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HUNGARYCOMMUNIST PARTY (0604)PERSONALITIES (2101)THE THREE FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEESOURCE 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 28 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 "Coepel" -- former "Rakosi" -- Iron and Metal Works, Deaso ZISS). 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

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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 PARKAS, 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 MAROSAN, whose relentless "hot gospelling" against the "counter-revolution" obviously places ^{him} among the "tough" school.

Bela HISZKU 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 "Nepszabadsag" 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 MUNNICH "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 MUNNICH in the category of the "Left-wingers", i.e. on the "tough side". MUNNICH is one of the veterans of the Hungarian "revolutionary labor movement", a muscovite 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 28 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:

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Lajos FEHER -- 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 FOCK -- 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 28 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 1956 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. Ferenc CSERVENKA -- she was mentioned as deputy chief of the Central Committee's agit. prop. section already in April 1955.

Istvan PRISS -- 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. 6125/57).

Jozsef PETHORNYEK -- 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. 1847/57 quoted him as "a hard-boiled muscovite".

Bela POGARASI -- is deputy chairman of the Hungarian

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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 committee 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) kolkhhoz of TURKEVE.

Mrs. Lajos SCHERCEZ -- 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.

Frakciók az MSZMP központi bizottságábanConflicting Groups Within the Central Committee of the MSZMP

A Magyar Socialisták Munkáspárt vezetői minden alkalmat megragadnak, hogy kifelé a párt egységét lépten-nyomon hangsúlyozzák. A valóság ezzel szemben az, hogy a párt központi bizottsága háromfelé van szakadva. Az egymással szemben álló, KADÁR vezetése alatt tömörülő "jobbszárny" és a KISS Károly körül csoportosuló "baliszárny" tagjai már az MSZMP megalakulása óta kiméretlen személyi harcot folytatnak egymás ellen. A harmadik frakciót az ingatag magatartású "semlegesek" csoportja képezi.

KADÁR és KISS hívei között régi keletű, személyi természetű ellentétek állnak fenn. A két frakció e személyi ellentétek alapján akkor kezdett határozott formákat ölteni, mikor az új kommunista párt vezető állásainak betöltéséért KADÁR és KISS között kitört a pozícióharc. A küzdelem mindmáig változatlan elszánttsággal folyik a két frakció között és egyelőre még egyik félnek sem sikerült végleg felülkerekednie. KADÁRék feltehetően nem voltak idejében tájékozva a "baloldali elhajlással" vádolt MOLOTOV-csoport küszöbön álló likvidálásáról, különben az MSZMP párttervezését nem 1967 június végén, hanem valamivel későbbben rendezték volna meg a így szovjet példára a vezetőségből kibukathatták volna a "baloldali" KISS Károlyt és híveit.

A két "szárny" között kevés az elvi ellentét. Legfeljebb csak annyi, hogy KISS Károly csoportja, ha lehet egy fokkal még talzóbb és elvakultabb, mint KADÁR és hívei. A szovjet pártvonal követésében különben mindhárom csoport versenyez egymással és iparkodik a maga számára MOSZKVA-ban minél több jópontot gyűjteni.

Az ugynevezett semlegesek közé egy-két olyan kimagasló kommunista vezető tartozik csoportján, mint BISZKU Béla vagy RÉVAI József, akik egyéni érdekeik nem kötik le magukat sem KADÁR, sem KISS Károly mellett végleg.

A semlegesek népes tömege különben javarészt óvatos, opportunus elemekből, "kiszármag" pártfunkcionáriusokból verődött össze. Ezek most KADÁRhoz húzódnak, mert ott látják az erőfölényt. Ha viszont CHRUSCOVÉK KISS Károlyt állítanák az MSZMP élére, gondolkodás nélkül támogatnák.

A Központi Bizottság KADÁR szárnya 22 tagból áll. Mivel a 19 "semleges" -- egy-két kivételtől eltekintve -- opportunizmusból a "jobbszárnyat" támogatja, KADÁRék a Központi Bizottságban eddig még mindig többséggel tudták akaratukat keresztül vinni. KISS Károlynak ebben a tekintetben mindössze csak 11 híve van.

Az MSZMP másik két irányító szervében, a politikai bizottságban és a titkárságban már nem ilyen kirívó KADÁRék fölénye. KADÁRt támogatja.

A politikai bizottság tagjai közül FEHÉR Lajos, FOCK Jenő, KÁLLAI Gyula, RÓNAI Sándor és SOMOGYI Miklós; APRÓ Antal, MAROSÁN György és MÜNNICH Ferenc pedig KISS Károlyt támogatják, BISZKU Béla egyelőre KÁDÁRT támogatja, de csak "tisztas 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 KÁDÁR-frakció -- a "Jobbszárny"

The KÁDÁR Group -- The "Right Wing"

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

ACZÉL György művelésügyi miniszterhelyettes,

BORKA Attila, a Nagy-BUDAPESTI pártbizottság titkára. KÁDÁR BORKÁT MAROSÁN ellensúlyozására helyezte ebbe a pozícióba,

BRUTTYÓ János, az építőipari szakszervezet titkára. Szókimondó, kritikus természetű ember. Mint általában a szakszervezeti vezetők, hálából támogatja KÁDÁRT, mivel a munkástanácsokat letörte és ezáltal ismét helyreállította a pártvonalas szakszervezeti funkcionáriusok egyeduralmát.

FEHÉR Lajos, KÁDÁR egyik legbizalmasabb tanácsadója. Paraszti származású, tanári oklevéllel rendelkező újságíró. 1955-ig a "Szabad Nép" mezőgazdasági rovatát vezette. 1953-ben több cikkben helyeselte NAGY Imre új agrárpolitikáját. NAGY Imre bukása után FEHÉRT RÁKOSI utasítására az egyik állami gazdaságba száműzték, ahol egészen KÁDÁR hatalomrajutásáig, mint agronómus dolgozott. A forradalom alatt a legóvatosabban viselkedett, semmiféle szerepet nem játszott.

KÁDÁR FEHÉRT még 1956 november elején BUDAPESTRE hívatta, ahol az első hetekben, minden hivatali cím nélkül, ő irányította a "Népszabadság" szerkesztőbizottságát, majd országos- és olajügyeinek legfőbb irányítását és ellenőrzését bízták rá, jelenleg a központi bizottság egyik osztályvezetője.

FEHÉRre jellemző, hogy 1957 szeptemberében volt újságíró kollégájának felesége, NOVOBÁ CZKY Sándorné, hivatalában felkereste és kérte, hogy letartóztatásban levő férje érdekében járjon közben KÁDÁRNÁL. FEHÉR NOVOBÁ CZKYNÉT ridegen elutasította.

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

GÁSPÁR Sándor, a SZOT főtitkára,
HORVÁTH Imre, külügyminiszter,

KÁLLAI Gyula, művelődésügyi miniszter,
KISS Árpád, a Tervhivatal elnöke,
KOSSA István, közlekedés- és postaügyi miniszter,
LOSONCZI Pál, a BARCSI "Vörös Csillag" TSZ elnöke,
NEMES Dezső, a "Népszabadság" szerkesztőbizottságának vezetője. Inkább pártideológus, mint újságíró.

Dr. NEZVÁL Ferenc igazságügyminiszter,
NOGRADI Sándor, PEKINGI nagykövet. A forradalmat megelőző hónapokban mint az MDP agit-prop osztályának vezetője, különösen ami a sajtó ellenőrzését illette, gyengékes embernek bizonyult. KISS Károlyék erre való hivatkozással tiltakoztak az új párt központi bizottságába való beválasztása ellen. KÁDÁR azonban erősen kiállt "Sándor bácsi" mellett, igysikerült is KP-tagot csinálni belőle, miután a "békesség kedvéért" előtt már elküldte PEKINGBE.

NYERS Rezső, a SZÖVOSZ Igazgatóságának elnöke. KÁDÁR régi barátja. Bár földművelésügyi miniszter szeretett volna lenni, még KÁDÁR segítségével sem sikerült ezt a pozíciót megszereznie. KÁDÁRnak a KISS Károlyékkal folytatott tárgyalások során NYERSet a kompromisszum érdekében el kellett ejtenie. Azóta NYERS DÖGEI-nek és protektorának, KISS Károlynak halálos ellensége.

ORBÁN László, az MSZMP osztályvezetője,

PRIEZOŁ József, megyei pártbizottsági titkár, KÁDÁR barátja, legszorosabb környezetéhez tartozik.

RÉVÉSZ Géza altábornagy, honvédelmi miniszter,

RÓNAI Sándor, az Országgyűlés elnöke,

SOMOGYI Miklós, a SZOT elnöke. Mint a Párt központi ellenőrző bizottságának elnöke, ma azt a tisztelet tölti be az MSZMPben, mint korábban KISS Károly az MDPben. KISS Károly ezért SOMOGYInak állandó ellenfele.

SZIRMAI István, a Tájékoztatói Hivatal elnöke.

A KISS Károly félé csoport -- a "Balszájny"

The KISS Károly Group -- The "Left Wing"

KISS Károly, a Központi Bizottság titkára. Születi foglalkozása cipőfelsőrész készítő. Régi, kipróbált kommunista, végig RAKOSI legmegbízhatóbb hívének ismerték. Hosszu éveken át az MDP rettegett központi ellenőrző bizottságának elnöke volt. Ebben a minőségben mindig gondolkodás nélkül hajtott végre a pártban a RAKOSI által elrendelt személyi tisztogatásokat. KÁDÁRral régi keleti személyi ellentétben áll. KÁDÁR az MSZMP megszervezésekor egyik legelső feladatának tekintette, hogy KISSst

a legfelső pártvezetésből eltávolítsa. Ezt a tervét azonban KISS érdemei és kipróbált szovjethűsége miatt nem tudta megvalósítani.

KISS Károly szárnyához az alábbi KB-tagok tartoznak:

APRÓ Antal, a minisztertanács elnökhelyettese,

BENKE Valéria, a Magyar Rádió elnöke.

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

DÖGEI Imre, földművelésügyi miniszter,

FRISS István, a KB osztályvezetője, a párt elméleti közgazdasági szaktekintélye, KISS Árpád ellenlábasa.

MAROSÁN György, a KB titkára,

MÜNNICH Ferenc, a minisztertanács első elnökhelyettese,

POTHORNYIK József, bányavállalati igazgató,

TÖMPE István a Belügyminiszter első helyettese, volt partizán,

USZTA Gyula a honvédelmi miniszter első helyettese.

A "semlegesek" csoportja

The "Neutral Group"

BAKÓ Ágnes, a VIII. ker. pártbizottság első titkára,

BISZKU Béla, belügyminiszter,

DEBRONOKI Gyula, élelmezésügyi miniszterhelyettes,

FOGARASI Béla, akadémikus,

FÖLDES László, a KB osztályvezetője,

HARMATI Sándor, a X. ker. tanács elnöke,

KOMÓCSIN Zoltán, a KISZ első titkára,

KRESZÁN Lajos, a Ganz Vagánygyár pártbizottságának titkára,

MAJOR Tamás, a Nemzeti Színház igazgatója,

K. NAGY Sándor, TSZ elnök,

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NÉMETH Károly, megyei pártbizottsági titkár,
NOVOBÁ CZKY 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 irresolute "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 MOLOTOV 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 Jozsef 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 opportunist 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

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is not so flagrant.

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

In the most important directing organ, the Secretariat, Janos KADAR, Jeno FOCK 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 Nep". 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 "Nepszabadsag". 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 HOVOBACZKY, 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 FOCK, secretary of the Central Committee. He was appointed by the government and Party in January 1957 to break the

renewed riots in CSEPEL.

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 text books. He is more of a Party ideologist than a journalist.

Denc 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 too 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 (SZOVOSZ) 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 REVESZ, lieutenant-general, Minister of Defense;

Sandor RONAI, President of the National Assembly;

Miklos SOMOGYI, president of the National Council of Trade

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Unions. As president of the Central Control Committee, he holds the same position today in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' 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 BENKE, president of the Radio;

Mrs. Ferenc CSERVENKA, 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 MAROSAN, Central Committee secretary;

Ferenc MURNICH, first deputy president of the Council of Ministers;

Jozsef POTHORNYIK, 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 KOMOCSIN, 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.