

KADAR REAPPEARS ON HUNGARY SCENE

**Silent Since Czech Invasion,
He Affirms Reform Plans**

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BUDAPEST, Nov. 1 — The woman darted forward and said emotionally to the man: "I'm so glad to see you because I didn't know if the rumors were true."

The man—Janos Kadar, the leader of the Hungarian Communist party—laughed. Many Hungarians, watching on television as the scene was broadcast from a Budapest hosiery factory, relaxed for the first time in two months.

Thus did Mr. Kadar emerge recently to make his first major policy statement since the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, after which he had abruptly disappeared from public view.

The nationwide relief was based as much on seeing him in action as it was on his pledge that Hungary's cautious economic reforms and tempered liberalization would go forward despite the new Kremlin orthodoxy that has emerged since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Hungarian troops took part in the invasion.

In the process of emerging from isolation, Mr. Kadar had been quoted by a newspaper as having informed photographers swarming around him at Parliament that the caption for the photograph should read "Risen Again."

Variety of Rumors

Rumors had suggested that he had suffered a nervous breakdown, committed suicide, was in Moscow for perhaps involuntary consultations or was about to be overthrown with Soviet blessing by conservatives because of his pre-invasion stand on Czechoslovakia.

Once Mr. Kadar had re-emerged, the rumors were written off officially as the work of the scurrilous Western press.

But in fact many Hungarian and foreign observers believe that his disappearance was dictated by political common sense, a quality Hungarians have cultivated since the Soviet Army crushed the 1956 revolution here and ended what one official called "our daydreaming."

Had the 56-year-old Hungarian leader spoken out immediately after the invasion, political analysts believe he would have run the risk of alienating either the Soviet Union or his own people.

Before the invasion of Czechoslovakia, he played a well-publicized role, trying to reconcile the Kremlin, which put him in power in 1956, and Czechoslovakia, whose reforms apparently appealed to his own cautious but increasingly liberal bent.

Meetings With Dubcek

The last of his many meetings with Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak party leader, took place only three days before the invasion, a fact Hungarians point to as evidence that Mr. Kadar tried everything to avoid the use of force.

Expressing public disillusionment for what was in part a personal failure to find a political solution to the crisis would have made Mr. Kadar suspect in the Kremlin's eyes, observers suggest.

But had he joined the strident orthodox chorus of East German, Polish and Soviet denunciations of Czechoslovakia, he would have forfeited much of the good-will he has accumulated at home.

In the first weeks after the invasion, his silence allowed party officials to suggest to Hungarians and Westerners alike that the Government was far from happy with the occupation, but had had to accede to the Kremlin's position.

A Change in Policy

In recent weeks the party has changed its line, presumably in the conviction that only absolute fidelity to Moscow in foreign policy will produce relative freedom of movement at home.

In his speech at the hosiery factory, Mr. Kadar went out of his way to praise the alliance with the Soviet Union as the "cardinal and fundamental tenet of our policy" and to claim Hungary's full share of responsibility in the invasion.

But despite this renewed desire to avoid giving the Kremlin any reason to think that Hungary was isolating herself from the bloc, Mr. Kadar also sought to mollify public opinion, conceding that there had been "debates as to the inevitability and absolute necessity of the action and such polemics will continue."

Moreover, the regime has felt confident enough to push ahead meaningfully with its own economic reform.

Reflecting the self-discipline and self-control that have become Hungarian watchwords, a Budapest intellectual said: "Of course, we are an occupied country. But Kadar has created a minor wonder. After all, Rumania has the raw materials, the Czechs have the skills and we have nothing except a high standard of living."