mid-1960."

## 2. State

### The replacement of Janos Kadar by Ferenc Luennich as Chairman of the Council of Ministers

#### a. Associated Press (Carl Hartman)

(1) Budapest, January 27 - Premier Janos Kadar offered his resignation to Hungary's Parliament today. He will continue to run the country's Red regime as First Secretary of the Communist Party. Kadar in a 90-minute speech which was applauded repeatedly proposed that his 72-year-old First Deputy Ferenc Luennich, step up to the premiership. The vote on the proposals is expected tomorrow, with approval a virtual certainty. Kadar said he also would remain in the cabinet as Minister of State. Kadar's resignation had been rumored before every recent session of the Hungarian Parliament. He was the only leader in the Soviet bloc still holding the two key posts of Premier and Party First Secretary. Kadar took office as Premier in November 1956, when Russian troops returned to Budapest and crushed the revolt against Soviet domination. Before that, he held key posts in the brief anti-Russian Government headed by Premier Imre Nagy and also took over Party leadership during the revolt. Kadar also proposed that Education Minister Gyula Kallai give up that job, continuing only as Party Secretary and Minister of State. Valeria Benke, Head of the Government-run Radio Station, would be the new Minister of Education. Antal Apró, now a deputy Premier, would become First Deputy Premier. The shift was interpreted as an effort by Kadar to devote more attention to his chief job, that of First Party Secretary. He represents a view point closer to the "national communism" of Yugoslavia than many of the present Party leaders, and it is thought likely that he wants to remake the Party more in his own image. Kallai shares Kadar's view-point. Luennich, a veteran communist, fought in the Spanish Civil War as Commander of the 11th International Brigade. After World War II, he was made Head of the District of Pecs and later was put in control of the Budapest police. He was chosen Ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1955 as a man who



would be agreeable to President Tito. After Kadar took over he was made Defense Minister, then later was named Deputy Premier.

(11) Budapest, January 27 (Night Lead) - Janos Kadar, installed as Hungary's Chief of Government when Soviet troops crushed the 1956 revolution offered to resign today as Premier. But he will continue as First Secretary of the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party. Kadar made the offer in a speech to the opening meeting of a new session of Parliament. He proposed to step down to a post such as Minister of State - a Cabinet assignment without specific duties - and turn the premiership over to his First Deputy, Ferenc Muennich. The resignation had been expected. It had been rumored before every recent Parliament session as a move to correct what the Communists considered an abnormal situation. Kadar was the only man in the Communist bloc holding the dual job of Premier and First Party Secretary. Acceptance by Parliament tomorrow is considered a certainty, and Kadar will occupy in Hungary a role similar to that of Nikita Khrushchev in the Soviet Union: boss of the ruling Party but without a high Government title. Kadar has a strange history as a Communist leader. When Stalin ruled the Communist world, he underwent torture as a suspected deviationist. Before the Hungarian revolution of the fall of 1956, President Tito of Yugoslavia let the Russians know Kadar would be acceptable to him as one of those who would replace the Stalinists, with whom Tito had feuded for eight years. Indications were then that Kadar stood for an independent brand of communism in the Tito pattern. However, when he was installed by Russian guns after the revolution was crushed, Kadar's independence faded, and he was regarded by the outside world as a faithful puppet for the Soviet Communists. Kadar had held important posts in the Government installed briefly during the Revolution under Premier Imre Nagy. Nagy, ousted by Soviet guns, first took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy. Later he was whisked off to Romania, where he was reported a captive, possibly awaiting trial. Kadar proposed a number of changes. Muennich, often regarded as a Communist strongman, would become Premier. But Kadar, as First Party Secretary, still would hold the most important reins of power. He also proposed that Gyula Kallai quit as Education Minister and continue only as a Party Secretary and a Minister of State. Valeria Benke, Head of the Government-operated Radio, would be the new Education Minister. Antal Apró, now one of the Deputy Premiers, would become First Deputy Premier in place of Muennich. Muennich, a veteran Communist, fought in the Spanish Civil War two decades ago. After World War II he was installed in Hungary as Head of the Pecs District and later headed the Budapest Police. He was Ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1955, and became Defense Minister in the first days of the Kadar regime. Later he was made First Deputy Premier. To the rhythmic applause of the Parliament, Kadar said he asked the changes so he and those associated with him in Party control could concentrate their energies on Party business. At the outset of his 90-minute speech, Kadar, looking healthy and composed, made it plain he had no thought of granting amnesty to thousands of Hungarians still imprisoned for participating in the anti-Russian revolution of 1956. He said he had been asked by Western sources to grant amnesty on humanitarian grounds, but added: 'It will be our policy in the future that those who committed crimes in the counter-revolution should be punished in accordance with the law'. Kadar recalled that 250 medals had been awarded relatives of Hungarians killed for their pro-Russian sympathies during the revolt. He said even those who now sought amnesty for accused rebels if they had been present at the award ceremony would



not have been able 'to forgive men of the Maleter type or even people like Dery'. He referred to Gen. Pal Maleter, who served briefly as Defense Minister in the Revolutionary Government, and Tibor Dery, a writer who was sentenced to nine years in prison for his part in the revolt. Maleter was taken prisoner by the Russians while he was negotiating with them for their withdrawal from Budapest on the night of November 3, 1956. He is believed to be in a Budapest prison, awaiting a show trial on treason charges.

b. United Press (Russell Jones)

Budapest, January 27 - Hungarian Communist Leader Janos Kadar resigned today as Premier and turned over the reins of Government to Deputy Premier Ferenc Kuennich. But Kadar retained his post as Head of the Hungarian Communist Party. Kadar, announcing a major Government re-shuffle, told Parliament he was stepping down from the premiership because of the weight of his Party duties. He said he would be a Minister of State in the revamped Government. Kadar made the announcement of a major reshuffle of Government in a speech delivered to the opening session of Parliament. He also announced the appointment of Valeria Benke as Minister of Culture, Antal Apro as First Deputy Prime Minister and Gyula Kallai and himself as Ministers of State. Kadar said he was stepping down because of the weight of his Party duties. He remains First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party. The shake up of the Government had been rumored for months, but there had been no official confirmation until Kadar spoke this morning. The change was not expected to mean any major shift in Government policy. Kuennich and the others newly appointed have been closely associated with Kadar since he was installed as Prime Minister after Soviet tanks crushed the Revolution of 1956. In addition to Kadar's speech, other items on the Agenda are a report on the recently completed one year plan and a report on the general economic situation. While the reports on the one year plan and the economic situation were not expected by Western observers to reveal the country's true situation, demands for further belt-tightening accompanied by higher productivity were anticipated. Aside from Kadar's resignation, no political changes were expected to result from the session. An official spokesman said recently that the Government would be broadened to include non-Party men but stressed it was not likely to happen at this time. The session is expected to last three or four days. In a speech to Parliament, Kadar said there would be an amnesty for Hungarians who did not take active part in the revolt of October 1956. But he declared that revolt leader Gen. Pal Maleter and other leading figures would face trial. 'People who ask for freedom for Maleter for humanistic reasons are wrong', the Premier said. 'Maleter and the others must be sentenced under Hungarian Law'. Kadar also said that the Hungarian Army, which virtually disintegrated during the revolution, had been 'renewed' in the last half of 1957. The Communist chief also announced these major Government changes: the appointment of Valeria Benke as Minister of Culture. Benke, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is currently President of the Hungarian Radio and TV system. Gyula Kallai, former Minister of Culture, will become a Minister of State. Kallai is a Politburo and Central Committee member. Promotion of Antal Apro, a Deputy Prime Minister, to the post of First Deputy Minister. Apro also is a Politburo and Communist Central Committee member. Kadar told Parliament that a Government reorganization had resulted in fewer employees



but greater efficiency. He warned that in the future, persons in important posts would need guarantees of character. The Premier admitted that a great part of Hungarian intellectuals were 'reactionary' and many others were passive. He also complained of 'bourgeois influence' in the theater and the arts. In economic matters, Kadar claimed that the average workers' income had been upped by 14 to 16 per cent and peasants' income by 8 to 10 percent in the past year. But he warned that there will be no higher standards of living for the people at the moment.

c. Agence France Presse

(i) Vienna, 27 January - 'Après la démission de M. Janos Kadar, le Parlement de Budapest a, selon l'Agence hongroise 'M.T.I.' procédé à l'élection des nouveaux membres du Gouvernement. M. Ferenc Kuennich qui était jusqu'ici Premier Vice-Président du Conseil, devient Chef du Gouvernement, M. Antal Apro, devient Premier Vice-Président du Conseil, Mme Valérie Benke, jusqu'à présent Directrice de la Radio hongroise, devient Ministre de l'Instruction publique. MM. Janos Kadar et Gyula Kallay, ce dernier Ministre sortant de l'Instruction publique, ont été nommés tous deux Ministres sans portefeuille. Les autres postes gouvernementaux restent sans changement. M. Janos Kadar a déclaré dans son discours au Parlement qu'il désirait consacrer dorénavant toute son énergie à sa tâche de Premier Secrétaire du Parti révolutionnaire-ouvrier-paysan'.

(ii) Paris, 27 January (Gaston Fournier) - 'L'information selon laquelle M. Janos Kadar abandonne ses fonctions de Président du Conseil hongrois où il doit être remplacé par M. Ferencz Munnich, pour ne conserver que celles de Secrétaire général du Parti Communiste, ne doit pas être considérée, jusqu'à plus ample informé, comme l'indication d'une évolution subite de la situation politique en Hongrie. En effet, le remaniement gouvernemental, annoncé aujourd'hui, avait été décidé dès le 29 novembre dernier, lors de la réunion du Comité Central du Parti Communiste à Budapest, après le retour de Moscou de M. Janos Kadar. Tenue rigoureusement secrète, elle avait été, cependant, annoncée le 2 décembre par l'Agence France-Presse. C'est donc à l'issue des conversations que M. Kadar eût à Moscou avec les dirigeants soviétiques, que cette décision avait été prise. Elle ne semble pas indiquer un affaiblissement de la position politique de M. Janos Kadar qui conserve de ses deux fonctions, celle qui de loin en régime communiste, est la plus importante: Secrétaire général du Parti. Quant aux choix fait par Moscou de M. Ferencz Munnich pour le poste de Président du Conseil, il ne fait que traduire la confiance et la sympathie dans lesquelles ce vieux militant est tenu au Kremlin. Ferencz Munnich occupa le poste d'Ambassadeur de Hongrie à Moscou de 1949 à 1952 c'est-à-dire pendant toute la durée du régime Rakosi. On reconnaît généralement à Budapest que cette fonction sauva M. Munnich des 'épurations' dans lesquelles Rajk perdit la vie et Kadar la liberté. Dans les mois qui précédèrent l'insurrection d'octobre 1956 - baptisée depuis 'contre-révolution' - M. Munnich se rangea comme Kadar du côté des révisionnistes contre les Staliniens et prit une part active au mouvement d'idées qui aboutit au renversement du régime de Rakosi et de Gerö'.

(iii) Budapest, 27 January - "Pardon à ceux qui se sont trompés, châtinent sévère des coupables": tels sont, selon M. Janos Kadar -Président du Conseil démissionnaire de Hongrie - les principes qui ont guidé l'action de son Gouvernement dans sa lutte pour la défense de la République Populaire



face à la 'contre révolution'. M. Kadar, qui parlait devant le Parlement hongrois, et dont le discours a été diffusé par Radio Budapest, a fait le bilan de la situation actuelle de la Hongrie. Il s'est félicité de la consolidation du pouvoir populaire et a rendu hommage aux forces de l'ordre et aux tribunaux 'qui ont su faire respecter la loi', permettant ainsi au Gouvernement d'abolir la loi martiale, dès le Premier novembre dernier. Le Président du Conseil démissionnaire s'est ensuite élevé contre la pression exercée sur le Gouvernement hongrois par certains milieux occidentaux qui, invoquant des principes humanitaires, lui demandaient d'ammortir les principaux responsables du soulèvement tels que le Général Pál Maléter. 'Nous nous montrerons indulgents à l'égard des petits coupables a-t-il ajouté, mais les principaux responsables seront traduits devant la justice'. Dans le domaine économique, des progrès importants ont été réalisés, selon M. Kadar, ainsi la production industrielle, malgré les perturbations causées par l'insurrection, a dépassé de 6 % celles de 1955. Le salaire moyen des ouvriers a augmenté d'environ 15% et le revenu global des paysans s'est accru de 8 à 10%. M. Kadar a ensuite affirmé que la politique de son Gouvernement 'est approuvée par la grande majorité du peuple hongrois'. Pour illustrer le revirement de l'opinion publique, M. Kadar a évoqué la fête de la Constitution du 20 août à l'occasion de laquelle un million 500.000 personnes auraient participé aux différents meetings organisés par le Front populaire patriotique. 'L'action du Gouvernement a-t-il dit est soutenue par les syndicats, par les Jeunesses communistes réorganisées et par le Corps épiscopal de l'Eglise catholique'. M. Kadar a ajouté à l'actif de la politique gouvernementale le succès des candidats officiels aux récentes élections partielles (99% des votants) et le retour en Hongrie de plus de 28.000 des 200.000 Hongrois qui avaient quitté le pays en 1956. Abordant les problèmes internationaux, M. Kadar a dénoncé les tentatives d'intervention dans les affaires intérieures de la Hongrie faites par certains milieux occidentaux et par le Comité d'enquête de l'ONU. Après avoir appuyé les récentes propositions soviétiques visant à la défente, l'orateur a souligné que la Hongrie souhaitait l'amélioration de ses rapports avec tous les pays, et notamment avec la Yougoslavie. M. Kadar a terminé son discours en proposant son remplacement au poste de Président du Conseil par M. Ferenc Münnich afin qu'il puisse se consacrer entièrement à sa tâche de Premier Secrétaire du Parti ouvrier".

d. International News Service (M. Van Duyke)

Vienna, January 27 - Western observers believed Kadar's resignation was engineered by Moscow because the Kremlin no longer could afford to support a man who was so hated in his country. It was predicted in these quarters that a new wave of terror might be started by the Münnich regime in the Kadar pattern... Many of the Hungarians who were forced to flee abroad consider Münnich even more fanatically obedient to Moscow than Kadar.

e. Reuters

(1) Vienna, 27 January - The Hungarian National Assembly today elected Dr. Ferenc Münnich as Prime Minister in succession to Janos Kadar, who has resigned, the Hungarian News Agency M.T.I. reported. Münnich was one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party after World War II. He was first a judge and then chief of the Budapest Police. He later entered the diplomatic service, and was Hungarian Ambassador in Finland Bulgaria.



Yugoslavia and Russia. Muennich was appointed Minister of the Interior in the Nagy Government of October, 1956, and later joined Kadar's Government. At first he was Minister of Public Safety and Minister of the Armed Forces, but later held only the post of First Deputy Prime Minister. Kadar told Parliament that in recent months, Western circles had raised the question of an amnesty for those arrested during and after the uprising. But all the West wanted, he said, was for these people to be freed "for later use". Kadar in his speech referred to "men of the type of Maléter and Dery", but did not mention Nagy. Gen. Pal Maléter, Defense Minister in the Nagy Government held out against repeated Russian onslaughts on Budapest's Killian Barracks and Tibor Dery, a writer, was sentenced to nine years jail last fall.)

(11) Budapest, 27 January (Henderson Call) (Night lead) - Janos Kadar, 45, Hungarian Premier since Russian tanks quelled the 1956 revolt, handed in his resignation to Parliament today while retaining his key post as Communist Party chief. At the same time, he proposed 71-year-old First Deputy Premier Ferenc Muennich to succeed him as Premier. The Hungarian News Agency H.T.I. said tonight Parliament had approved the change. Foreign observers here said the switch indicated no change in the policy of the present regime which has steered the country securely back into the Communist fold from the turmoil of the uprising. One observer summed it up as "a change of front, but no change of direction". Muennich jovial-looking and spry for his years, appears to have played only a secondary role in Hungarian Affairs since the uprising, making few major speeches. Kadar, pale-faced and with thinning hair has headed an ever-strengthening state apparatus. He stamped out the last flickering embers of 1956 revolt, leading Hungary back into the Soviet fold. He became Communist Party First Secretary at the same time as he took over the premiership in the last days of the two-week revolt which began on October 23, 1956. A former steelworker, he organized a Communist resistance organization during World War II and was arrested by the German Gestapo. Emerging from the war as a leading figure in the Communist regime, he became Interior Minister in 1948, was forced to resign two years later for "Titoist" sympathies but was released soon after Stalin's death in 1953. Muennich was one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party. After World War II, he was first a judge and then Chief of the Budapest Police. Later he was Hungarian Ambassador in Finland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Russia. (Hungarian political observers in Vienna consider him an "obedient Muscovite"). The formal separation of the posts of Premier and Communist Party Chief - the post held in Russia by Nikita Khrushchev - puts Hungary into line with other East European countries. Observers here said Kadar presumably now will take the opportunity of trying to "consolidate" and clean up the Party which Communist leaders themselves have said disintegrated during the uprising. The Hungarian uprising began when groups of students, influenced by Poland's more liberal "new road to socialism" began demonstrating in the streets of Budapest. They were joined by workers demanding the withdrawal of Russian troops. Shots fired by the Hungarian Security Police as the crowds tried to enter the State Radio building sparked the revolt, crushed with Russian help after thousands of casualties. Close to 200,000 refugees fled to the West. Observers here added that with a Party strength of only about 370,000 in a nation of 9,000,000, a purge of Party members on the Polish pattern appears unlikely because of the sheer difficulty of replacing present officials. Kadar also



announced, at the end of a two-hour progress report in Parliament the resignation of Minister of Culture Gyula Kallai to devote himself to work in the Party, of which he is a Secretary. He said he and Kallai both will be ready to remain in the Government as Ministers of State. Kadar proposed the elevation of Antal Apro from Deputy Premier to First (Senior) Deputy Premier, replacing Muennich and the appointment of a woman, Valeria Benke - President of the Hungarian State Radio - as Culture Minister. The Hungarian official News Agency M.T.I. said tonight Parliament approved all the nominations. Kadar and Kallai both were appointed Ministers of State. The appointment of Apro, regarded by many Hungarians as a "Stalinist" of the old school, was considered natural in view of his seniority. Kallai, on the other hand, is seen by some observers as more liberal. He is said to have views close to those of Kadar. Speculation that Kadar would give up his premiership has been rife here for many months. Diplomatic observers said that by devoting himself to Party affairs, Kadar could be expected to keep a tighter grip on the Party and direct a "middle course" policy against extremism either from left or right. The observers said they did not believe the changes would succeed in gaining the regime any greater degree of popular support than it now has. Kadar ousted Imre Nagy as Premier on November 4, 1956 as Russian tanks rounded Budapest. He since has pursued a pro-Russian policy. Nagy, a "national" Communist, had proclaimed his country's "neutrality" between East and West and demanded the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary. He was seized by Soviet troops after the failure of the uprising and now is held in Romania. Kadar told Parliament that in recent months Western circles had raised the question of an amnesty for those arrested during and after the uprising. He said all the West wanted was for these persons to be freed "for later use". Kadar also referred to "men of the type of Maleter and Dery", but he did not mention Nagy. Gen. Pal Maleter, Defense Minister in the Nagy Government, held out against repeated Russian onslaughts on Budapest's Kilian barracks. Tibor Dery, one of Hungary's leading writers, was sentenced to nine years in prison last fall.

#### f. Columbia Broadcasting System

Earlier, on 26 January, CBS correspondent Dan Karasik, cabled from Budapest that although the Hungarian Government was publicising Premier Kadar's proposed visit to Marshall Tito as though it were definite, well-informed Yugoslavs in Belgrade said Tito would not receive Kadar for at least 2 or 3 months. Tito among policy matters first wanted to be assured of the fate of former Premier Nagy who had been kidnapped "after being lured" from the asylum of the Yugoslav Embassy.

Note : Newsweek reported on 23 October 1957: "Persistent reports reaching Vienna have it that Russians are considering four candidates to succeed Kadar, whose regime stands condemned by the U.N. and by the world. The prospects: Ferenc Muennich, Kadar's First Deputy Premier, a 71-year-old former lawyer who served as police chief during the postrevolt period; Karoly Kiss, a member of the Communist Central Committee; Antal Gyenes a Communist veteran of the Spanish civil war, who served in Nagy's short-lived government; and Zoltan Szanto, a Moscow-trained Communist who served briefly with Nagy, was taken with him into Rumanian captivity, and has since been released in Bucharest. The inside track is given to the clever, devious Muennich, who is a good friend of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito".