

a189fkr90 (sc14) a189fkr90

red purge

1 1600 stockholm, april 7 /ap/ - bela kun, once dictator of red hungary, was executed in moscow following a secret trial 18 years ago, a prominent hungarian communist disclosed here today.

he said hundreds of hungarian and polish communists had been sent before soviet execution squads or thrown in jail with bela kun as stalin was striking at russian and foreign communists alike.

dr. george lukacz, frail eagle-nosed 71-year-old professor of literature and philosophy at budapest university said in an interview:

+bela kun was sentenced to death and shot in 1938. there was no mention in the press of the trial or his death sentence.+

lukacz, who served as education commissar in kun's government in 1919, but escaped purge, is taking part in the communist-sponsored world peace council sessions which opened here two days ago.

MTA FIL. INT.  
Lukács Arch.

5

a191fkr92

stockholm third 1600 add red purge

prof. lukacz said the review of the cases of all the victims of the moscow trials would take +quite some time because their number is staggering+.

+it would not do to issue an amnesty,+ he said, +for you can't amnesty innocent people. that is why each case mut be reviewed individually. but they are releasing large numbers all the time.+

lukacz said he thought the rewriting of red history would also take a long time.

+there will be swings and exaggerations in both directions. that is natural with polemics. but i think that they may arrive at a revaluation of stalin that will hold in a couple of years time. they will still recognize him as a great leader in many respects. the new history books will show the stalin cult led step by step to the moscow trials and he will get blame for al

ääm70

fk

ga fk22

MTA FIL. INT.  
Lukács Arch.

7

a190fkr91

stockholm 2 1600 add red purge  
discussing the kun case , the veteran communist said:  
+i Do not know what the charges were. i disagreed  
with some of his views myself and so did others. but that  
was no reason to kill him.

+nor was there any reason to kill anybody else in any  
other of the trials during the purges in the 1930's. the russians  
are now going to rehabilitate their victims in enormous numbers,  
dead or alive, like they have done with bela kun.

+every single case of the moscow trials in stalin's time  
is being reviewed.

+khrushchev made it clear at the closed session of the  
party congress in moscow that the party history will be rewritten  
to declare it was all wrong by stalin to kill people for  
their political views. all political issues were all fought  
out and settled in a sense that i approve of when the purge  
trials started. their victims were already lame ducks  
politically. there was no reason to kill them.+

prof. lukacz, who lived as an exile in russia in  
1933-1945 said he had heard in moscow that +about one  
hundred hungarian communists were killed or imprisoned about  
the same time as they shot bela kun.+

+but the poles were even worse off. several hundred polish  
communists were purged similarly. stalin , in fact,  
exterminated the entire leadership of the polish communist party -  
to the last man.+

MTA FIL. INT.  
Lukács Arch.

6

Dagens Nyheter  
8th of April 1956.

Front page.

Headlines: 'Stalin's Moscow, a town of fright'  
'Old leader makes disclosures'.

Text:

'Among the participants in the present communist world peace conference in Vinterpalatset in Stockholm is one of the communist top personages during the last 40 years, the Hungarian literature historian Georg Lukacs. He was people's commissar for the education during the soviet regime which was created by Bela Kun in Hungary 1919 and was estimated in the decades of 1920 and 1930 as one of the foremost theoreticals of marxism, particularly with his publication 'The history and the class consciousness'.

Lukacs is 71 years old, a smallbodied man with sharp-cutted face-feature behind big glasses, dressed in a certain careless British intellectual style with tweed, sport cap and checkered sport shirt. He lives obviously not all his life behind the iron curtain. He has during the last years - except an earlier trip to Stockholm - been settled in Paris where he among else has published a publication of fight against the existentialism, and a couple of times in Italy.

Middle headline: 'Better than Faust, said Stalin, and all the criticals agreed.'

He is one of the persons which is particularly interesting to ask about the contain of the present re-valuation of Stalin, the destroying of the Stalin myth and the rehabilitation of many of the liquidated opposers of Stalin.

Georg Lukacs speaks behind an eternally half expiring cigar or cigarette:

- No reasonable man will anytime become able to deny that Stalin was a big leader and a big politician. The very matter that Chrustjev emphasized in his very observed speech on the 20th party congress recently was, that it existed a tendency during the last 10 to 15 years of the regime of Stalin to maintain his person in a wrongful way.

We'll never underestimate Stalin. We'll acknowledge him in his right proportions, it says as a big politician - but not as a man of the bigness of Marx or Lenin. We cannot reach the right and objective view of Stalin now, suddenly in three months or a year. It will take a longer time.

The personality cannot play anytime such a rôle as the

Stalin myth attached the personality of Stalin. The history is decided by the social and economical development. In certain situations can a person intervene, as for instance Lenin in the october revolution 1917. He could do it therefore that he was the man who choiced the time point and the method of the revolution.

Bela Kun executed after a secret action

- What's your opinion, as a former colleague of government to Bela Kun, about his recently announced rehabilitation?

- You must remember, answers Georg Lukacs, that Bela Kun and I after the defeat of the Hungarian soviet rule were opposers. I consider that the rehabilitation of him means that we now think that he hadn't done anything criminal which could motivate that he became condemned to death in a secret Moscow action and shot 1938. It was never published in the papers, became never announced. But the re-valuation doesn't mean that we now consider that he was a politician who always was right.

The Moscow actions unnecessary acts of revenge

- You was present in Moscow when the great actions were going on, 1936-1938, against old communist leaders. In Soviet of to-day are also those persons, liquidated by Stalin, rehabilitated. What's your opinion about this re-valuation?

- My point of view - and this is only my personal opinion - is that Stalin was entitled to eliminate for instance two of the most known accused in the Moscow actions, Kamenev and Sinovjev. They had opposed against Lenin 1917 and warned against the revolution and continued their opposition later. But, and this must be observed: they were eliminated already before 1930. There was no reason for the actions and the sentences to death against them and other accused. They hadn't done anything criminal and they hadn't any influence any more.

The execution of them was an act of revenge. ~~There is no doubt that the execution of them was an act of revenge. The acknowledgment that it was wrong to kill them, as well as Bela Kun, doesn't mean however that they should be right as politicians, it doesn't mean that they were innocent from having went away from the line of the party or having made political mistakes.~~ The acknowledge that it was wrong to kill them, as well as Bela Kun, doesn't mean however that they should be right as politicians, it doesn't mean that they were innocent from having went away from the line of the party or having made political mistakes.

Permanent fright in Moscow

- You lived in Moscow under the years of the action against Kamenev, Sinovjev, Bela Kun and hundreds of other communist leaders. How was the mood in the town? 2

- Of course it existed a permanent fright and worry. Several of my friends, who according to my opinion were loyal communists, became arrested and disappeared. I can mention that the most of

the Hungarian communists who were in Moscow became liquidated and that all the Polish communists disappeared.

- Did you worry yourself?

- I had never any discomfort. I continued ~~my~~ my work as generally.

Budapest - Wien - Heidelberg - Moscow and return

After the defeat of the Bela Kun rule went Lukacs into exile to Wien where he stayed until 1929. Then he settled as free author and scientist in Heidelberg where he had studied in his youthhood. 1933, when Hitler got the power, he went to Moscow. He stayed there until 1945, and then he returned to Hungary for the first time since 1919 - except a 3-month illegal stay in Budapest 1929.

Lukacs was the first one in western who furtherdeveloped the theory of Lenin about the vanguard of the revolution: The proletarians hadn't any class consciousness but could get it only through outer events - strikes and crisis - and under the leadership of a communistic elite. Later on he was an ardent intercessor for the thought that the central committee of the communist party ought to be universally prevailing and that every communist must be loyal without reservations to the policy decided by the central committee.

Liberation from fright and dogmatics

As literature scientist has Lukacs particularly dealt with Goethe and the great realists - Balzac, Zola and Gottfried Keller and the Russians Pusjkin, Tolstoy, Gorkij Sholochov. 1949 he came into conflict against the devoted Moscow loyalists in ~~the~~ Hungary after having declared in a publication that a communist system of society not immediately could become expected to be fruitful for literary and artistic activity. He acknowledges now that his criticals were right in that respect that he hadn't paid sufficient attention to the Soviet Russian ~~writers~~ writers.

The breaking down of the personality cult in the communist world means that the authors got free from fright and domatics, says Lukacs - and the last of this is also very important.

When Stalin valued 'Faust'.

How far the dogmatics could go he illustrates with an anecdote:

- At a visit on the Maxim Gorkij museum wrote Stalin in the margin of a nice but unimportant little poem of Gorkij about the death: "This surpass the 'Faust' of Goethe". After that became all the literature scientists and authors forced to say the same about this poem.

About some of the famous authors, former communists who have turned themselves against communism, has Lukacs a good deal to say, he can be supposed to be one of the few behind the iron curtain who has read their books. About Georg Orwell's '1984' he considers that this satire against the communist society is shooting beside the target. His country-fellow Arthur Koestler, which he by the way met in Berlin 1930, is a good journalist, says Lukacs, but neither in his anticommunist books or in the other ones he is any author to take serious. Ignazio Silone is an important author, independent of his breaking with communism.

Lukacs is now giving lectures at the university in Budapest and works on an investigation in estetics which shall become published in several volumes. But yet he has written only the half part of the first one.

#### Convinced communist

After having got free from the conservative actions of revenge after the Bela Kun rule, after having lived in Hitler Germany 1933, in Stalin's Moscow 1936-38 and in the 'cleaning-up' of Budapest 1949-50 he could - if he here in the quiet Stockholm got the same question as abbé Sieyès in Paris got of a good friend, who questioned him after the rule of blood of the revolution what he had done in all these years - have answered:

- I have survived.

But the nearly legendaric Lukacs has nothing in his attitude which intimates that he should look at the matter in that way. He is ~~an~~ convinced communist and an active shaper of the marxistic theory. Now he participates in the political commission of the world peace ~~committee~~ meeting and creates resolutions.

JOLO.