

HUNGARY TRIES TO BALANCE DOGMATISTS AND LIBERALS

Hungarian leader Kadar is faced with an embryonic resurgence of conservative elements that could sour his delicately constructed relations with Hungary's intellectuals, most of whom are liberals whose goodwill is necessary for the viability of his moderate regime.

The stronghold of the hard liners is the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, and the prime mover is its ex-chief, Josef Szigeti. Recently, the party had demoted him from his chairmanship because of his authoritarian methods, but Szigeti is now maneuvering to undermine Kadar's working relations with responsible liberals.

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[redacted] Szigeti's political durability and influence is derived from his ties with conservatives in the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Since the early sixties, the Hungarian party has largely kept its promise of simultaneously preventing the return of Stalinist attitudes while keeping "dangerous" liberals under control. Until censorship was lifted in Czechoslovakia, for example, Hungarian intellectuals probably had the most freedom of expression in Eastern Europe. Since the intervention, however, the liberals have borne the brunt of the authorities' crackdown against ideological devia-

tions, and they are now complaining that it has been too one-sided.

The party's failure to silence Szigeti and his supporters illustrates how insecure it is about Moscow's skepticism over Kadar's gradual liberal reforms. The Soviet Embassy staff, according to current Budapest rumors, is now closely watching even the most innocuous regional publications for signs of "dangerous" attitudes. In this tense atmosphere, the conservatives apparently feel free to work against liberal policies.

Kadar has tried to restore both the delicate balance and the calm of the period before the Czech invasion. Szigeti's demotion was one aspect of this effort. A party-government communiqué in early March reiterated the party's determination to fight both dogmatists and irresponsible liberals, and averred that political reforms were to be directed from the top rather

Courageous thinking is not individual adventurism and not gambling with the life of the people, but is always an integral part of the responsibility felt for the cause of the country, the people, reality, and socialism. According to our experiences, both the dogmatic and revisionist attitudes are equally dangerous.

*Hungarian party secretary Bela Biszku
in an address to the party political academy
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than forced by pressures from below, as happened in Czechoslovakia.

This tactic has been only partly successful. Conservative attacks on liberal proponents of meaningful sociological research have lessened, for example, but party controls over liberal sociolo-

gists have been increased, and liberal apprehensions over seeping Stalinism have not been assuaged. In many ways, the cultural scene mirrors Kadar's main political dilemma: maintaining movement in his domestic reforms without causing a coalescence of conservative opposition or alarming the Soviet Union.

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