THE THREE FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE

SOURCE: MUNICH: Confidential source.

DATE OF OBSERVATION: Until October 1957.

ENGLISH SUMMARY: Full English translation follows Hungarian Text.

EVALUATION COMMENT: It is generally held that the Hungarian Communist Party is "beset by ideological factions and personal intrigues" (London "Economist" of 5 July 1957) and that the basis of the factional strife is to be found not so much in different ideological viewpoints as in "personal differences" or simply in the effort to improve personal positions in the Party (Viktor Mayer in "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 22 July 1957).

Janos Kadar is usually mentioned as the leader of a moderate wing "trying to carry on a policy fairly similar to that of Khrushchev"..."deeply engaged in an almost constant battle against the hard-line Stalinists who wish to stiffen the Hungarian Party against any moderate course" (H. Salisbury in "New York Times" of 4 October 1957).

It would be very important to know with the greatest possible certainty how the various leaders of the Party are aligned in the rival factions. Even the most qualified Western correspondents have so far given few clues in this regard, quoting only the names of four or five of the most apparent personalities, and leaving us in the dark as to the rest. This is a subject on which it is extremely difficult to learn anything firm, because the existence of rival factions in the highest Party leadership is normally not admitted until the strife leads to the elimination of some person or persons from the leadership, and even then few names are mentioned.

This report undertakes the task of breaking down into three factions all the members of the Central Committee except one (First Secretary of the "Gesell" -- former "Rakosi" -- Iron and Metal Works, Debrecen). The factions are: 1) a left wing, to be identified with the "get tough" or "Stalinist" side; 2) a right wing, by which obviously the moderates are meant; and
3) a group of " neutrals" wavering between them. Moreover, the report attempts to give a complete breakdown of the rival factions within the Politburo and the Secretariat. As this is the first known attempt at giving such a complete picture, it will be possible to establish its real value only when more and similarly complete reports on this subject are available.

It is interesting that the report assigns REVAI to the category of the "wavering neutrals", while he is usually identified as a member of the "get tough" side (see e.g. SALISBURY's article in the "New York Times" of 4 October 1957). It might be conjectured, however, that REVAI, the last member of the post-war "Big Four" of the Party to remain on the scene (the others being RAKOSI and GERO, now in "exile" — probably in the Soviet Union, and Mihaly FARKAS, in jail in Hungary), actually refuses to gang up with either of the main factions but, as an "ex cathedra" spokesman of ideological orthodoxy, happens to throw in his weight with the tactical "get tough" line represented by Karoly KISS, Antal APRO (who held high offices during the RAKOSI era) and Gyorgy MARCSAN, whose relentless "hot gospelling" against the "counter-revolution" obviously places him among the "tough school.

Béla NISZKEV seems to be a promising young (born in 1921) upstart of Hungarian Communism. He joined the underground Communist Party in 1944. After Hungary's "liberation" he worked for a short time in the reorganization of the police. Afterwards he rose steadily in the hierarchy of Party functionaries, attaining a solid medium-cadre level (secretary of the BUDAPEST-XIII district Party Committee) by the time the October 1956 revolution broke out. According to his official biography (see "Nepszabads"ag of 3 March 1957) he took an active part in the reorganization of the BUDAPEST Party organizations already before 4 November 1957. The fact that he was born in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (now incorporated in Soviet Ukraine), and thus very likely speaks Russian, must also be borne in mind in judging his position.

SALISBURY labeled Ferenc MUNNIICH "a fence-sitter, ready to come down on the winning side...in the constant tug of war...going on between the hard and soft faction" (see "New York Times" of 4 October 1957) while this report places MUNNIICH in the category of the "left-wingers", i.e. on the "tough side". MUNNIICH is one of the veterans of the Hungarian "revolutionary labor movement", a moscowite member of the "old guard", though in a lower echelon than REVAI. He established a rather "tough" record as minister of the armed forces after 4 November 1956. As first deputy prime minister since 23 February 1957 he might be the "tough" counterpart of "soft" Premier KADAR at the governmental summit.

All persons mentioned in this report are listed in our files. The following comments are to supplement what is said about some of them in the body of the report:

(over)
Lajos PEHER — he was formally rebuked by the then Premier, HEGEDUS, for supporting Imre NAGY's New Course ("Szabad Nep" of 11 June 1955). His great influence in the KADAR government was soon discovered by the Western press. He was mentioned at mid-December 1956 as chief editor of "Nepszabadsag". He was also labeled KADAR's private secretary and advisor. Until the end of April 1957 he was government commissioner for coalmining — a somewhat strange assignment in view of his background as an agricultural expert. Since May 1957 he has been a member of the editorial board of "Tarsadalmi Szemle", and of late he has been giving his attention to problems of agriculture.

Jeno FOCH — his involvement in the CSEPEL riots of early January 1957 can be implied from the fact that on 11 January 1957 he made a statement to Radio BUDAPEST about the reasons for the abdication of the CSEPEL Workers' Council.

Sandor NOGRADI — was mentioned in "Nepszabadsag" of 7 February 1957 as "section chief" of the Central Committee. That there must have been some struggle over his election to the Central Committee is shown by the fact that he was not made a member of the provisional central committee which was set up on 22 February 1957, but became a member only on June 30 at the Party Conference. He was appointed Ambassador to PEKING on 11 May 1957.

Laszlo ORBAN — he is chief of the Central Committee's Cultural and Scientific Section. He was deputy chief of the same section from February 1955 until the revolution. In March 1957 he was mentioned as deputy chief of the Central Committee's agit. prop. section.

Jozsef PRIESTOL — a former deputy minister of Communications and Posts, since February 1957 he has been chief (first chairman and later first secretary) of the county Party Committee of the highly industrialized Borsod county.

Mrs. Ference CSERVENKA — she was mentioned as deputy chief of the Central Committee's agit. prop. section already in April 1955.

Istvan FRISS — is a section chief of the Central Committee; it has not been stated, however, of which section. He is also known to be the top economic expert of the KADAR regime (see e.g. MUNICH RFE Item No. 6125/17).

Jozsef PETTHONYIK — he was last mentioned as director of the NOGRAD coal-mining trust.

Istvan TOMPE — he fought in the Spanish Civil war. LONDON RFE Item No. 1847/37 quoted him as "a hard-boiled muscovite".

Bela FOCARAST — is deputy chairman of the Hungarian (over)
Scientific Academy and a leading philosopher of the regime, chief editor of the Philosophical Review.

Laszlo FOLDES -- chief of the Central Committee's cadre section and chairman of the Hungarian Partisan Association.

Sandor HARMATI -- is chairman of the BUDAPEST 10th district local council.

Karoly NEMETH -- has been first secretary of the Csongrad county Party committees since 1955.

Jozsef SANDOR -- is chief of the Central Committee's section for Party and Mass Organization. In 1955 he was mentioned as deputy chief of the section for Party economy (partgazdasagi).

Kalman SANDOR -- is chairman of the "Voros Csillag" (Red Star) kolkhoz of TURKEVE.

Mrs. Lajos SCHERGTER -- she is a much publicized textile worker in the BUDAPEST Hemp and Jute Factory. "Nepszabadsag" of 10 April 1957 praised her for her excellent conduct during the revolution. In September 1957 she was elected deputy chairman of the National Council of Hungarian Women.

Istvan SZURDI -- chief of the Central Committee's industrial section.

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Frakciók az MSZMP központi bizottságában
Conflicting Groups Within the Central Committee of the MSZMP

A Magyar Socialista Munkáspárt vezetői minden alkalom
megragadnak, hogy kifeje egy part egységét képleten-nyomon hagynyosz-
zák. A valóság ezzel szemben az, hogy a part központi bizottsága
háromfelé van szakadva. Az egymással szemben álló, KÁDÁR vezetése
alatt tömörül "jobb szárny" és a KISS Károly körül csoportosul
"bal szárny" tagjai már az MSZMP magalakulása óta különbözetlen személyi
harcot folytatnak egymás ellen. A harmadik frakciót az ingatag
magatartása "semlegesek" csoportja képezi.

KÁDÁR és KISS hívei között rági keletű, személyi ter-
mészetű ellentétek állanak szemmel. A két frakció e személyi ellen-
tétek alapján akkor kettőt határozott formákat aláírak, míg
az az új kommunista part vezető állásaiból betöltéséért KÁDÁR és
KISS között kitört a pozicióharc. A kiadalmi minőség változatlan
elsőszámosgal feláll a két frakció között és egyetlen, hogy egyik
felénem is sikerült végleg felülvizsgálatának.

A két "szárny" között kevés az elvi ellentét. Legfeljebb
csak annyi, hogy KISS Károly csoportja, ha lehet az egy fokkal még
teljesen és elvákat, mint KÁDÁR és hívei. A saját partvonal
követésében különböző minőségi csoport versenyes egymással és
iparkodik a maga számára MSZMP-ban minél több jövőt nyújtani.

Az egymásvetett semlegesek közé egy-két olyan kimagasló
kommunista vezető tartozik csupán, mint BISSZU Béla vagy REVAT
József, aki egyéni idejük nem követik le magukat sem KÁDÁR, sem
KISS Károly mellett vélés.

A semlegesek népessége különböző kulturált övatos
opportunista elemekből, kisalakú pártfunkcionáriusokból verődött
össze. Ezek most KÁDÁRhoz húznak, mert ott látják az erőfölényt.
Ha viszont CHRUSCÓVÉK KISS Károlyt állitanak az MSZMP elérő
állításait, gondolkodás nélküli támogatásuk.

A központi Bíróság végleges szárnya 22 tagból áll.
Mivel a 19 "semleges" — egy-két kivételől eltakintve —
opportunizmusból a "jobbszárvát" támogatja, KÁDÁRék a központi
bizottságban eddig már mindig jelentős többséggel tudták akaratukat
keresztül vinni. KISS Károlynek azzal a testületben mindössze
csak 11 híve van.

Az MSZMP másik két irányító szervezeten, a politikai
bizottságban és a titkosítást már nem ilyen kirepén KÁDÁRék fölénye,
KÁDÁR támogatja.

(over)
A politikai bizottság tagjai közül FEHÉR Lajos, FOCK Jenő, KÁLLAI Gyula, RÓNÁI Sándor és SOMOGYI Miklós; APRÓ Antal, MAROSAN György és MÜNNICH Ferenc pedig KISS Károlyt támogatják, BISZKU Béla egyelőre KADÁRT támogatja, de csak "tisztes távolból".

A legfontosabb párt irányító szervben, a titkárságban, KÁDÁR János, FOCK Jenő és KÁLLAI Gyula, illetve KISS Károly és MAROSÁN György állnak egymással szemben.

A KADÁR-frakció — a "Jobbszárny"

The KADÁR Group — The "Right Wing"

Az MSZMP központi bizottságának tagjai közül az alábbiak tartoznak a KADÁR-csoporthoz:

AGNEW György művelésügyi miniszterhelyettes,

BOKKA Attila, a Nagy-BUDAPESTI pártbizottság titkára.

KÁDÁR BORJA és MAROSÁN ellensúlyozására helyezte ebbe a pozícióba,

BRÜTTY János, az építőipari szakszervezet titkára.

Szókimondó, kritikus természetű ember. Mint általában a szakszervezeti vezetők, házból támogatja KADÁRT, mivel a munkástanácsokat letörte és esztél ismét helyreállította a pártvonalas szakszervezeti funkcionárisok egyedürről.

FEHÉR Lajos KADÁR egyik legbizalmasabb tanácsadója.


KADÁR FEHÉRT még 1956 november elején BUDAPESTRE hivatta, ahol az első hetekben, minden hivatali cím nélkül, ő irányította a "Népszabadság" szerkesztőbizottságát, majd ország szén- és olajgyártóknek legfőbb irányítását és ellenőrzését bízták rá, jelenleg a központi bizottság egyik osztályvezetője.

FEHÉRT jellemző, hogy 1957 szeptemberében volt ujságíró kollégájának felesége, NOVÓHÁCZKY Sándorné, hivatalában felkereste és kérte, hogy letartóztatásban levő férje árulkében járjon közben KADÁRNél. FEHÉR NOVÓHÁCZKYNÉT ridegen elutasította.

FOCK Jenő, a Központi Bizottság titkára. 1957 januárjában a kormány és a párt őt bízta meg a kiujult CSEPELI ellenállás letörésével.

GÁSPÁR Sándor, a SZOT főtitkára,

HORVÁTH Imre, külügyminiszter,
KÁLLAI Gyula, művelődésügyi miniszter,
KISS Árpád, a Tervhivatal elnöke,
KOSSA István, közlekedés- és postáügyi miniszter,
LOSONGI Pál, a RÁGOSI "Vörös Csillag" TSZ elnöke,
NYEMES Dzsó, a "Népszabadság" szerkesztőbizottságának
vezetője. Inkább pártideológus, mint ujságíró.

Dr. NEZVÁL Ferenc igazságügyminiszter,
ROGHADI Sándor, PEKINGI nagykövet. A fonnadalmat mege-
lőző hónapokban mint az MDP agit-prop csatlakozott is a
vezetője, külö-
nösen ami a sajtó ellenőrzést illette, gyengések emberek bizonyult.
KISS Károlyák erre való hivatkozásokat t尔takoztak az új párt
központi bizottságána való bevállalása ellen. KADÁR azonban
erősen kiált "Sándor bicsi" mellett, igykerült is KP-tagot
csinálni boldogságban, miután a "békesség kevésért" előtt már elklőtte
PEKINGbe.

NYERS Rezső, a SZÍVOSZ Igazgatóságának elnöke. KADÁR
régi barátja. Már főműködésiügyi miniszter szeretett volna lenni,
még KADÁR segítségével sem sikerült ezt a pozíciót megszerznie.
KADÁRNak a KISS Károlyakkal folytatott tárgyalások során NYERSet
a kompromisszum érdekében el kellett ajtania. Azóta NYERS
DÖGBI-
nak és protektorának, KISS Károlyának halálos ellensége.

OREN Dávid, az MSZMP országgyűlési barátja,
PRESZOL Jósef, magyar párbizottsági titkár, KADÁR
barátja, legeszerűbb környezetéhez tartozik.

RÉVÉSZ Géza altábornagy, honvédelmi miniszter,
RÓNAI Sándor, az Országgyűlés elnöke,

SONGYI Miklós, a SŽT elnöke. Mint a Párt központi
ellenőrző bizottságának elnöke, ma azt a tisztség tölti be az
MSZMPhen, mint korábban KISS Károly az MDPben. KISS Károly ezért
SONGYINak ádás ellenfele.

SZIRMAI István, a Táj kormányzati hivatal elnöke.

The KISS Károly Group -- The "Left Wing"

KISS Károly, a Központi Bizottság titkára. Ezredeti
foglalkozása elkötelezés között. Régi, kirúgbált kommunista,
vög RÁKOSI legmagasabb hivánek ismerték. Ha száza évvel át
az MDP rejtett központ ellenőrző bizottságának elnöke volt,
akkor a minőségén mindig szándékosan feltűnt hívását végre
a pártban a RÁKOSI által elrendelt "szociális tisztességekot.
KADÁRral régi kései személyi alapjátukon áll. KADÁR az MSZMP
megeközönségében egyik legnépszerűbb hivatalnak tekintette, hogy KISSst
(over)
a legfelső pártvezetésből eltávolítása. Ezt a tervet azonban KISS érdemei és kipróbált szovjetthűsége miatt nem tudta megvalósítani.

KISS Károly szárnyához az alábbi KB-tagok tartoznak:
APRÓ Antal, a minisztertanács elnök helyettese,
BENKE Valéria, a Magyar Rádió elnöke.

CSERVENKA Ferencné, a KB agit-prop osztályának vezető helyettese. Kis kalibertű pártfunkcionáriusnő. Csak annak köszönheti, hogy a KB tagja lett, hogy KISS Károly, mint egyik legodaadóbb hivót, a KÁDÁR által támogatott SZIRMAI István kiegyszerűsítésére, kompromisszum alapján "választotta meg".

DÖGEI Imre, földművelésügyi miniszter,
FRISS István, a KB osztályvezetője, a párt elméleti közgazdasági szakértői járás, KISS Árpád ellenlábásába.

MAROSÁN György, a KB titkára,
MÜNNICH Ferenc, a minisztertanács első elnök helyettese,
POTHORNYI József, bányavállalati igazgató,
TÖMPE István a Belügyminiszter első helyettese, volt partizán,
USZTA Gyula a honvédelmi miniszter első helyettese.

"elemesek" csomagja
The "Neutral Group"

TÁKÓ Ágnes, a VIII. ker. pártbizottság első titkára,
BISZKU Béla, belügyminiszter,
DEBRONOKI Gyula, óelmezdésügyi miniszterhelyettes,
FOGARASI Béla, akadémikus,
PÖLDES László, a KB osztályvezetője,
HARMATTI Sándor, a X. ker. tanács elnöke,
KOMÓCSIN Zoltán, a KISZ első titkára,
KRESZÁN Lajos, a Ganz Vaggygvár pártbizottságának titkára,
MAJOR Tamás, a Nemzeti Színház igazgatója,
K. NAGY Sándor, T33 elnök,
ITEM NO. 6496/57

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NÉMETH Károly, megyei pártbizottsági titkár,
NOVORÁČZKY Károly, egyetemi tanár,
RÉVAI József, az Elnöki Tanács elnökhelyettese,
SÁGI György főmérnök,
SÁNDOR József a KB osztályvezetője,
SÁNDOR Kálmán, TSZ elnök,
SCHERCZER Lajosné, fonónő
SZURDI István, a KB osztályvezetője,
TÖRÖK István, a vasas szakszervezet titkára.
The leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party seize every opportunity to emphasize to the outside world the Party's unity. In reality, however, the Party's Central Committee is divided into three groups. The members of the "right wing" under the leadership of KADAR and the "left wing" grouped around Karoly KISS have been carrying out a ruthless personal war against each other since the formation of the HSWP. The third faction is composed of the irresolve "neutrals".

Between the followers of KADAR and KISS longstanding differences of personal character exist. The struggle between these two factions, on the basis of these personal differences, started to take a positive form when the battle for position broke out between KADAR and KISS at the time the leading positions in the new Communist Party were being filled. The struggle has continued with unchanged determination between the two factions and for the moment neither party has been able to gain the upper hand.

KADAR and his companions were supposedly not informed at the time of the imminent liquidation of the KOLOTOV group charged with "leftist deviation", since then they would have organized the Party conference to take place somewhat later than the end of June 1956 and, following the Soviet example, would have been able to carry out the defeat of the "left wing" -- Karoly KISS and his followers.

On the question of principles there is comparatively little difference between the two "wings". Karoly KISS's group, if possible, is a degree more extremist and blind than KADAR and his followers. All three factions are competing with each other in following the Soviet Party line and are trying to collect the highest number of good marks for themselves in MOSCOW.

Only one or two outstanding Communist leaders belong to the so-called neutrals, as for example, Bela BISZKU or Jossef REVAI, who in their own interest do not tie themselves down definitely either to the KADAR or the KISS group.

The numerous neutral group is composed mostly of careful and opportunistic elements and Party officials of small calibre. These are now drawn toward KADAR as they perceive the superiority to be there. If, however, KHRUSHCHEV and his companions were to put Karoly KISS at the head of the HSWP, the neutrals would support him without hesitation.

The KADAR wing of the Central Committee is composed of 22 members. Since the 19 "neutrals", with the exception of one or two, support the "right wing" because of opportunism, up to now KADAR and his group have always succeeded in carrying out their wishes with a significant majority in the Central Committee. In this body, Karoly KISS has altogether only 11 followers.

In the two other directing organs of the HSWP -- the Politburo and the Secretariat -- the superiority of KADAR and his group (over)
is not so flagrant.

Of the members of the Politburo, Lajos FEHER, Jenő POCK, Gyula KALLAI, Sandor RONAI and Miklos SOMOGYI support Janos KADAR; Antal APRO, Gyorgy MAROSAN and Ferenc MUNNICH, on the other hand, support Karoly KISS. Bela RISZKU supports KADAR for the time being but from a "safe distance" only.

In the most important directing organ, the Secretariat, Janos KADAR, Jenő POCK and Gyula KALLAI face Karoly KISS and Gyorgy MAROSAN.

The KADAR Group -- the "Right Wing"

Among the members of the Central Committee of the HSWP, the following belong to the KADAR group:

Gyorgy ACZEL, Deputy Minister of Public Education;

Attila BORKA, secretary of the Great-BUDAPEST Party committee. KADAR appointed BORKA to this position to counter-balance MAROSAN.

Janos BRUTYO, secretary of the trade union of the building industry. He is an outspoken person of a critical nature. Like the trade union leaders in general, he too supports KADAR out of gratitude as he broke up the workers' councils and thus re-established the sole rule of the Party-line trade union officials.

Lajos FEHER, is one of KADAR's most confidential counselors. He is of peasant descent, a journalist with a teacher's diploma. Till 1955 he was agricultural editor of "Szabad Nap". In 1953 he approved Imre NAGY's new agrarian policy in several articles. After Imre NAGY's defeat, FEHER was exiled at the order of RAKOSI to one of the State farms where he worked as an agronomist till KADAR came to power. During the revolution he behaved with the greatest reserve and did not play any part. Already at the beginning of November 1956, KADAR called FEHER to BUDAPEST where, during the first weeks, without any official title, he directed the editorial committee of "Nepszabadang". Later he was put in charge of the chief direction and control of the nation's coal affairs; later he was promoted to the rank of department chief in the Central Committee. It is characteristic of FEHER that when in September 1957, Mrs. Sandor SOVÓBAZKÓ, wife of one of his former journalist colleagues, came to see him and asked for his intervention with KADAR in the interest of her arrested husband, he abruptly refused her request.

Jeno POCK, secretary of the Central Committee. He was appointed by the government and Party in January 1957 to break the (over)
renewed riots in CSEP E L.

Sandor GASPAR, first secretary of the National Trade Union Committee;

Imre HORVATH, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Gyula KALLAI, Minister of Education;

Arpad KISS, president of the Planning Board;

Istvan KOSSA, Minister of Transport and Telecommunications;

Pal LOSONCZI, leader of the editorial committee of "Nepszabadsag". Earlier he worked in the Hungarian Workers' Party Agitprop department. He edited "Nepnevelo" and also wrote several seminary textbooks. He is more of a Party ideologist than a journalist.

Denes NEMES is chief of the editorial committee of "Nepszabadsag". He is rather a Party ideologist than a journalist.

Dr. Ferenc NEZVAL, Minister of Justice;

Sandor NOGRADI, Ambassador in PEKING. During the months preceding the revolution he was head of the Hungarian Workers' Party Agitprop department; on the other hand, he proved to be weak concerning the control of the press. Karoly KISS and his group referred to this when they protested against his election to the Party's Central Committee. KADAR, however, strongly sided with the election of "Uncle Sandor" and succeeded in making him a member of the Central Committee after he had been appointed Ambassador to PEKING.

rezso NYERS, president of the National Association of Cooperatives (SZVOSZ) an old friend of KADAR; although he would have liked to become Minister of Agriculture, he was unsuccessful in achieving his ambition, in spite of KADAR's help. During the course of negotiations between KADAR and Karoly KISS and his group, the former was compelled to drop NYERS in the interest of the compromise. Since then NYERS has been the mortal enemy of DOGEI and his protector Karoly KISS.

Laszlo ORBAN, department chief of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Jozsef PRIESZOL, county party committee secretary, friend of KADAR, belongs to his most intimate friends.

Geza REYESZ, lieutenant-general, Minister of Defense;

Sandor RONAI, President of the National Assembly;

Miklos SOMOGYI, president of the National Council of Trade...
Unions. As president of the Central Control Committee, he holds the same position today in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party that Karoly KISS did earlier in the Hungarian Workers' Party. For this reason KISS is a bitter rival of SOMOGYI.

Istvan SZIRMAI, president of the Information Bureau.

The KISS Group -- the "Left Wing"

Karoly KISS is a secretary of the Central Committee; his original occupation was maker of shoe uppers. He is an old, proved Communist, known to be throughout the most reliable follower of RAKOSI. For years he was president of the much-feared Central Control Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party. In this capacity he always carried out without hesitation the personal purges in the Party ordered by RAKOSI.

There are personal differences of long standing between him and KADAR. Therefore, KADAR when the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was organized, regarded it as his chief aim to remove KISS from the highest Party leadership. He was, however, unable to carry out this plan because of KISS's merits and tested loyalty to the Soviets.

The following eight members of the Central Committee belong to Karoly KISS's wing:

Antal APRO, deputy president of the Council of Ministers;

Valeria HENKE, president of the Radio;

Mrs. Ferenc CSEVENYKA, deputy head of the Central Committee's propaganda section. She is a Party official of small importance. Her membership of the Central Committee is due to Karoly KISS -- she is one of his most loyal followers -- who let her be elected on a "compromise basis" in order to counter-balance Istvan SZIRMAI, protected by KADAR.

Imre DOGEI, Minister of Agriculture;

Istvan FRISS, department chief of the Central Committee; the Party's authority on theoretical economy, Arpad KISS's adversary.

Gyorgy HARCAN, Central Committee secretary;

Perenc MUNNIQUE, first deputy president of the Council of Ministers;

Joaser POTHONYIK, mining enterprises' director;
Istvan TOMPE, first deputy minister of Interior, former partisan;
Gyula USZTA, first deputy minister of Defense.

The "Neutral Group"

Agnes BAKO, first secretary of the 8th district Party Committee;
Bela BISZKU, Minister of the Interior;
Gyula DABRONOKI, deputy Minister of Food Industry;
Bela FOGARASI, member of the Academy;
Laszlo FOLDES, department chief of the Central Committee;
Sandor HARMATI, council president of 10th district;
Zoltan KOMOCZIN, first secretary of KISZ (Communist Youth Association);
Lajos KRESAN, secretary of the Ganz factory's Party Committee;
Tamas MAJOR, director of the National Theatre;
Sandor K. NAGY, president of the farmers' co-operatives;
Karoly NEMET, county Party committee secretary;
Karoly NOVOBACZKY, university professor;
Jozsef REVAI, deputy president of the Presidium;
Gyorgy SAGI, chief engineer;
Jozsef SANDOR, department chief of the Central Committee;
Kalman SANDOR, president of the farmers' co-operatives;
Mrs. Lajos SCHERCZER, textile worker;
Istvan SZURDI, department chief of the Central Committee;
Istvan TOROK, secretary of the iron industry trade union.