

KETHLY

Anna

1957

## Hamilton Mementos Put On Display at Treasury

A priceless collection of historical material went on display yesterday at the Treasury Building in observance of the Alexander Hamilton Bicentennial Year.

The exhibits range from a letter reputedly written by Hamilton at the age of 12 to the pistols he used in the duel with Aaron Burr, which ended his life.

A huge original portrait of the first Secretary of the Treasury by John Trumbull hangs near the entrance of the exhibit. Inside, the story of the soldier-statesman and patriot is told in pictures, mementoes, and even in the fine, graceful name writing of Hamilton himself.

Still legible is his letter to Washington arguing the constitutionality of establishing a National Bank of the United States, and defining the expressed and implied powers of the Constitution. And there is

the original draft of his bill establishing the United States Mint. Nearby is the ornate original key to the Mint.

There are the neatly penned notes which Hamilton used when he successfully defended the constitutionality of the excise tax, and a description by him of an attack on Yorktown. Also on display are a desk he used in the Army, his betrothal rings and original drafts of the Federalist papers.

The last of Hamilton's letters—one written to his wife on the eve of his fatal duel—says sadly he must "expose my life to any extent rather than take another."

Gathered from the Library of Congress, the Treasury, Archives and private collections, the exhibit will be on public display until after Labor Day. First to view it yesterday were members of the Hamilton Bicentennial Commission, planners of the year-long observance of the anniversary of Hamilton's birth.

# Tragedy in Hungary: Anna Kethly's Story

By Chalmers M. Roberts  
Staff Reporter

Some hitherto untold acts of the Hungarian tragedy soon should be unfolded before the new United Nations Commission on Hungary by a stout-hearted woman of 67 whose patriotism is matched only by her dogged determination to help her suffering homeland.

She is Anna Kethly, the only member now in the free world of the four-day free government of Imre Nagy, a government now crushed by the Red Army and its Premier branded a traitor by Moscow.

Some of Miss Kethly's story is told here for the first time, the result of an interview during a visit to Washington last week. She is ready and willing to describe all she knows whenever the newly created U. N. group is ready to hear her.

To understand this short, gray-haired, gray-eyed woman's part in the Hungarian story—and it turns out to be far more important than had been realized in the West—it is useful to go back a bit in Hungary's history.

"When the Russian troops entered our country during

World War II, they were welcomed with unusual warmth and friendliness," she says. But the gratitude for driving out the Nazis was short-lived for with them came Hungarian Communists who had fled to Moscow after the abortive Red regime of Bela Kun at the close of World War I. Yet in the first post-World War II secret elections in 1945 the Communists received only 16 per cent of the votes and in a second election, in 1947, despite fraudulent balloting, only 22 per cent.

Miss Kethly was a member of the Hungarian Parliament in the years 1922-44 and again in 1945-48, repre-

sented the Social Democratic (Socialist) Party. She was the only woman member of the party's executive committee in those years and she became its president when the party was rehabilitated during the revolution last fall.

After the Soviets came to Hungary, however, the Communists infiltrated the party in 1945-48 and tricked it into a merger in 1948. This was done in part by expelling its leaders, including Miss Kethly, who then was deputy speaker of the Hungarian Parliament.



... Anna Kethly studies her notes



... listens to a question



... ponders her answer



... delivers her reply



By Arthur Ellis, Staff Photographer

## Hatred of Reds Grows With 5 Years in Jail

The Red terror settled down on Hungary in 1948. Miss Kethly was thrown into jail in June, 1950, a move she says was designed to break the resistance of the non-Communists, and there she remained for four and a half years. Six months of her jail term was spent in an AVH secret police prison and the depth of her hatred for those of her fellow-countrymen who served the Russians is apparent from her tone of disgust in mentioning the secret police.

Other democratic leaders likewise were jailed. Bela Kovacs, leader of the peasant group known as the Small Holders Party, was kidnapped by the Russians in 1947 and spent six years in the notorious Vorkuta slave labor camp in Siberia. When he was returned to Hungary in 1953, he was thrown into a Hungarian jail for another six months, an experience he termed more terrible than the years in Siberia.

**Echo of Hope**

In 1953, when Georgi Malenkov became Soviet Premier after Stalin's death and talked of giving the Russian people a better break in life, an echo of the same hope was heard in Hungary as elsewhere in the satellites. In the years 1953-55, Imre Nagy was the Communist Premier, a fact that this year was to help give him wide popular support as representing a better life for Hungary and Hungarians. This applied especially to the peasants, for Nagy then opposed forced collectivization of their farms. No more than 20 per cent of the land was ever collectivized.

But Nagy was swept from power two months after Malenkov was ousted in Russia. Nagy was expelled from the Communist Party and his program of more food and consumer goods for his people was denounced as deviationism from the true Communist dogma. Nagy was put under house arrest and the long night once again settled over Hungary.

Nagy's successor as Premier was Andras Hegedues. But the real boss was Matyas Rakosi, a Stalinist who held the post of Communist Party Secretary. Under him, as Miss Kethly puts it, "terror reigned everywhere." Hungarian production was "siphoned out of the country for the benefit of Russia," Hungarians lived in misery

and the Communist bureaucracy and secret police were "lavished in luxury."

**Firing of Rakosi**

Then came the Kremlin's 1955 decision to patch up Stalin's quarrel with Yugoslavia's Tito and, last year, Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. De-Stalinization once again raised hopes in the satellites. Tito began to pressure Moscow to loosen the satellite bonds. As he himself has said, "we demanded that Rakosi should go" from power in Hungary.

When Tito visited Moscow last June, as he has told it, the Kremlin agreed to fire Rakosi, Tito's old enemy, but only if Ernoe Geroe was to succeed him as Party Secretary. On July 18 Rakosi did quit and Geroe got his job.

Miss Kethly now reveals the drama which occurred in Budapest at the time. In early summer a group known as the Petrofi Circle, named after Hungary's most famous poet, took an anti-Rakosi stand and demanded liberalization. In June Soviet Presidium member Anastas Mikoyan and Soviet Secret Police boss Ivan Serov came to Budapest.

The Russians told Rakosi to resign, saying the Hungarian Communist Party demanded it. Rakosi, however, told Mikoyan he wouldn't do it, that he would resign only if told to do so by Soviet Party boss Nikita Khrushchev. Mikoyan called Moscow on the phone and put Rakosi on to talk to Khrushchev who told him he had to quit. He did, going off to Russia with Mikoyan and Serov.

This story, which Miss Kethly was told by a person who was in the room at the time, showed "their independence from Moscow," she commented.

**Meeting in Crimea**

But Tito argued with the Russians that the firing of Rakosi was not enough if an explosion was to be averted in Hungary. In September, Khrushchev turned up in Belgrade to argue about satellite policies and shortly afterwards the two men flew up to the Soviet Crimea to talk with other Kremlin leaders. Geroe "was accidentally there," Tito says.

Both at the Crimea meeting and later when Geroe came to Belgrade he apologized for having slandered Tito and promised that "the old would not return," Tito says. But the Yugoslavs say that the man they wanted to see take over in Hungary was Janos Kadar who had been jailed and tortured by the Russians. Kadar was with Geroe in Belgrade and, according to the Yugoslavs, he then spoke bitterly against the Russians.

Kadar, who did become Premier after the Red army smashed the revolution last November and who holds the post today, had been a secret Communist member of the Social Democratic Party between the two World Wars, Miss Kethly says. In the 1947-48 period he was a Titoist and he was jailed when she was. His fingernails were torn out by the Communists.

Miss Kethly says that she has received a letter from a trusted friend who has escaped from Hungary saying that Kadar at first refused to cooperate with the Russians last November.

"My friend was present," she says, "when Kadar told

the Russians he refused to take any part in the government because he would not like to be a traitor. He told the Russians he was ready to fight with his fists against the Red army tanks."

The Russians kidnaped Kadar for two days after that, however, and when he emerged it was to announce he would accept the post of Prime Minister. Miss Kethly can only speculate on what made him change his mind.

All these maneuvers were within the Communist orbit, in Budapest, Moscow and Belgrade. As far as the world knew, the democratic parties in Hungary, suppressed since 1948, were nonexistent. There was no underground movement, at least not in terms of active resistance to the Communists, Miss Kethly says.

**Approached by Reds**

But some Communists in Hungary, at least, knew the lid might blow off. In June, when Tito was in Moscow, the world was startled by the Poznan riots in Poland, something that certainly helped Tito argue his case for easing up on Hungary.

Miss Kethly now reveals that in late August "a representative of the Hungarian Communist Party Central Committee approached me. He sent a big American car to bring me to their headquarters" from the apartment in Budapest where she had been living quietly, having taken no part in political affairs since her release from jail in November, 1954.

"He asked me to help find a solution because there was a Communist crisis by now. He told me what the situation was. I asked him what he had been doing for the past eight years when the Communists controlled the country. His reply was that anyone who would have opened his mouth against Rakosi would have disappeared."

"I told him that unless the government takes measures to improve the economic and political situation, I cannot cooperate with you. And you cannot win back the confidence of the workers unless you do so."

**Held Out for Elections**

In September, some friends of Nagy came to see Miss Kethly, asking whether, if Nagy were to gain power, she would then help on his side.

"I refused unless they



... secret police slain by hundreds

would agree that all the Democratic parties could come out into the open and unless they would permit free elections," Miss Kethly recounts.

"But in a free election," the pro-Nagy Communist emissary a Communist of 1919 vintage, confessed to her, "we would get only 5 or 6 per cent of the vote. And what would we do with the 200,000 members of the secret police and party bureaucracy if that happened?"

Miss Kethly replied: "Wait a few months more and you won't have to worry about them," meaning that the Hungarian patriots would take care of such Communists. Hundreds of the secret police, perhaps thousands, were in fact later shot, beaten to death, hanged. Some killed themselves.

"I had a friend," Miss Kethly recalls, "who was stripped of his clothes by AVH men in AVH headquarters in their desperate attempt to get civilian clothes in which to escape. When they tried to put an AVH uniform on my friend, he said he preferred to go home in his underwear—and he did."

**Concession on Nagy**

In September and October Hungary seethed more and more with rebellion against the Russian strait-jacket still imposed by Geroe. On Oct. 14 the Communist Party made a concession by restoring Imre Nagy to party membership. The previous week there had been a posthumous rehabilitation of many of the victims of the Stalin-Rakosi era.

But it was not enough. On Oct. 23, encouraged by the success of Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka, a group of

young Hungarian university students gathered in front of Parliament to present a series of 16 demands to Premier Nagy. The demands included both free elections and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

"Yet these demands for the transformation of Hungarian life," says Miss Kethly, "were drawn up by Communist writers and other intellectuals and students."

How could Communists call for free elections?

Miss Kethly's answer is that "they were young, many were students, and they were induced to believe that even if there were free elections the Communists could win popular support. The older Communists knew better."

**Students Fired On**

When the students sought to enter the state radio building to broadcast their demands, the Communist secret police opened fire. At the same moment, Geroe denounced the demonstrators as fascists, speaking over the loudspeaker system in the square.

The revolution was on. Police and soldiers assigned to patrol the demonstration passed out arms to the infuriated students. Next the Budapest industrial workers came to their aid, then workers from smaller towns as the news spread, the farmers, and the police and army of the entire nation.

Miss Kethly, one of nine children of a working class family (her father was an electrical manufacturing plant foreman), has always had her political ties among the workers who made up the Social Democratic Party. She had only a high school education. Hence she was

curious, when the revolution broke, as to how the students, raised under a decade of communism, came to provide the spark.

"I asked a student how it was that he, who had had to study Communist doctrine and history, could play such a role," she says. The student replied: "We have parents." A decade of communism was not enough to blot out the memory of even the semi-Fascist days of the prewar Horthy regime when, at least, there was contact with the West, political activity by the anti-Fascist parties and honest elections in the big cities.

"The revolution," says Miss Kethly, "began within the Communist Party. It was not anti-Communist to start with. It only became that after the Red army was called in." She says she does not know who first called in the Soviet tanks. Tito blames it on Geroe.

**Incited by Red Failure**

Were the Hungarians incited by American talk of "liberation" or by Western radio stations?

"No," says Miss Kethly. "The main incitement was the general realization of the failure of the Communist economic policy. De-Stalinization was taken as a sign of weakness in the regime and the AVH at that time also was weakened. The example of Tito and the events in Poland encouraged and incited the people to believe that such things were also possible in Hungary."

Miss Kethly flatly refutes those who say the Hungarians expected American arms ("we had all we needed from our own Hungarian army") or American military intervention. What was wanted, she says, was a greater degree of moral and political support.

Was there any leadership inside Hungary by those who had been associated with the Horthy regime, as the Communists now claim?

"No," says Miss Kethly. She says some Hungarians known to have been part of the Horthy regime actually were refused weapons by the revolutionary students, workers and farmers. And she tells this story about Prince Paul Esterhazy, once the richest man in Hungary who had been sentenced to 15 years in jail in 1949.

## Hungarians Needed No Arms Aid, She Says

Austria after being released from jail early last year. There he was living on his estate when the revolution began. Esterhazy then loaded a number of wagons and trucks with food from his Austrian estate and sent it to those who worked on what had been his Hungarian estate. But, says Miss Kethly, the Hungarians sent it back with word that they refused to accept anything from the Prince.

Miss Kethly also says that four former monarchists living abroad came into Hungary during the revolution but only to the town of Szombathely some 15 or so miles inside the border. There was so much hostility to them, she says, that they turned around and left Hungary.

"In a few hours they found out the revolution was not for the restoration of a Hapsburg," she says with a smile.

How did she enter the Nagy government?

By Oct. 25, Nagy realized he must open his government to the non-Communist parties or it would not survive the revolution by now in full tide. He first negotiated with Zoltan Tildy, the man who had been Hungary's first President in 1946-48 and a leader of the Small Holders Party. Tildy told Nagy he would not join unless Bela Kovacs of the same party also were included. The Small Holders, and the Peasant Party, the latter renamed the Petrofi group, agreed to enter the government on Oct. 31.

**Rejoins Government**

Miss Kethly advised her own Social Democratic Party cohorts to take no part in the government unless the Russians agreed to get out of Hungary and the government agreed to free elections for all parties.

But then on Nov. 1 it was first reported in Budapest that the Soviet army, which had retired from the city, was again coming into Hungary, mistakenly rumored as via Czechoslovakia. She agreed that her party should enter the government.

Kovacs, in turn, repaid Miss Kethly's refusal in August and September to enter the Nagy government without him. He did not join the day his associate, Tildy, did but waited until she agreed on Nov. 1 although Nagy, in desperation, had announced several days earlier that both Kovacs and Tildy were invited into his regime.

What manner of man is Nagy, the secret Communist who infiltrated her Social Democratic Party, then became a national Communist Premier and in the end appealed to the world for help, repudiating the Warsaw Pact which bound Hungary to Russia?

"He stayed a Communist," says Miss Kethly, "but more and more he became a believer that it was possible to create a regime with more than one party."

The Communists say Nagy is now in Romania, Moscow calls him a "traitor."

**Meeting in Vienna**

On Nov. 1, after her party joined the government, Miss Kethly drove to Vienna, Austria, to meet with fellow Socialists gathered there from other nations. She was one of three members of the Social Democrats designated by that party to participate in the Nagy government. On

Nov. 3, when she was still in Vienna, she was informed by telephone from her party executive committee that she had been named by Nagy as a Minister of State and as Hungary's representative to the United Nations. But there was no time to send her written credentials before the revolution was crushed by the tanks which destroyed the Nagy regime.

On Nov. 3, also, Nagy discovered the Soviet duplicity of negotiation about troop withdrawal while in fact flooding the nation with new Red army units. It was that he called on the world and the U. N. for help.

The day before, the 2d, Miss Kethly had driven back to Hungary only to be stopped by Russian soldiers. Fortunately they did not recognize her. She turned around to Austria but tried again on the 4th to go to Budapest. She got as far as the city of Sopron before she was turned back. To that she owes her liberty today.

**Admires Polish Primate**

Miss Kethly, who says her Social Democratic Party most resembles the Austrian and British Socialists in outlook, is a sectarian anticlerical. She greatly admires Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland. But she does not consider Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, the Primate of Hungary, to be his equal as a political force in her own land.

Miss Kethly says there was a broadcast from a station which could not be identified, perhaps from a Communist station using the Radio Free Europe wave length, which appealed to Hungarians to give power to Cardinal Mindszenty. The Cardinal, in a Nov. 3, broadcast himself pleaded with the Western world to support Hungary. But he later told newsmen who sought sanctuary with him in the American Legation that it was "not my duty to endorse any government."

Miss Kethly says the Cardinal's life was saved by the revolutionaries who heard that the Communists planned to kill him. The revolutionaries did not want to see him made a martyr, she says, and so they sent troops to release him, heading off the Communists just in time. In her view, he is not a martyr now that he is living in the American Legation as he was in the years he was in a Communist prison.

## Hungarians Still Use Joke Weapon

By Andre Marton  
BUDAPEST (AP)—Since time immemorial Budapest had been a city of jokes, pranks and anecdotes. Whether the times were good or bad, Budapesters were fond of jests, of bantering and mocking each other and especially of ridiculing politicians and the political situation.

Nothing has changed in this respect during and after the revolution. Jokes mushroomed; they were scribbled on walls and spread through the grapevine around the city. Some of them—the puns—are untranslatable. Others are obscenities.

Some of the jokes deal with the "children," those teen-age boys and girls who

fought Russian tanks with such gallantry.

A chalk-scribbled inscription on the walls warned: "Tremble, Zhukov! Now we from the kindergarten are coming!"

Two boys discuss on a street corner their military careers with Molotov-cocktail bottles. "I have been with the light artillery," one declared. "And I with the heavy artillery," the other boasted. "Nonsense," the first replied, "you could not have larger than one liter bottles..."

During the fighting a boy rang the bell of an apartment on the boulevard. A woman opened the door, and the boy asked: "Missus, if I promise to clean my shoes properly,

do you permit me to go to the window and shoot from there?"

A group of teen-age boys blew up a tank with a Molotov cocktail bottle, then peeped out from behind the corner for a second victim. Then one of the boys perceived a woman coming and shouted: "Let's run," boys, mother is coming..."

The Budapest Radio has every night a brief program for kids, usually starting with a mellow-voiced woman saying: "Good night, children; are you already in your beds?" The modified version during the fighting: "Good night, children; are you back from the barricades?"

The Russians are the target of many bitter jokes.

"How lucky we are that friends were coming. Imagine what would have happened if the enemy came."

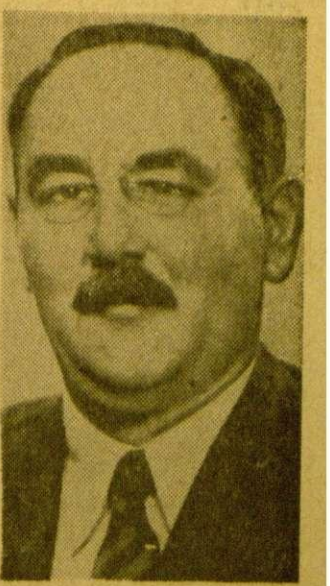
Many of the jokes were born when the guns were roaring. They indicate that Hungary maintained its sense of humor even in the darkest moments of her history.

Many jokes are naturally on the political line, usually paraphrasing Communist slogans.

One declared that "Hungary has now reached the ideal state of communism taught by Lenin: The state withered away, the party disintegrated, people work only for a few hours every day and everybody has had enough of everything..."



BELA KOVACS  
... delayed joining Nagy



IMRE NAGY  
... "stayed a Communist"