

Tito Blames Stalinist Methods for Hungary Crisis



TITO

President Tito of Yugoslavia, in a speech released yesterday, placed responsibility for the Hungarian events on continued Stalinist influence among Soviet leaders and in Hungary. The speech was released by the Yugoslav News Agency.

Tito sharply rejected accusations that Yugoslav Communists were in any way responsible for the developments in Hungary. He said the reasons lay in the fact that "democratization was too late," and in the "Stalinist leaders."

The speech was made by Tito Sunday to a regional meeting of Communists at Pula in Yugoslavia.

Referring to the Belgrade and Moscow declarations which

brought about a reconciliation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, Tito said these declarations were not understood in the same way by both sides.

The normalization of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, he continued, was made on the initiative of the Soviet leaders, who realized after Stalin's death how difficult was the Soviet domestic and international situation.

Stalin's method of using force in his relations with the countries of People's Democracy was condemned by the 20th Congress, Tito pointed out, but the Soviet leaders continued to make mistakes by stressing the cult of the personality instead of removing the basic causes which produced the cult of the personality.

"From the beginning, we said," Tito continued, "that it is the system which made possible the cult of the personality and which must be combated. The evils of the system remain in the bureaucratic apparatus and methods of governing and in ignoring the role and aspirations of the working masses."

During his trip to Moscow and to the Crimea this September, Tito said, he told the Soviet leaders they had "erroneous attitudes and defective views," regarding the People's Democracies.

Such a stand, Tito said, is not taken by all the Soviet leaders, but only by some of them. However, he said there is still an important part of the Soviet leaders which "remains Stalinist."

But things change, Tito continued, and he added there is a strong possibility that those who favor democratization will win out and then all Stalinist methods will be abandoned and new, proper relations established among the socialist states.

In September at Yalta, Tito said, "we warned that tendencies which were the cause of such strong resistance in Yugoslavia exist in every country and might one day find expression in other countries, and this would be harder to rectify."

While recognizing the danger of counter-revolution in Hungary, Tito said it was wrong to describe as counter-revolution the actions of "the large part of the working class and progressive people who

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with arms in hand fought against Soviet armed forces."

Yugoslavia opposes the intervention of armed forces by any country into the internal affairs of another Tito said. But he intimated that the return of Soviet troops to Budapest had been a lesser evil, the other evil being chaos, civil war, counter-revolution and the danger of world war.

The intervention of Soviet troops, he said, was not good but if socialism and peace are safeguarded there may be a positive outcome on condition that Soviet troops are removed from Hungary when order and peace are restored. The difficulty in Hungary, Tito added, is that there are not just Horthyites fighting, but the workers of the factories and the whole Hungarian people.

All difficulties will be enhanced, Tito continued, if those who are slandering Yugoslavia continue to throw mud at Yugoslav socialism.

"I believe that the developments in Hungary," Tito said, "will be the final tragedy which will shock the Soviet leaders as well as leaders of Communist parties in some other countries about what must be done so that similar situations don't arise in other countries."

If in considering the Hungarian situation there is a choice between counter-revolution and socialism, Tito said, we are obliged to defend the government of Kadar, which is now in a grave crisis. Those elements in Hungary who place all blame on the Russians should be neutralized, he declared.

The Soviet comrades are responsible, Tito went on, for not having realized earlier and not having corrected the mistakes expressed in the Rakosi government.

As far as Polish reactionaries who hate Russians and Yugoslavs are concerned, Tito said, he remembered that Poland could not defend its Oder-Neisse frontier without the support of the USSR. And he pointed out that the West Germans have not recognized this boundary and are eager to get back those territories.

The issue which actually faces Communists, Tito said, is between a political line such as Yugoslav Communists initiated or a new victory for Stalinist policy.

Difficulties in the way of correcting past evils, Tito said, are created by leaders like Enver Hoxha of Albania, who recently blamed Tito for the trouble in Hungary, in an article published by Pravda. Also, by certain leaders of West European Communist Parties, Tito added, referring to the French Communists who have attacked the Yugoslav and Polish Communists. Such Communist leaders, Tito said, are opposed to democratization and to the decisions of the 20th Congress and thus are contributing to the Stalinist system, which they are trying to revive, and secure the upper hand.

From his talks with Soviet leaders Tito said he found they still feared that if the people's democracies enjoyed complete independence, like Yugoslavia, reactionaries may upset these regimes. This reflected a profound lack of confidence in the working class and its revolutionary capabilities, Tito declared.