

New World

REVIEW

**HUNGARY
IN
TRAVAIL**

New World

REVIEW

DECEMBER

1956

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JESSICA SMITH, *Editor*
FREDERICK V. FIELD, *Far Eastern Editor*
MURRAY YOUNG, *Managing Editor*

ESLANDA ROBESON
*Editorial Consultant on Negro and
Colonial Questions
and UN Correspondent*

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YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS NEEDED

The opposite page explains in some detail the new plans for our magazine, beginning with the January issue.

As indicated there, these plans include the reduction of our over-all expenses so that we may continue bringing you our magazine regularly.

We believe the changes proposed will provide you with more useful material in a period like the present in which there is a great need for a deeper and more thoroughgoing presentation of those areas of the world that are our particular province. (See p. 51 for a more detailed description of our proposals.)

But the need for contributions from you remains. Indeed, your help is absolutely essential to insure our continued publication. Using the form below, will you as soon as possible send in your contribution?

NEW WORLD REVIEW

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I enclose \$..... for your continued publication.

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

TO OUR READERS

WE KNOW that the readers of our magazine are deeply concerned by the events that have taken place during the past month in both the Middle East and Hungary. As space does not permit a full treatment of both, and since we believe that the issue of naked aggression in Egypt is clearer to our readers than the tragic situation in Hungary, we have devoted a large part of this issue to a review of the events in the latter country, which we hope may in some measure serve to clarify the situation, and to concentrate attention on the need for new efforts for peace. This material will also be available in pamphlet form.

With our January issue we are inaugurating certain changes in the magazine. The changes are partly dictated by the necessity of further economies if we are to continue publication, and partly by the need to provide better and more authoritative material.

We shall have fewer pages, and a self-cover. We shall eliminate pictures, since we do not have the facilities for many in any case. But while smaller in quantity, we believe you will find the material greatly improved.

We know how much readers want lively, human interest material about life in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and the People's Democracies. At the same time, we believe our readers will welcome more thorough and critical articles not to be found in other pub-

lications that are generally available.

Our plan, therefore, is to publish in each issue one rather lengthy, detailed, documented study of some phase of life under socialism, or issue of international relations that is of vital interest and that *will not be duplicated anywhere else*. We shall have a few briefer articles and reviews of important books.

In addition, we shall make an effort, as we did in our November anniversary issue, to present, whenever possible, differing points of view. In this era of the working out of differing roads to socialism, we believe it is of the utmost importance that those who believe in socialism, but differ in the methods of achieving it, should air their differences while seeking common grounds on which they can come together.

We shall continue our efforts to contribute to the international understanding essential to peaceful co-existence. We shall continue the work for peace which transcends all others in importance—and which we believe must start with the ending of nuclear weapons tests as the first step toward disarmament.

In this we look to the continued support and help of our readers. Our ability to carry out this program depends on you. (The column on the left tells you how.) We believe you will agree that the events of the past month make the continuance of our magazine more than ever a vital necessity. We ask your cooperation in making this possible.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS IN RUSSIA

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS is no common reporter.* As Justice of the Supreme Court, he is used to giving balanced judgment that is final; he is a known guardian of the liberal American tradition. By avocation a world traveler, he has taken the hard trails among unexplored peoples of Asia, rightly judging that the world's trend for the next half century lies in the choices of these uncommitted lands.

So when in the summer of 1955 Justice Douglas travelled the Soviet Union, entering from Iran, traversing first the Central Republics, thence going north into Siberia and only then to Moscow and Leningrad, his report is no common report. It is a judgment on the USSR in its present condition by a spokesman for American democracy at its best. The judgment should be carefully considered, both by our American policy-makers who fail for lack of the Judge's insight, and also by policy-makers of the USSR, who

tend to believe that only evil-minded imperialists doubt their aims. The Justice can honestly list spectacular achievements in the Soviet Union and yet dread Communism as an enslavement of the human soul.

One should not be dismayed by the first few pages. I admit that I was annoyed that a jurist should assume in his second paragraph that Russia is a "totalitarian police state" without feeling any need of proof or debate. When he expressed actual "fear" of entering the country, and recalled that a Turkish courier had disappeared right from a train, leaving only a cut-open brief-case; when he asserted, even before entering, that secret police were omnipresent and "it was never safe to travel alone," I thought at first these phrases were a writer's trick to give a detective story interest, not quite worthy of the Justice's dignity. I recalled, however, that quite good friends had felt the same way on their first trip to Russia. Our press has been deady efficient in spreading the "police state" fear.

The Justice got over his fear of Russia on almost his first encounter.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG renowned world correspondent and lecturer, is editor of a newsletter, TODAY, and author of numerous books on the USSR. Her latest, THE STALIN ERA, has just been published.

*RUSSIAN JOURNEY, by William O. Douglas. Doubleday & Co., New York. 1956, pp. 265. \$4.50.

when he saw how the crew of the good ship, "Pioneer" laughed at the accidental ducking of a pompous pilot. Just like Americans! Thereafter he enjoyed his trip and contacts; he seems to have harangued the Russians quite fearlessly, without inhibitions, about the superiority of our democratic ways. In the process he picked up an amazing lot of useful data with which to harangue Americans on his return. I am sure it did the Russians good to have to defend their system against as able an arguer as Justice Douglas. I am even surer it will do our American policy-makers good to give his observations heed.

Not that he is always accurate. Not even a Supreme Court Justice could get all details right about so huge a land in one short trip. I am irritated when he equates "kulak" with "peasant," and twice explains that any peasant with ten acres was called a kulak. It could have happened that a man with ten acres or even less got called one, but that wasn't the law or the definition. Kulaks were petty rural capitalists, profiting from hired labor, and usually from ownership of flour mills or from money-lending at high rates. And I was appalled when sundry local Kazakhstaners asked the Justice about Communist convictions in Smith Act cases, to have him say: "If the people in this room held a meeting and decided to overthrow the Bulganin-Khrushchev government, wouldn't that be against Soviet law?" If one of the best Justices of our Supreme Court really thinks that *any* court in the USA ever found any American Communists holding such a meeting, the defense attorneys should quickly set him right.

These annoyances are minor. It is more important that in every place

he went in the USSR Justice Douglas was convinced that the people all wanted peace, that the Soviet press "had dinned it into them" until the desire for peace is "a powerful force." The judge of a regional court in Kazakhstan, who had lost a leg in the war, burst into tears when Douglas toasted peace. In collective farms, at university dinners, everywhere, toasts to "peace" and to "friendship" just brought down the house. Justice Douglas is thoroughly sure of that.

It was also clear that the Russians' interest in America was not superficial; they asked about a lot of things: unemployment, medical care, old age pensions, Sacco and Vanzetti, (a street was named for them), Paul Robeson's passport refusal, lynching, the trials of Communists, the wheat, corn and cotton crops, machinery on American farms, wages of American workers, which "seemed to them astronomical." It seems an intelligent list. Justice Douglas clearly put America's best foot forward. He told them what jobs some Negroes hold as judges, lawyers, in government posts; how women "control business through stock ownership," and how nearly every worker has an auto. He admits that he had Detroit looking "like paradise" to the machine-admiring Russians. The political police must really have gone soft to let him get away with subversion like that! How stable those Russians must feel!

The chapter on "The State and Free Enterprise" is a novel treatment of the variety of ownership and enterprise in the USSR. He finds not only "government ownership," but municipal ownership, cooperatives and trade union ownership, not to mention a lot of small scale pri-

vate ownership, expressed in vivid farmers' markets. "Producers cooperatives" says Justice Douglas, "play a very important role; they produce about 50 per cent of the country's wagons, 40 per cent of the furniture, 35 per cent of the ready-made clothing." All kinds of miscellaneous workers, barbers, pushcart peddlers, watch repairmen, and lawyers, belong to producers' cooperatives.

Municipal ownership also plays a larger part than one realized until the Justice dug it out. In Novosibirsk, a city of 800,000, some 60 per cent of all the labor force is employed by the municipality. The city owns a large steel plant, an electric bulb plant, a shoe factory, sundry other light industries, besides all the utilities and street cars and buses, the theaters, the phone company, and all the retail stores. (He might have added the apartment houses and hotels.) The street cars, lights, water, gas and phones are run at cost, but the profit from the retail stores pays for the health services, the doctor's salaries, and the salaries of actors in the city theater, not to mention the mayor and police. "The profit of the retail stores is the main income of the municipality," he states. Think that over and you have a good part of what you need to know about socialism. Remember it when you pay taxes on your city or country home this December.

"The Kremlin," he says, by which he means the Central Government, owns the railroads, ships, airlines, big factories, state farms. Its budget has three kinds of income: 2 per cent from taxes, 5 per cent from loans, and 93 per cent from profits of state industry! This is another short statement that makes socialism come alive.

As far as farming goes, Justice

Douglas comes out of Russia convinced that "the one-family farm in America beats everything" but that the Russian farms are a tremendous advance on anything in Asia. He does not discuss how the one-family farm can be developed out of the Asian village without driving vast numbers into unemployment and starvation, or how it can then be maintained without waste of machine-power, nor how the American family farms are being absorbed, bankrupt, into larger units. He does note that the collective farms in the USSR have an "extravagant use of man-power," while the state farms are "more efficient" in this respect. All these farms have highly developed mechanization, but the collective farms waste a lot of labor on handwork such as gleaning. This is why Russia still inefficiently uses 40 per cent of her total labor force to operate her farms, while the USA uses only 12 per cent. Clearly the process of changing from peasant farming to modern mechanized farming has to face a problem of surplus labor, either in a capitalist or a socialist way.

No one is starving in Russia, says the Justice. There has been no food rationing since 1947. Proteins, however, are still scarce and expensive, due to insufficient livestock. The Justice reveals that this was one source of struggle between Malenkov and Khrushchev. Malenkov proposed to feed more grain to livestock, which was a sound idea. But it cut down on the grain for people and the people didn't like it. Khrushchev proposed instead to plow up 75 million virgin acres in Siberia and Kazakhstan for grain and then use the older grain lands for cattle fodder. The virgin lands weren't plowed just by heroic patriotism; the state paid triple

wages the first year! Anyway they got the lands plowed, some 43 million acres in 1954 and 1955, and will reach the full 75 million by 1957. Justice Douglas saw signs of a dust bowl as a result of plowing up these dry lands. But the Russians he met seemed to think they could meet it by contour plowing and shelter belts.

Douglas has a fascinating description of the change collective farming has brought to the nomad sheep-herding Kirghiz, who for generations followed the grass with their sheep, trekking to the high mountains in summer and back to the valleys in winter, always living in the felted tents known as "yurts." These sheepherders, he says, no longer operate in isolation, but as part of larger general farms in the valley, which supply them with food in their mountain camps by camel train. Since the herds are large with many thousand sheep, there are scores of herdsmen with their families, and these have a regular summer village at 10,000 feet elevation, with permanent houses, schools, hospital, traveling libraries, emergency air service, and even theatrical troupes. The herdsmen's families live here for the summer, while the men with the sheep travel farther out in the yurts.

Justice Douglas says that all this development cost terrifically in deaths by starvation of Kirghiz and Kazakhs who opposed collectives back in the early 30's. He dug up figures from the Soviet census that showed 3,968,289 Kazakhs in 1926 and only 3,098,784 in 1939 and asked: What happened to nearly a million Kazakhs in those years? He deduces that most of them starved. He asked about it all over Kazakhstan and people either laughed or got angry or said they never saw the census.

It's a serious accusation by a serious jurist and I think the Soviet Census Board should look it up and tell Justice Douglas whether they made the census in both years on the same basis, or what happened to those 869,505 Kazakhs anyway.

The Justice thinks that the "average income of a farmer in the USSR" is "not more than \$560 a year." (It is 7000 rubles, or \$1,750 at the official rate, but the Justice estimates a ruble as worth about eight cents, which for most purposes is correct.) A more serious lack in the statistics is his failure to state whether this is family income or individual income. It seems to be the man's wage, but wives and grown boys make quite an income too. Anyway, I'm impressed by the amount; it isn't so long since \$500 was average farmer income in the USA. The Justice says Asians are impressed also; India's farmers get, he estimates, from \$30 to \$50 a year.

Equally vivid is the chapter on Soviet industry, whose swift advance he gives in a few figures: pig-iron production rose from 4,200,000 tons in 1913 to 33,000,000 in 1955; coal from 29,000,000 tons to 390,000,000. In some respects he finds Soviet technique where America's was in 1890 or 1910, or 1930. But "one has only to know Russia's jet planes to know that in aviation they are close to our own technology." There is "undoubted excellence in atomic energy; he notes the first small plant giving electric power to Moscow. Russian "machine tools compare favorably with ours." "Some of Russia's assembly lines seemed as efficient as Detroit's." "Trucks, cars, tractors compare favorably." Russians have mastered the art of dam building"; the new 400,000 kw. dam at Novosibirsk compares with our Bonne-

ville. Russia's speed of growth is terrific; "in 1920 we had 59 times the power production of Russia; today only four times; Russia expects to equal us in fifteen years." He found our scientists "impressed by the amount of pure science in Russia." "There is no segment of science in which Russia is not catching up."

The Justice had heard reports that Russia's industrial workers were "in as lowly a state as convict labor." He reports that this not true. Soviet workers "are not cowed or groveling." They are "in a crusade to get a job done" . . . "working with enthusiasm and drive." "There was this enthusiasm in almost every factory I visited." The Justice is not sure that this comes from "love of communism." "What loyalties inspire it is difficult for a stranger to know."

On the question of wages, Justice Douglas does as well as anyone can and better than most. On his basis that the ruble is worth 8 cents in buying power (it is 25 cents officially), he comes up with wages in heavy industry averaging \$80 to \$120 a month, and in lighter industries \$42 to \$50 a month. Unlike many reporters, the Justice follows through honestly on the eight cent ruble, and thus gets the workers paying only \$3 a month rent for a two room flat, and \$4 for three rooms, almost nothing for utilities, and a street car fare at 3 cents. Any comparison of dollars with rubles is difficult; the Justice does an honest best. He also admits that the Russians get many things free which Americans have to pay high for—hospitals and medicine especially.

"In some ways they are more advanced in medicine than we are," he says, noting that Russia has one

doctor for every 660 people whereas America has one for every 790 people. In 1956 Russia will graduate 20,000 new doctors compared with 7,000 in the USA. Medical care is "not luxurious but adequate"; doctors, surgeons, anti-biotics everywhere for everyone, "a nurse on every boat and meeting every plane."

"The impact on Asia of the Russian industrial plant is likely to be profound," says the Justice. "The Russian industrial plant is the most potent force in Asia today." That is a stunningly true conclusion, on which perhaps we might close.

The Justice, however, has half a dozen more chapters: on the law courts, on culture, on the church, on the "colonial empire," on "freedom of expression," which he says doesn't exist "in our sense" but is none the less pretty free on some matters. There is no space to comment on all this even briefly. Despite some inaccuracies, inevitable in a relatively short trip, the Justice makes the USSR "come alive" to Americans as few writers have done. This is important service to the cause of co-existence, which is the cause of world peace.

Justice Douglas "came out of Russia with several convictions": that Russians want peace, that their leaders seek to avoid war, that communism's basic policy is unchanged, that Russia's new policies "increase her strength," and finally "that peaceful co-existence will involve a degree of political competition that to date we have never experienced in international affairs." . . . "Russia is now an open and skilled player in the game of power politics. She is everywhere with missions and programs . . . in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Latin America, on countermoves against the

positions held by the West."

Russia's strategy, as the Justice sees it, will use economic aid, military aid, trade, diplomacy and "the missionary character of communism" to spread her influence and power.

The Justice sees this last as the most dangerous. . . . "Communism" he considers a conspiracy, but a "conspiracy cast in terms of brotherhood," a "powerful rallying cry to the poor and oppressed." The Justice believes, as a loyal, liberal democrat, that America has more to offer the world: our democracy, our emphasis on "the dignity of man." The rigidity of communism, he thinks, oppresses the human soul. But "its despotism seems to a worker emerging from feudalism like a warm, friendly paternalism." Hence "the pressure of the Communist totalitarian faith will present the greatest difficulties to the Western world." . . . "A smiling, peaceful, prosperous Russia presents the most difficult problem that America has yet faced. . . . It will require more fluid diplomacy than we have ever known . . . if Russia is not to conquer the world from within."

Justice Douglas sees the problem

as the Dulleses of the world never can. But I offer yet one question to his able, honest mind. If what he calls "totalitarianism" and Asian workers see as "friendly paternalism" proves a temporary discipline due to economic shortages and war, if the Communists blossom out with various spiritual values—democracy, human dignity, as well as all that music and art the Justice noticed, what then? Will he, as spokesman of America's best democratic tradition, still view their non-capitalist world as a yet more dangerous enemy? Or as our greatest ally in man's forward march?

In part Justice Douglas has already answered. His flexible mind knows that America will change—and adjust to a world "in which there is more socialism than capitalism"—and that Russia will change, its sharp angles growing smoother.

He even imagines a situation which might again drive Russia and America into a defensive alliance, if in Asia's industrialization there should somewhere arise "a Genghiz Khan with the hydrogen bomb." Has he in mind Tokyo or Peking? That's a thought, Justice Douglas. I hope you tour China next.

U.S.-SOVIET POLAR LIAISON PLAN

UNITED STATES and Soviet scientists have agreed in principle to exchange observers at their Antarctic outposts according to a dispatch sent by Walter Sullivan from McMurdo Sound, Antarctica, (N. Y. Times, Oct. 25). While the plan has not been fully formalized, a Soviet representative is scheduled to spend the winter night at Little America during 1958, and a search is being made for a Russian-speaking U.S. scientist to winter at Mirny, the main Soviet base. The exchange is one of the cooperative scientific ventures associated with the International Geophysical Year, 1957-58.

Weather information has been exchanged during the past year with the Soviet base at Mirny, and is being developed with the two other Soviet bases. Two other Soviet bases are projected. These exchanges of weather data and other scientific information are of great mutual importance.

What They Ask Me About the USSR

by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

IN THE whole peacetime history of the USSR, interest in what is really going on there (as opposed to the production and consumption of lies about it) has never been so universal as in 1956. The serious curiosity of both friends and foes has been stimulated by the proofs given to the world of Soviet educational and technological advances, and by the Soviet government's campaign for peaceful co-existence with capitalist nations; most of all by that government's exposure of the excesses it permitted to occur during the Stalin era, under what it calls the "cult of the individual."

Evidence enough of this world upsurge of interest was the extraordinary variety of foreigners visiting the USSR during my stay in Moscow, Leningrad, Riga and Vilna last June and July. Moscow seemed to have become the center of the world, with such visitors during that time as President Tito, the Crown Prince of the Yemen, British fashion models and American rabbis; Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Archbishop of York, and French, British and Italian Com-

munist Party leaders; the Shah of Iran and football teams from Israel and China; the UN's Dag Hammarskjöld, the US's Gen. Twining and Indian Vice President Radhakrishnan; a flock of construction men from the USA and two flocks—cattle-breeders and CCF liberals—from Canada; parachute-jumpers from many lands, and tourists and businessmen from just about everywhere. These and many more milled about in the hotel lobbies waiting for their interpreters to come and whisk them in different directions, and once the Archbishop of York came near to being led off to jump from a plane at the airfield instead of to the Anglican-Russian Orthodox conference on abstruse points of theology.

All these had without difficulty "penetrated the iron curtain"—plus thousands of assorted tourists, including many Americans whose own country is now the hardest in the world to visit. The American tourists I met in Moscow and elsewhere, while critical of some things, were surprised and impressed by others, although they nearly all were, by necessity, in order to have made the trip, politically unsympathetic and fairly wealthy. They found Soviet customs and entry formalities to be the most casual of any frontier in Europe, and that telephoning to the outside world was no trouble at all.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, exiled editor of the *National Guardian*, now lives in England. He was in the Soviet Union for a six weeks visit this past summer.

Relics of the "curtain" which all found deplorable were the exclusion of foreign newspapers (not even the *Daily Worker* is for sale) and the mild censorship still imposed on the dispatches of Moscow correspondents. (Of this, Soviet journalists seemed equally critical, for their delegation at the Helsinki international journalists' meeting joined in unanimous approval of a resolution against all such censorship.)

Since my visit, startling events have continued at a dizzy pace in the socialist world; and to some friendly Western circles it has seemed as if basic and long-accepted concepts about socialism itself were being challenged, and tragic poses have been struck as if certain individuals had been personally betrayed. Others on the Left have, more sensibly, taken the cue from the 20th CPSU Congress to examine their own personal and group sins, committed under far lighter pressures and dangers than were those of the Soviet Union during the same period.

Journalists speaking as little Russian as myself, or none at all, have summed up the post-20th Congress socialist world after a few days' sojourn. This is a feat I did not feel equipped to perform after six weeks there, but I can perhaps usefully record some of the questions put to me since my return, and my answers to them. However hostile, those who ask them are notably more realistic than were my inquisitors in 1936 when I returned from my previous visit to the USSR. In that year, I recall the not untypical reaction of a lady at a California dinner-party who, when I described a service I had found in progress in a country church in the Ukraine, flatly told me I was suffering from hallucinations: she *knew* that the government had

closed all churches in the USSR. This time no one has called me a liar when I have spoken of the generous—and to my mind, excessive—amount of money and man-hours being spent in Vilna on restoring Roman Catholic churches, inside which young folk were lined up to confess to a priest.

(However, a British Catholic friend who wrote the other day to the English hierarchy asking if they were not aware of the flourishing Catholic activities in Lithuania, received only this in reply: "We are well aware of the priests in concentration camps in Lithuania.")

This time even my local grocer, a Czech who has been stewing since 1948 in the typical emigré prejudices he brought with him to London, didn't argue when I told him that Soviet industries and farms were setting new production standards for the world. He said: "It's the ideology! 95 per cent of the people in my country are against it!"

He wondered if I had been able to speak to any Russians, and I said only a few hundred of them—some through interpreters, many in mutually-understood smatterings of other languages. "What did they think?" he asked. "They didn't agree with you," I said. "I'm afraid you'll have to get used to the fact that their morale is very high." I suggested for this reading *Russia Without Stalin* by Edward Crankshaw, the anti-Communist "Soviet expert" of the London *Observer*, who writes:

"The Soviet Union is more literate, more healthy, more developed in every way than the old Tsarist Empire. Its industrial achievements are stupendous, its cultural achievements, in spite of the regimentation of the mind, very much to be admired. . . . It was the Soviet system,

and no other, which released the immense potential, frozen for so long, of the Russian people. . . . The Soviet regime . . . is now in its best aspects taken almost wholly for granted, like Parliamentarianism in Britain, or the Constitution in the United States. Both these last are constantly modified in practice by changing emphasis and values. So it is with the Soviet regime."

A London bus-conductor asked me what the Kremlin receptions were like (I told him I went to the one for Prince Norodom). I said they would knock his or the Queen of England's eye out, and that I would subscribe to the view that the luxury for the USSR's guests is piled on too thick; but he was surprised and pleased by my description of thousands of plain Soviet men, women and children strolling through the grounds of the "sinister" Kremlin among smart, saluting militiamen. Then he wanted to know what the people thought of Khrushchev; I said many people chided him for "talking too much," but today's leaders were being judged very critically by actions rather than words, and none of them showed the slightest signs of becoming the object of any "cult."

Few people asked me about the food: the stories about "starving Russians" seem to have had their day, and most of the world accepts that full bellies are now the rule in the USSR. On housing, one can only report that the amount and speed of new building is stupendous—and so is the still-continuing shortage of space. As to whether the clothing is "as poor as it looks in the photographs," I said that the failure of Soviet photography to represent adequately the color and life of the Soviet scene was some-

thing nobody could explain to me, especially in view of their excellent cameras. The clothing, however, is not properly to be described as "poor": it is adequate—as it has never before been in Russia—but one of the greatest Soviet shortages (of which the women are extremely conscious) is the thing called Style.

The main subject of interest is of course the "cult of the individual," the current state of civil liberties, and the extent to which a pattern of democratic initiative and control on the citizen level is arising to replace the "cult." What guarantees are there that false imprisonment and executions of "enemies of the people" will not continue? My reply has been that the paper guarantees listed for me by Soviet legal experts failed to answer fully the questions in my own mind; but one must remember that (a) the USSR can't afford to be unwary so long as the USA appropriates vast sums for "iron curtain" subversion, and (b) the USA today is itself a good example of the insufficiency of guarantees on paper. The guardian of justice must in the final analysis be a people on the alert against injustice; and the self-critical confidence of the Soviet people—especially the new generation of young citizens, who are remarkably clear about where they are going and why—in their own capacity to be effective watchdogs struck me very forcibly.

A belligerent right-wing trade union official put his question to me like this: "How do ordinary Russians feel about the way Stalin let them down? Were you able to ask them?" (There remains a widespread belief that even if you can talk to ordinary Soviet citizens, certain questions must be taboo. I have explained that, while in 1936 many

people didn't have the burning desire they show now to talk to foreigners, there is no subject they won't gladly discuss in 1956.)

I said I had asked many people but not just in that way, and had dozens of conversations about Stalin. "Well," he said, "don't they realize he was just as bad as Hitler?" I doubted if such an idea had ever crossed the mind of anyone I met, from the most distinguished professor to the lowliest collective farmer. At first I had found myself looking wherever I went for the pictures of Stalin which in 1936 hung everywhere, as if their retention or removal would be a measure of the "Stalinism" of this or that person or group visited. But I found that whether there was a visual reminder or not, the feelings about Stalin varied little; and indeed, such pictures seemed rather more in evidence where the attitudes about him were most sensible and least subjective. Sitting beneath Stalin portraits I listened to men who had suffered years of false imprisonment under the old regime, speaking with passionate loyalty about the Party whose "cultism" led to all the injustices. One of these men, a Jewish magazine editor in Leningrad, joked about how he had become a poultry expert during his 17 years in Siberian prisons and camps; he had won a prize there for his fine chickens, he said, but had also written a book of literary criticism which was about to be published.

There was little or no venom against Stalin the man, but rather a consciousness of group responsibility for the errors and crimes. Some expressed irritation with the "cult of personality" formulation recalling, as one journalist put it, "the 'Cleopatra's nose' theory of his-

tory." If the countless massive busts of Stalin had almost disappeared, and if his face was no longer delineated in flowers in Parks of Culture as I remembered from 1936, still his words carved with Lenin's on the wall of Moscow University's great assembly hall made sense; and nobody wanted to remove them, nor, so far as I could learn, his body from the Red Square mausoleum. The pictures of him, mingled now with those of other leaders but with Lenin generally predominating, hung on enough walls to suggest his proper place in history. Perhaps, I thought, Isaac Deutscher was more perceptive than many of us understood when he wrote in his critical biography in 1949: "The better part of Stalin's work is as certain to outlast Stalin himself as the better parts of the work of Cromwell and Napoleon have outlasted them," although history might have to "cleanse and re-shape" his work as sternly as it had cleansed and re-shaped theirs.

In the office of the newspaper *Tiesa* in Vilna, I found its Lithuanian editor Henry Zimanas—one of the warmest personalities and best newspapermen I met in the USSR—sitting at his desk under a big Stalin portrait. I asked him how he felt looking at it every day, and he said:

"It's a picture of a man, yes—but it's much more. Stalin is a symbol for us of many things, some of them bad, most of them good. I lived for three years in the forests as commander of the partisans in this half of Lithuania during the Nazi occupation. Some people forget all that it has taken to establish socialism for our peoples, and all that it took to win the victory against the fascists. What was believed to be the best army of all time was hurled

against us, and the only force that could have defeated it was the Soviet—and above all the Russian—army. It was not Stalin who won the victory, but for our men who did win it he was the symbol we needed, and they died with his name on their lips. The picture is for me a reminder of that symbol and of those times of peril when I had to give orders for the most dangerous tasks, and the partisans accepted them saying, 'I'll do it for Stalin.' That was what they said but they were doing it for the Party, for socialism.

"The Stalin period and the present period are completely different. Until recently our country has been like a partisan group in the forest surrounded by enemies. Under those conditions complete discipline is necessary; the leaders must make decisions which may be wrong, but the luxury of arguing about them can't be afforded. There has been no sudden awakening to the fact that some things were wrong under Stalin—we already knew it then, but we had accepted the leadership and we knew why. That picture is also a reminder of the fact that I, too, have made terrible mistakes in the war and sent men needlessly to death. But as long as the partisans accepted my leadership they had to carry out my orders. If they had not, who knows what the outcome might have been?

"But now," said Zimanas, "now we are strong. It is a new time. Now we can begin to afford the luxury of arguing and questioning."

Every thoughtful Soviet citizen knows that the "luxury of arguing and questioning" is not something that has been "granted" by Khrushchev or anyone else, but which had to come because all the conditions cried out for it. During the summer

there were many evidences of the changed atmosphere. With a new kind of forcefulness doctors were agitating against the "unbelievable overburdening of schoolchildren," mining engineers against encrusted bureaucratic idiocies of planning and work-organization, social and cultural workers against state interference with the running of clubs, inhabitants of small backward communities against the denial of facilities for self-improvement, historians and creative artists against the rewriting of history and the "sterilization by committee" of individual talents.

These signs of democratic initiative at work were a heartening reassurance; but in answer to innumerable questions about the Soviet press, I have replied that it was only beginning to play its proper role in a secure socialist society. Its great shortcoming, I felt, was failure to supply the day-to-day news necessary to form a mature public opinion on political issues.

I was in the USSR during the disturbances at Poznan, Poland, and there was an almost total lack of information about them. They were reported only in the barest way, and most of the space devoted to them consisted of sadly mechanical "explanations" of facts never fully set forth. In Poland itself, on the other hand, the news is given in detail no matter how "unpleasant" and how near to home it may be; various views are expressed and, in addition, serious Western publications are for sale. As a result, political issues are subject to far more searching public debate based on well-rounded knowledge of the facts.

A similar near-blackout of news seems to have prevailed in the USSR with regard to the October events

in Poland, whose ending on a note of sanity and stability owed little to any contribution the information-starved Soviet public was able to make. But the Polish press by its candor made a real contribution; and it may well be that, had the Hungarian press taken a similar line in the preceding months, the frightful blood-bath in that country might have been avoided. There is reason to believe that reforms undertaken in Hungary were genuine and far-reaching, but the whole socialist world has paid a bitter price for the failure to keep citizens properly informed and to encourage healthy criticism and controversy.

That this was not done must be ascribed in part to the Soviet press, which has inevitably been a model for the press of newer socialist countries. Such withholding of vitally important information cannot be justified in the new and freer atmosphere, even if it could be in the past. Standardized simplifications of complex world events, and the absence of differing (even if incorrect) viewpoints about them in the press, certainly does not reflect faith in the masses at this stage of Soviet development.

In some quarters both in the USSR and Poland I heard fears expressed that the Polish press had gone too dangerously far, in view of the continued activities of Western "liberators" and wreckers. Indeed there were, and probably still are, abuses of the new press freedom, and in Warsaw I heard about journalists whose slogan had now become: "What can I criticize today?"

(These, apparently, were for the most part the same journalists who had been the most slavish Stalinolaters in the past.) The dilemma here is clear, but what we have since

seen in Poland and in Hungary suggests that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages and the risk has to be taken. For my part, I am convinced a sensible but thorough overhauling of the press is the USSR's greatest need as its people move forever out of the era of the "cult." Neither since nor before the revolution has Russia ever known a press that was not tightly controlled, and so it is an area in which the leadership moves slowly and cautiously. But talks with many Soviet journalists leave no doubt in my mind that a press revolution is coming.

My visit to the USSR has above all convinced me that, despite the freely-admitted errors and shedding of innocent blood in the past, socialism works, and works for the benefit of the vast majority. That it is working so well in a country with Russia's lack of democratic traditions is, indeed, the highest testament to socialism.

Nobody can say whether, without all the bad as well as the good of "Stalinism," the present and future would be so bright. But as you walk through teeming Soviet cities where Hitler's robots strode but a dozen years ago, or at whose very gates the jackbooted march was stopped, you cannot but be conscious of the period of appalling danger through which not just the Soviet people, but all humanity, has lived in our time.

The transcending triumph is not only that the rising sun of socialism sheds the warmth of its promise over half the world, where unspeakable and bottomless night almost established its reign; but indeed that all of us are alive and not a pile of radioactive ashes. For this, history will surely have little trouble in deciding where the credit lies.

TRIBUTE TO ERNEST HEMINGWAY

by LIDIYA KISLOVA

Soviet critic and translator

THE LITERATURE of the American people is deservedly popular among the Soviet reading public. Hawthorne and Irving, Longfellow and Cooper, London and Dreiser, Mark Twain and O. Henry, Hemingway and Fast and many other gifted American authors are widely known and read in the Soviet Union.

They differ greatly—all these writers—in style and method, in their approach to life, in their treatment of the problems life presents. But in one thing all the best of American literature is kin: in love of man, and championship of man's right to happiness and human dignity; in acclamation of human labor, and courage, and energy.

The first Russian translation of Ernest Hemingway—one of the most interesting and talented of the American writers of the present day—appeared in the early thirties, in literary magazines and in various other publications—as, for example, a collection entitled “Twentieth Century American Stories.”

In 1935, *The Sun Also Rises* appeared in Russian; in 1936, *A Farewell to Arms*. Later, other works appeared, including, in 1939, *The Fifth Column* and *The First Forty-Nine Stories* (the Russian edition included 38), in the translation of which I had the pleasure of participating.

These books quickly attracted at-

tention and interest. Our Soviet readers liked Hemingway's peculiar style; liked the terse expressiveness of his descriptions; his keen, laconic dialogue; his amazing gift of stating—or, rather, giving to understand—so much in a few compact sentences, of creating mood and atmosphere in a few words. And we—his translators—know well what craftsmanship went into his every sentence, however simple it might seem in the reading; what weight and significance every word carried; and how hard a task it was to render him with anything like justice.

The Soviet reader shared in the protest against bourgeois vulgarity, against the depraving influence of wealth and idleness, expressed in many of Hemingway's works—with particular bitterness, perhaps, in his story *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, which he describes in a preface as one of those that he likes best.

Often, in both his stories and his novels—notably *To Have and Have Not*—our hearts were won by Hemingway's fellow feeling for the common people, the “have-nots,” and his dislike of the idle rich.

We liked Nick Adams, the central figure of many of the stories—a simple, honest American youth, who liked to hunt with the Indians along his native Big River, and who, finding himself at war in a foreign land,

came to realize keenly how alien, how unneeded it was, so far as the peoples were concerned.

Indignation against the war—an indignation tinged, alas, with hopelessness—rings also in *A Farewell to Arms*, one of Hemingway's most masterly works.

That was the first world war.

The late thirties—eve of the second world war. Civil war in Spain. The heroic Spanish people in arms, battling fascism in defense of freedom and independence.

Hemingway knew the Spanish people, had written of them with great warmth and sympathy. He went to Spain. "This is a strange new kind of war," he wrote, in the story *The American Soldier*, "where you learn just as much as you are able to believe."

Later, in 1939, he was to write in *On the American Dead in Spain*: "Those who have entered [the earth] honorably, and no men ever entered earth more honorably than those who died in Spain, already have achieved immortality."

A favorite play of mine is Hemingway's *The Fifth Column*, written "under fire," in Madrid 1937.

Hemingway has always liked to write about people of courage and daring. Until that time, however, his heroes were sportsmen, adventurers—bold lion hunters, daring smugglers, fearless matadors (he often wrote of that "brutal" sport, bull fighting).

The courage of Philip Rawlings, hero of *The Fifth Column*, is of a different order. Rawlings' courage, his intellect, his enterprise are devoted without reserve to the lofty cause for which he is fighting, the struggle of the Spanish people for liberty. To this cause he sacrifices all thought of purely personal hap-

piness. "We're in for fifty years of undeclared wars," he says, "and I've signed up for the duration. I don't exactly remember when it was, but I signed up all right."

And, reading this play, we admirers of Hemingway liked to think that perhaps he, too, and not only his hero, had signed up for the struggle for justice, for the people's happiness. That was a pleasant thought to us, for, admiring Hemingway as an artist, and reluctant to think of him as a mere voice of the "lost generation," we had been hurt and repelled, at times, by the hopelessness, the aimlessness, of the bar-room existence led by many of his characters.

We knew, too, of his speech at the second congress of American writers, held in New York in 1937. "Fascism," Hemingway declared at this congress, "is a lie told by bullies. . . . Because fascism is a lie, it is condemned to literary sterility."

In 1940 came his new book *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, about Republican Spain.

A talented book, unquestionably; and unquestionably anti-fascist in spirit. But, somehow, it failed to say what we had been hoping to hear from Hemingway. And it tolled the "funeral bell" so hopelessly! After all, had not Hemingway himself declared that no tyrant could ever subdue Spain, that no people could be held in slavery? (*On the American Dead in Spain*.)

The second world war was on. In 1941, we heard of Hemingway in China; later at the Western Front, as a war correspondent. Early in the war, we heard, he had hunted German submarines in the Caribbean. In 1944 he headed a group of French partisans entering Paris.

None of this, however, found expression in his writing.

It was only in 1950 that his next novel appeared: *Across the River and Into the Trees*, it was called.

To tell the truth, it disappointed me. And not only me, but many other readers. A black fog of hopelessness hangs over the whole story. And there is a noticeable accentuation of those notes of scepticism that sounded in one and another of Hemingway's earlier works as well—"It was all a nothing and a man was nothing too," say, in the story *A Clean, Well-Lighted Place*.

How dull he is, when you get down to it—this Colonel Cantwell; and how little there is in the love between him and young Countess Renata to remind one of the real and touching loves of Frederick Henry and Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms*, or Robert Jordan and Maria in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*!

Through Cantwell, Hemingway expresses some very bitter thoughts concerning the "political generals" of the Anglo-American command during the second world war.

But is that what the book was written for? The author alone knows. To me, in any case, it is very far from clear.

In 1952, a new Hemingway book appeared—*The Old Man and the Sea*, a story about an old Cuban fisherman. After a long stretch of bad luck, the old man takes his boat far out into the ocean, and there wins a

hard-fought battle with a huge marlin. But on the way home sharks attack his catch, and leave nothing of it but the head and spine.

The story is splendidly written, in Hemingway's characteristic laconic manner. Its central figure, the old fisherman, wins the reader's sympathy and admiration by his courage, his sense of his human dignity as a workingman, his perseverance, his determination to work so long as he can lift a finger.

The fisher boy, the old man's only friend, is touching in his devotion. But the world portrayed is a cruel world, and in this world a man stands alone.

In January of last year it was reported Ernest Hemingway had been killed in an airplane crash in Africa. Fortunately, however, the report turned out to be mistaken. Hemingway came out alive.

There is an old belief that if a man is mistakenly reported dead, he will live to a good old age. I hope with all my heart that Ernest Hemingway will carry on for many, many a year to come, writing new books for us—his readers; books that will be worthy of his talent; books imbued with truth and courage, the courage of struggle against injustice and inhumanity, for the peace that is so dear to all the Nick Adamses, to ordinary people the world over.

(From *Soviet Literature*)

ROCKET FLIGHT ROUND THE MOON

A RECENT session of the Institute of Theoretical Astronomy in Leningrad discussed the question of a rocket flight round the moon. The discussion was based on the work of Prof. G. Shebotaryov and his associates, who have succeeded in proving theoretically the possibility of such a rocket flight with a smaller fuel reserve than formerly considered necessary. The flight, which would take ten days, would make possible the observation of the side of the moon not seen from the earth. Professor Shebotaryov is now engaged on theoretical calculations for a rocket flight to Mars.

JEWS IN RUMANIA TODAY

by BEATRICE KING

COULD it be possible? Could pogroms against Jews have been worse in pre-war Rumania than in pre-war Poland or Tsarist Russia? "But indeed they were. Our position was the worst in Europe." I was assured by Rabbi Gutmann, the deputy chief Rabbi of Rumania.

The treatment of its Jews by the government and the people of a country is one yardstick by which its claims to democracy, freedom and civilization can be measured. It was this, added to the stories of persecution still being peddled in the West, which stimulated me to seek an interview with the heads of Jewry in Rumania. I had already met many Jews in varied walks of life but not in their capacity as Jews.

The Chief Rabbi was out of the country, so I met the Deputy, as well as the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities and for good measure, a delightful young Jewish playwright, Israel Bertovich.

Rabbi Gutmann might have come out of a picture of the Middle Ages, with his side curls, venerable beard, and skull cap, and dressed in a long kaftan. He is so orthodox that he doesn't shake hands with a woman. This in no way detracted from the warmth of his welcome nor from my

response to his friendliness. But it is only the outward garb that harks back. With his deep orthodoxy he combines a modern spirit and a deep wisdom. The fear and the hurt in his eyes, the legacy of pre-war treatment, have almost entirely disappeared and given place to an understanding warmth and a frequent humorous twinkle.

My first question was "Can Jews leave Rumania for Israel?" "Yes" was the reply. Eschewing diplomacy or finesse, I retorted with, "Then why do you remain here?" "Because we like it here" was the simple spontaneous answer of the President, to which the others nodded assent.

"Can you freely practice the Jewish religion; and honestly, how much freedom do the Jews really have?" It was Rabbi Gutmann who answered first.

He began by telling me a little, a very little, he said, of the position of the Jews in old Rumania. For a Jew, looking his race, wearing traditional dress, it was unsafe to travel by train. He would be thrown off the train with danger to life and limb. At a students' Congress the Jewish students had to hide. The burning of synagogues was a common occurrence. Tearing out the beards and beating up Jews was a prevalent pastime. Such physical brutality was by no means the worst of the evils for simple men like himself. Worst of all was the constant fear in which the Jews lived. He illustrated how

BEATRICE KING, distinguished British educator, is a frequent contributor to New World Review. She visited Rumania earlier this year.

much ground there was for fear by a grim incident in which he participated.

At 2 a.m. one night a band of hooligans broke down the door of his flat with iron bars, beat him up, and his two sons who were at home, till blood streamed from them. They were then forcibly taken away to a building where they found 200 other beaten up Jews. Maimed and bleeding, they were herded like cattle into closed vans, taken to a forest on this dark winter's night, and shot down. Before he fell wounded, Rabbi Gutmann saw his two sons shot dead.

His eyes, which had been full of pain and sorrow as he talked of the old now changed. He began to talk about the present.

"The most wonderful thing that has happened to us is that we are no longer afraid; we no longer feel surrounded by enmity and hatred. Of course there has not been a miraculous change. But the government regards us as ordinary citizens and demands and insists that we be treated as such. And the people respond on the whole to this demand."

"How free are you in reality? What about the Jews who wish to run businesses?" I asked.

The Rabbi countered with "What is freedom? To have security of life, of religion, and conscience, and security of livelihood; to have free access to all education, to any position with one's capacity—is not that freedom enough? There is still much private trade, but of course people cannot become rich. But what is this making money? You know, a man makes money today. Then tomorrow he feels compelled to make more. The following day he feels compelled to make still more. His whole life is spent in making more and he has lost the capacity for enjoyment of

life, and doesn't know the meaning of content. No, Jews of integrity, Jews for whom our Jewish teaching is an integral part of their living, such Jews are not worried about the impossibility of becoming rich."

"Of course, if a Jew breaks the laws of the country, he is called to account like any citizen. We realize and recognize that our country is treading a new road, the road to socialism. We realize that the beginning of the road is difficult, and a discipline is demanded which may be irksome to some; that restrictions, some of which we hope are temporary, have to be imposed on some for the good of all. But all this is as nothing compared to the freedom that we Jews enjoy today."

I was informed that the state shops where about 50 per cent of assistants are Jews provide ample scope for their business ability. The academic world has opened its doors wide to the intellectually interested Jew and provides full opportunity.

I was given just a few examples. Where before there were no Jewish professors, today there are considerable numbers. Professor Mendel Heimerovici is secretary of the Filial of the Academy of Sciences. The Rabbi's own daughter is a university lecturer, while a son in addition to being a director of an institute, is a deputy of the People's Assembly where 77 Jews sit, representing ordinary constituencies. This is something of a wonder still for Jews in Rumania.

There are special Jewish schools where all the education is in Yiddish, Rumanian being a second language. In Rumanian schools, those who wish to do so can take Yiddish. I asked why the education was not in Hebrew. "Because Hebrew is not the language of the Jews in Europe.

For them it is a dead language, learned where necessary for religious purposes. Their mother tongue is Yiddish." There are Talmud Torahs run by the Federation where Yiddish as well as Hebrew is taught. A seminar for Rabbis was recently organized.

There are 50 synagogues, all functioning normally, with daily services for those who wish to attend. The Jewish Community Headquarters is housed in a fine building provided by the state. There are special kosher slaughter houses for cattle and poultry. There are special shops for the sale of kosher houses for cattle and poultry. There are special shops for the sale of kosher meat. A fine, modern factory makes matzos. Rumania had recently been visited by the Chief Rabbi of Sweden. His verdict was that nowhere in the many countries he had inspected was "Kashruth" so carefully observed, nowhere had he found the Jewish religion taken so seriously as in Rumania.

As is to be expected, not all Jews in Rumania are as observant as Rabbi Gutmann would like them to be. There are many, he told me, who only observe the New Year and the Black Fast, usually Jewish marriage. Tolerantly, the Rabbi said the Jew was free to be orthodox or not, though the latter did not rate high in his opinion. He found the English Reformed and Liberal Synagogues strange phenomena.

The state gives every encouragement for the development of Jewish culture. This is expressed particularly through the theater which has a long history in Rumania. Jassi, in Moldavia, was the cradle of the Jewish theater. Here, eighty years ago, A. Goldfarb formed the first Jewish company. After liberation in 1945,

with the actors left alive by the fascists as the nucleus two Jewish theaters were set up. In the last eight years, the two companies have given eighty plays. In June the Jassi Jewish Theater visited thirty towns during a tour. The plays include Yiddish classics, translations of French, German and Russian classics and moderns. They were planning to give "The Merchant of Venice" in Yiddish in the autumn. There were great plans afoot for the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Jewish Theater. The government had given seven million lei for rebuilding the Bucharest Jewish Theater.

In other fields, research has been started into Jewish folklore, while the publication of literature, Jewish and non-Jewish, in Yiddish was in hand. The Federation of Jewish Communities was about to publish a Yiddish paper for the religious community, while a daily paper in Yiddish was also to be brought out.

"Life is far from perfect as yet. We are only at the beginning. Anti-Semitism has not been uprooted yet. That must take more than one generation. But the young who are growing up today, do so in an atmosphere where anti-Semitism is not merely discouraged, but is considered anti-social, something a decent person is ashamed of. The young of tomorrow will be growing up in conditions where anti-Semitism will be dying out because there was nothing to feed it, so the young of the day after tomorrow will not know what anti-Semitism is. Jews will be regarded as Rumanian citizens in the same way as the German or Hungarian minorities." And Rabbi Gutmann finished up with, "Now do you understand why we remain in Rumania?" I did.

"Patience, Self-Discipline and the Long View"

by The Reverend WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

***Text of speech given at the meeting of the National Council
of American-Soviet Friendship, November 13, 1956***

IN ALL fairness to the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship that has called this meeting, to the speakers, to the musicians, and to you, the audience that has come here on this traditional anniversary occasion, it is important to state for the record, and to remind ourselves, that this meeting was planned and arranged long before the events blackening the headlines and arousing the emotions broke upon us.

Each year a meeting similar to this has taken place and received public support because innumerable Americans of intelligence and good conscience believed that it was in the basic national interest to work for better understanding and friendship between the two major power-concentrations in the contemporary world.

These annual meetings have had rough going before but never, I think, has one of them come quite so close on the heels of such major and dramatic events as those that have held the public interest and aroused the present tempestuous passions.

In some ways, it would have been a very simple thing to have called off this dual anniversary meeting, or to have postponed it, and yet to have

done either would have been to abandon the very purpose for which the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was formed—to work for peace based on greater understanding and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union within the framework of the United Nations—and to counter those forces that are seeking to inflame and exacerbate international antagonisms as the prelude and preface to a new war.

If there ever were a moment for people concerned with peace to try to stand their ground and do their work, it is this moment and this time. Nor, surely, would we serve the world interest of intellectual freedom and civil liberty, were we, under pressure or coercion, to yield our right of free assembly and discussion by cancelling this traditional dual anniversary meeting because of intimidation, fear of criticism, or personal expediency. We in the National Council have fought nine long and bitter years for this right to organize and assemble and discuss and publicize our convictions in this area of American foreign policy, and we cannot honorably yield it now.

When this meeting was planned, it was the intention of our Board of Directors that a significant portion

of its early part should take the form of a tribute to the leaders of our Council whom death has taken from us this summer and fall, Dr. John Adams Kingsbury and Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild. Both these splendid Americans were believers in American-Soviet Friendship and in the American democratic tradition of civil liberties. We honor their memories tonight not merely as we pay tribute to them but as we ourselves, under these darkened circumstances, undertake to continue the work to which their lives were devoted.

I first met John Kingsbury in the early days of Russian War Relief and soon came to know, respect and love him, as so many of you did also. Intellectually and emotionally, he was a man committed to humanity. Having served the City of New York as its Public Health Commissioner under the reform administration of John Purroy Mitchell, he later became the director of the Millbank Foundation and a pioneer in advocating a health program for the nation.

In the early days of the Soviet Union he visited that new land and studied with growing excitement the plans in the new society that sought to make available to all its people the benefits and skills of curative and preventive medicine and surgery, and that would develop on a national scale a program of scientific public health.

After World War II, he visited the Soviet Union again and saw the remarkable development and functioning of a public health and medical service such as he had envisioned in his early years. Later, he visited Peking as the guest of the new Chinese Government and there saw in operation, improving and securing

the lives of 600,000,000 human beings, the same planned public health program on a scale never before imagined by mankind. He saw what this meant for multitudes of people hitherto fatalistic in their attitude towards life: what it meant for infancy, for childhood, for adolescence, for young people, for family life, for old-age health and security; and he gave his intellectual and emotional commitment to it.

A friendly man, he drew the response of warm friendship wherever he went in the Soviet Union and later in China, and came back convinced that friendship was not only possible but intensely desirable and ultimately mutually profitable. He believed in peaceful co-existence and, in the face of much criticism of his friends and former associates, attended conferences of the World Peace Council, and wrote as often and as much as he could in the interest of understanding between the divided nations and peoples of the earth.

He had courage, this near-octogenarian. To my mind, there is no question but that his appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington in early summer hastened his death, yet, because he felt it was his duty, he insisted on making that personal appearance. His statements before that Committee and earlier before the Subversive Activities' Control Board were not only honorable but stirring reminders of the American tradition. A lineal descendant of President John Adams, who might have taken refuge in his family heritage, he declared that he would rather go to jail under the unjust provisions of the McCarran Act than register as the officer of an allegedly "Communist Front," for to sign under that act would have been for him

to swear to a palpable lie, for this organization, he knew and so declared, was responsible to no one under heaven other than the will of its Board of Directors sitting in democratic session.

Hard on his death came that of another founder, leader, and supporter of our Council, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, for many years the head of the Department of Sociology at New York University. Tall, broad-shouldered, handsome, athletic, Professor Fairchild also was a world-citizen in the best sense. From his early days as a teacher in Turkey and later as a student of population problems in the Balkans and other areas, he came to have great confidence in the possibilities of a scientific and humanist approach to basic problems affecting vast masses of people. He visited the Soviet Union and saw the theories of socialism in practical application in a young and undeveloped land. Himself a firm believer in democratic principles, he felt that great allowance had to be made for the difficulties and limitations of the Soviets. He understood the economic basis of the world hostility to the Soviet undertaking and, down to the day of his death, anticipated that with a relaxation of world tension there would be internal liberalization within the Soviet Union. As an educator, he had a vast respect for the Soviet educational system and held that an educated people will ultimately determine its own character and destiny.

Both these Americans took a long view of things, and from a world context judged that something new and good was in process of birth. This conviction they have bequeathed to us and we owe it to the world experience that underlay their judg-

ments, and the intellectual and ethical integrity of their views, to keep their position as one of the polar points of our own thinking. It is not for us lightly to presume how they would have reacted to the present critical developments but we may perhaps assume from their whole history that they would certainly have advised patience, self-discipline, and the taking of a long view. That, it seems to me, is our present responsibility. We shall discharge it as we keep firmly held before our own memories such stalwart and honorable human personalities as John Kingsbury and Henry Pratt Fairchild.

Some of us, who have never idealized communism at the same time that we have interested ourselves in the ethical aspects of its social theories and achievements, find ourselves perhaps less shocked by the present developments than we are saddened by them. There is a genuine sense in which the theories of Karl Marx sought to create a society in which human exploitation should be eliminated, and in which the labor of men and the resources of the people should be interrelated in a constructive productivity designed to benefit the whole.

Multitudes of men and women greeted the birth and watched the rise of the Soviet Union as the embodiment of such a rational and ethical concept of society. There is something pathetic and tragic about the damage done to a serious social ideal by the inconsistencies and outright errors of those who advance it. Many folk, in all walks of life, today are feeling this acutely. Whether, in the East, it be because of the failures of the Communists in the Soviet Union stemming from their Russian background, the hangover of a By-

zantine tradition of autocracy, or the evil by-products of a police-state that has been allowed to flourish all-too-uncontrolledly; or whether, in the West, it be because of the resumption of open colonial aggression by a French Government claiming to be "socialist," the truth is that the ethical ideal and principle underlying a genuine socialist society is sadly compromised; as, indeed, are those of us who, in our concern for a happier human society, have allowed the dream and the vision to obscure or over-ride ugly realities.

Yet, in spite of the disclosures of tragic Soviet failings and now this open resort to armed coercion in a Hungary which we all deprecate, it seems to me unnecessary that any of us should repudiate, or make any apology whatsoever for, our years of working for American-Soviet friendship. In a war against Fascism, and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence, a justifiable and fundamentally correct espousal has been made on our part. At the same time I cannot read such words as a brother Christian minister in England has written, the Reverend Stanley Evans, without realizing that to some degree they apply to us. He says:

"Most of us who have written and spoken about Russia and Eastern Europe, while we have reported truthfully and gauged accurately some aspects of Soviet life and the life of the new Democracies, have been grievously wrong about others. Our appreciation of the good and of the forward strides led us to reject uncritically much of the evidence which did not suit our particular interpretations. There is probably nobody who writes in support of the U.S.S.R. of whom this is not true—and it certainly includes the present writer."

The Reverend Mr. Evans goes on to say something that I, too, believe and hold needs saying: "It is important that the world-wide movement for friendship with the U.S.S.R. continue in being, but if it is to serve a purpose for the good of humanity it must raise itself to a higher level of friendship, the kind that is not afraid to criticize or protest when criticism and protest are necessary."

With this explicit understanding, it is my conviction that all of us have got to continue tenaciously to seek the same broad aims that we have been seeking: peace, the elimination of the hydrogen and atomic threat, the beginnings of disarmament, the reduction of the arms race, the rebuilding of and resorting to the United Nations as an instrument of collective action and mutual assistance, greater freedom of movement between peoples, the cross-fertilization of differing social systems, and, above all, the acknowledgment of our universal need for a greater respect for people as individuals, greater tolerance, greater compassion, greater humanity.

Part of the world problem is the simple fact that the Soviet system is sufficiently a success that it has made Russia a great power able to begin for the first time, with some sense of security, to throw her weight around in the world; and this fact places a great burden of responsibility on the Soviet leaders to maintain the aims and principles of historic socialism, as it places a similar responsibility on us to maintain the aims and principles of democracy.

We are all guilty of talking ideals and acting in contradiction to them. We Americans did it in Guatemala and in Mr. Dulles' addiction to armed pacts outside the United Nations. Britain and France did it in Egypt,

as did Israel. The Soviet Union is now plagued with a Hungary and will pay a heavy price before this involvement, however needful it may have seemed to them, is finished. All of us are compromised. But because of this, for us to despair and to gear ourselves to the inevitability of a Third World War, would be hysterical nonsense and madness.

I am inclined to agree with the editor of *The Nation* and those among the broadcasters on the TV that I have heard in recent days who have dared to evince some optimism that out of these tragedies may come a greater reliance on the United Nations and a greater awareness that

only two alternatives really face us: co-existence for peace, or hydrogen and atomic war. If this judgment be correct, now is the time not to retreat but to work more tenaciously and indeed more critically, for that kind of co-existence that will make such a happier and better world a possibility.

So, on this 39th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union and this 23rd anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, let us pledge our efforts to the kind of peace that can endure because it represents and serves the true interests of all mankind.

SHEPILOV URGES DISARMAMENT AND WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

DURING the UN Assembly debate on November 22, Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov declared that the most urgent task in the present international situation is "immediate measures to prevent war and terminate the arms drive." He said that the Soviet Government's proposal for reducing the armed forces of the big powers included a plan for reduction both of U.S., British and French forces stationed on the territory of NATO countries, and of Soviet forces in the Warsaw Pact countries, and the complete liquidation within two years of all military, naval and air bases on the territory of other states. He called on the General Assembly to consider the recent new proposals for disarmament made by Premier Bulganin and for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, beginning with the cessation of tests. The Bulganin proposal accepted in part President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" inspection plan.

Mr. Shepilov announced the intention of the Soviet delegation to present to this UN session a proposal to set up a world trade organization within the framework of the UN to facilitate world economic cooperation. Emphasizing the importance of aid in the economic development and industrialization of under-developed countries, to close the gap between them and the highly industrialized countries, he said the Soviet Union was prepared to participate in the special UN fund for this purpose now under discussion.

The Soviet Foreign Minister also said his delegation would propose a world economic conference to be held in 1957, with the participation of all countries irrespective of U.N. membership, to further international economic relations.

He urged UN steps to end the colonial system and establish time-limits for the early granting of independence to all trusteeship territories.

ATOMIC PARITY— and Disarmament Prospects

ATOMIC WEAPONS AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS, by P. M. S. Blackett. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. 107 pp., \$2.00.

A noted civilian authority on operational analysis and military theory, who is also Nobel Laureate in physics, has written a second book on the role of nuclear weapons in wars, hot and cold. (The first was *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy*, published here as *Fear, War and the Bomb* in 1948.)

Professor Blackett believes that Western threats during the immediate post-war period to impose a settlement on the USSR were based on over-estimation of the military effectiveness of atomic weapons. It was a Western assumption that atomic bombs would be used strategically against cities, civilian populations and industrial areas. Blackett contends that war against a large continental power cannot be won in this way, and that the Russians were apparently always aware of this fact. Nevertheless Western talk of atomic preventive war was probably responsible for the speed with which the Soviet Union developed atomic and hydrogen bombs. Now, with atomic parity between the East and the West, "strategic atomic attack on enemy cities can only be envisaged as a last and suicidal extremity."

Blackett maintains the atomic stalemate, then, has made all-out global war exceedingly unlikely. There remains the possibility that "small" atomic weapons will be used tactically (in conjunction with land forces) in small scale wars. Blackett thinks there is little danger of this, in view of the difficulty of draw-

ing a clear distinction between tactical and strategic bombing, but Western military planning is apparently based on the feasibility of tactical use.

This book is very compact, and every sentence is of interest. It is mainly devoted to the policies and problems of the West, but there are cogent discussions of Russian technology and of the differences between Eastern and Western military theory. Of special interest in connection with the question of whether the success of the Soviet atomic program has brought reassurance against World War III, Blackett discusses the possible military effect of Stalin's death.

In his careful analysis he sees little or no change in Soviet defense policy. "With our present knowledge there can be little doubt that for many years past an important element in Stalin's policy was to attempt to impose co-existence on the West by achieving atomic parity. . . . In so far, then, as the present détente is a result of the present Soviet leaders' confidence in their strength, it is a result not of Stalin's death but of the ruthless methods by which he drove his country to the scientific, technological and industrial efforts, without which atomic parity would have been long delayed." Most significantly, it is Blackett's opinion that there is ground for greater hope of disarmament agreements, now that the problem is one of bargaining between effective atomic equals.

Professor Blackett's book is essential reading for an understanding of the problem of disarmament, and further, for a real understanding of the overriding problems of our time—co-existence and peace.

P. M.

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE

I VOTE MY CONSCIENCE, Debates, Speeches and Writings of Vito Marcantonio. Edited by Annette T. Rubinstein and Associates. The Vito Marcantonio Memorial. New York. \$5.00.

VITO Marcantonio lived this book. In a real sense, he wrote it.

Here, in "I Vote My Conscience," are his own words, spoken out with courage, clarity and immovable truth during his Congressional battles on the great issues of our times. Here are his powerful summations as counsel for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, William L. Patterson, Ben Gold and the Communist Party in four notable civil liberties cases.

And, here, too, in 32 pages of photographs that bring Marc poignantly alive, are camera highlights through the years—as a freshman in Congress, at a Lucky Corner election rally, on a picket line, at the side of La Guardia, at a polling place with his mother and grandmother, in his beloved East Harlem community, in Washintgon, in Albany, in Puerto Rico.

Perhaps the most representative of the book's selections is the historic statement by Congressman Marcantonio on the floor of the House on June 27, 1950. It was made not in studied composition and long polishing but on the spot, within minutes after President Truman had ordered "cover and support" by United States armed forces in Korea. Standing alone against the bi-partisan legislative juggernaut, casting the lone vote in opposition to President Truman's action, Marcantonio spoke and voted his conscience on the towering issue of peace.

"I would be remiss," he said, "to the things in which I believe if I did not stand up here and state my opinion on this matter. After all, Mr. Chairman, you live only once; and it is best to live one's life with one's conscience

rather than to temporize or accept with silence those things which one believes to be against the interest of one's people and one's nation."

He concluded with words which remain today as the legacy and the trusteeship of all who strive for peace:

"War is not inevitable; there are alternatives, but this declaration on the part of President Truman is an acceptance of the doctrine of the inevitability of war. I stand here and challenge that doctrine. I say that the ingenuity of Americans and people all over the world challenge this doctrine."

Six months later, in his last speech in Congress, Marcantonio could note that "there are very few people in America today who do not wish we had never gone into Korea," and leave ringing in the chamber where he had served for fourteen fighting years, the text of plain and lasting truth:

"The best defense of America does not lie in this armaments race implementing this insane program of war. . . . The best defense of America does not lie in the atom bomb. It can be thrown in both directions and destroy us too. The best defense of America lies in a policy of peace. . . ."

"I Vote My Conscience" breathes the flaming vitality of Marcantonio as he stood and fought with granite integrity on issue after issue.

One sees and hears him leading the battle for FEPC and equal rights; championing labor's struggles in Congress and on the picket line; pioneering for social security legislation; working for the independence of Puerto Rico; taking on and routing the racists and the bigots of Congressman Rankin's ilk; scourging the political inquisitioners of the Dies Committee and its successors; and, always, nourishing and being nourished by his deep roots with the people.

—Arthur Schutzer

HUNGARY IN TRAVAIL

by JESSICA SMITH

THE tragic and terrible events in the Middle East and in Hungary bring one compelling lesson home to us all. We had better learn this lesson well if we want to keep this planet earth a home habitable for the human family.

The lesson is that we must at once and with all our strength enter upon an all-out campaign for peace that will never weaken or stop until it is won. This means an ending of the cold war and of all military blocs under which any nation stations troops on another nation's territory or sends them in. Above all it means an ending of the arms race, an unceasing search for disarmament and a supreme effort for the abolition of nuclear weapons. As long as they exist in the arsenals of nations there is danger that any small conflict containing the seeds of a larger one may lead to their use.

More people in the world today are agreed on the necessity for ending tests of nuclear weapons than on any other single issue. This, therefore, is the place to begin, since this decision can be made without any complex arrangements on inspection and control which have been the main stumbling block. No arguments of national security can here prevail,

since any violation, all agree, could be immediately detected.

The ending of tests would end the already perilous pollution of the atmosphere, endangering our own and future generations. It would at the same time open the way for effective steps toward real disarmament and complete abolition of all nuclear weapons.

Adlai Stevenson performed a real service in making the ending of tests a main issue in the election campaign. In doing so he not only responded to the growing demand among all sections of the people, but by centering national attention on this issue helped to intensify that demand. This has created a strong base which must not be dissipated but should be utilized for a broad national movement.

Where Stevenson failed was in not relating the issue of the tests to an over-all peace program. His criticisms of the Administration were not for its cold war policies, but for not pursuing them far enough. He based himself on the sterile and dangerous anti-Communist issue rather than on any constructive new program for world security. Applying this to the Suez situation, he saw the main danger there as "Soviet penetration" into

the area and in effect advocated that the Administration back up the aggressive actions of Britain and France, in which they used Israel as a tool, against the interests of the Israeli people. This encouragement of military actions based on naked imperialist aims, designed both to seize the canal and overthrow the Nasser government, and creating a new danger of world war, largely negated Stevenson's previous position on tests.

The Middle East and Hungary

World-wide indignation at the deliberate aggression in Egypt to perpetuate a dying colonial system was reflected in an overwhelming majority in the United Nations determined to stop the aggression. However at fault our own country in helping to bring about the Middle Eastern crisis and in its later vacillations, Americans were proud to have their country on the side that condemned aggression. With the United States, the Soviet Union, the whole Asian-African world standing together, bright new prospects for peace seemed open. The rift among NATO powers raised hopes for a new, broad, all-inclusive security alliance.

Whether by accident or design of those forces in the world who want no peaceful solutions, at that point the Hungarian situation exploded, providing an opportunity for the West to close ranks again in condemning the Soviet Union.

The two situations are not parallel. Yet since both involve the use of armed force to impose the purposes of the nations resorting to force, however different those purposes, the Hungarian situation was at once seized upon to divert and divide world attention with regard to the

Middle East. The anti-Communist issue was again brought to the fore. It was no accident that the sharpest attacks against the Soviet Union were made by those guilty of the aggression in Egypt and those representing the world's most dictatorial and terrorist regimes.

The whole Arab-Asian world is grateful for the unswerving support of the Soviet Union on the side of colonial liberation and in large measure attributes to its policies the achievement of the cease-fire and the defeat, thus far, of British-French aims. Some of the neutral nations, while seeing the main danger in Western aggression, at the same time regarded the use of Soviet troops in Hungary as violating principles of sovereignty and equality in relations between nations.

This was pointed up in the November 14th communique of the Prime Ministers of India, Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma, who convened primarily to consider the grave situation arising out of the military actions in Egypt, and who also considered the situation in Hungary. They strongly condemned the aggression against Egypt and asked for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces. They expressed deep distress at the events in Hungary, regretted the reintroduction of Soviet troops and said they should be withdrawn speedily. They noted French suppression of freedom in Algeria. Declaring that world tensions are too great to deal with merely by condemnation, they called for world peace through disarmament, an end to military pacts and the stationing of troops on other nation's territory and adherence to the Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence.

In debates on Hungary in the UN,

Indian delegate V.K. Krishna Menon opposed any approach to the Hungarian question requiring it to submit its elections to the UN as though it were a colonial country, and urged that nothing be done to retard the process of negotiations between the Soviet Union and Hungary with regard to troop withdrawal.

The Indian delegation abstained from voting on any of the UN Assembly resolutions condemnatory of Soviet actions in Hungary. While emphasizing his country's belief that no government "should be based upon foreign intervention or upon the armed might of another country," Mr. Menon made clear that he felt that there should be no interference in Hungary's affairs "by any party whatsoever," whether from the East or from the West. In the debate on the deportations question on November 21, India joined with Ceylon and Indonesia in a cautiously worded resolution urging Hungary to permit the entry of observers designated by the Secretary General, "without prejudice to its sovereignty." This resolution noted that while some member states had affirmed that Hungarian nationals had been "forcibly deported," others had "categorically denied" that any such deportations had occurred.

It should be noted that none of the rumors of Soviet deportations of Hungarians have been confirmed. An AP dispatch in the *New York Times*, Nov. 21 said that information from the Hungarian state railways "seemed to cast doubt on reports of deportations," while the *Times* said editorially the same day that "it is not possible to say with certainty that there have been deportations of Hungarians." Both Hungarian and Soviet representatives have officially and categorically

denied that any such deportations took place.

While the situations in Hungary and in Egypt cannot be considered entirely apart from one another, we believe that the issues of naked aggression in the Middle East are clearer to many people than the complex situation in Hungary.

New Efforts for Peace Needed

The situation in Hungary has thrown new confusion into the ranks of believers in socialism and many circles friendly to the Soviet Union, just recovering from the Stalin revelations and encouraged by the many evidences of correction of those evil policies, greater democratization of life within all the socialist countries, greater equality in relations between them.

No one can fail to be deeply disturbed by the use of Soviet troops in quelling the revolt in Hungary, the terrible bloodshed and destruction, the bitter harvest of hatred and resentment that must inevitably be reaped. It should have been avoided.

But no friend of peace or believer in socialism can stop at simple condemnation of Soviet actions. It is necessary to see the picture against the background of world and Hungarian developments, the whole chain of events that led to these tragic happenings. Everyone, including the Soviet leaders, concedes to one degree or another that troubles in Hungary grew out of the evil Stalinist policies not yet sufficiently overcome, that the people had numerous justified grievances requiring rectification, of which the first demonstrations in Budapest were honest expressions. But those who merely condemn, take far too little account of the long and publicly announced efforts of reac-

tionary forces inside and outside of Hungary to overthrow the regime and return to an old order whose likeness to that of Hitler has been too easily forgotten. These efforts are a part of the whole cold war policy for which prime responsibility falls on the West. They do not fully realize the alternative which the Soviet leaders considered inevitable.

Both those who condemn the use of Soviet troops and those who justify it as unavoidable have a duty to try to understand the whole complex of forces and events out of which it grew. Most dangerous of the effects of what has happened is the exacerbation of all the cold war tensions that were beginning to die down. The big job now is to try once again to reduce those tensions and to get on with the main task of restoring the conditions for peaceful co-existence, under which such tragic events would not occur.

The possibilities for achieving this are present in the Swiss proposal for a top-level five-power conference, already accepted by the Soviet Union and India. While turned down by Britain, France and the United States, President Eisenhower has at least left the door open, pending results of current United Nations discussions.

A further opportunity is offered by the November 17 communications of Premier Bulganin to President Eisenhower and the Prime Ministers of Britain, France and India, urging that the five-power summit conference proposed by Switzerland, consider disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, with discontinuance of testing as the first step. (The proposal included a partial acceptance of the Eisenhower "Open Skies" inspection plan.) Bulganin also suggested a conference of

the NATO and Warsaw Pact powers to consider the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty.

Among the things that must be understood in relation to Hungary are special aspects of its history, too soon forgotten, which explain certain differences between Hungary and the other People's Democracies as well as emphasizing the guilt that must be shared by our own nation in contributing to its special difficulties of development. We make no pretense of a full understanding of all the complex strands woven into the present situation. We can only review some readily ascertainable facts which we hope may lead to more thorough study and understanding, and equip us better in the struggle for peaceful solutions.

Hungary After World War I

Without prejudice to the Hungarian people as such, who have their own glorious revolutionary traditions of the Kossuth independence movement of 1848, it cannot be forgotten that Hungary fought against the West as Germany's partner in two world wars. Nor can we forget the role of the West in intervening in Hungary's internal affairs after World War I and preventing it from developing the form of government it desired.

After the dissolution of the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, a Republican Government was set up under the liberal Count Michael Karolyi. But the Allied Council permitted Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other national forces to occupy Hungary, and withheld the financial aid and food which would have enabled the Karolyi Government to endure. As a result, Karolyi handed over power to a combination

of Communists and Social Democrats who set up a Soviet form of government under Bela Kun in March 1919.

The Allied Council continued its blockade, permitted new military attacks, and made a deal with the right wing Social Democrats to oust Bela Kun and form a new government. But the new government lasted less than a week. The Rumanian army entered Budapest, without protest from the Allies, imprisoned the moderate leaders, and opened the way for taking of power by the reactionary Admiral Nicholas Horthy, commander of the Austro-Hungarian Navy at the end of the war.

The role of the United States in this shameful episode is recounted by Walter W. Liggett in the book *The Rise of Herbert Hoover* (H. K. Fly and Co., 1932):

Captain C. C. Gregory, of San Francisco, a close friend of Herbert Hoover and fellow trustee of Stanford University, was the American Relief Administrator who helped engineer this disgraceful deal. He withheld supplies until Bela Kun had been ousted, although the supplies had been purchased with funds advanced by the Bela Kun Government. (p. 255)

Liggett quotes from an article in *World's Work*, June '21, in which Gregory had boasted of this exploit, declaring he was "in constant touch with Hoover in Paris," that the latter took the "most strenuous efforts and the Supreme Council was immediately drawn into a discussion of ways and means," and that "there is no doubt Mr. Hoover was the principal agency responsible for the quick return we received."

To bring the story closer to the present, we should add that Herbert Hoover Jr. has been acting Secretary of State since the Hun-

garian events began. The elder Hoover sent greetings to the Madison Square Garden meeting held this November 8 under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee and sponsored by a group of emigré organizations representing the most reactionary elements of former regimes of Central and Eastern Europe. While ostensibly called to raise money for relief, the full page ad for the meeting quoted an appeal from "Hungarian Freedom Station" not for relief, but for "action, with soldiers and arms." Leo Cherne, IRC chairman, recently rushed to Budapest where he conferred about distribution of relief supplies with Cardinal Mindszenty and other anti-Communist representatives. Mr. Cherne's concern for Hungarian independence may be gauged by the fact that on his return he declared 99 per cent of the Hungarian people would vote for union with Austria. The character of those who attended the meeting may be gathered from the burst of boos which greeted Mrs. Anna Kethly, Social Democratic member of the Imre Nagy regime, when she declared of recent events: "This revolution . . . is not intended to be the beginning of a new war but the beginning of the often-mentioned co-existence," and by the howling pickets who hurled rotten tomatoes and bottles of ammonia at Paul Robeson, Rev. William Howard Melish and Dr. Harry F. Ward when they attended a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to urge continued efforts for peaceful co-existence.

The Horthy Terror

Those familiar with the history of Hungary since World War I refer to it as "the first Fascist state" as

indeed it was under the terrorist dictatorship of Admiral Horthy which lasted from 1920 until 1944.

Under the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary had been forced to cede over two-thirds of its territory containing most of its iron resources and a substantial portion of its coal to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria, which also meant a reduction of its population from 21,000,000 to about 9,000,000. It thus became predominantly an agricultural country. Under Horthy's feudal rule, trade and industry stagnated, finances came under foreign control.

The lynch law that flourished under Horthy is described by Dr. Oscar Jaszi, a leading Hungarian Radical of that period, in his book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary*:

The country was covered with a network of bloody assizes, which wreaked vengeance not only upon the greedy adventurers of Communism, but also upon those whose only offense was their political faith. . . . Thousands of innocent persons, among them women, students, young girls, and even children, were sent to the prisons and the internment camps. But this "legal" retaliation was not enough for them. It was too ceremonious and controllable. Throughout the land there were formed armed detachments of the White forces, and other bands, which hunted down all who had excited their suspicion or ill-will. It may be said that the whole so-called upper class took up arms and joined one or another of the military organizations. Hungary became a veritable Eldorado for the disbanded Imperial Army. . . . This raging of the White Terror makes one of the darkest pages of Hungarian history.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1947

edition), from which the following items are culled, heads a section under Hungary "Establishment of the Counter-Revolution." It describes the limited-franchise elections of 1920 under which Horthy became regent, as bringing a "Conservative Christian, partly anti-Semite majority." Continuing White Terror, reaching out to Social Democrats, Jews and many liberal elements, caused the Amsterdam International to proclaim a boycott against Hungary. Reaction continued under subsequent ministries. All efforts to establish a liberal constitutional regime failed. "Plans for agrarian reform and an amelioration of the miserable condition of the peasantry were never seriously started." In 1932 Julius de Gombos became prime minister. He "represented the strongly fascist element among the younger officers and the lower middle-class intelligentsia who had been responsible for the White Terror in Hungary and had formed a number of militant organizations like the Awakening Magyars." ("Militant" seems a mild term. This was an outright terrorist and rabidly anti-Semitic organization. Ed.)

Fascist Hungary

Under this heading, the *Encyclopedia* says: "With the Gombos Ministry Hungary entered into a period of progressive fascization of its whole life. Close cooperation with fascist Italy and, after Hitler's accession to power, with national socialist Germany, became a guiding principle of Hungary's foreign policy."

Rearmament was taken up actively. Hungary took part in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, joined the anti-Communist Pact of Germany, Italy and Japan. "New

anti-Semitic legislation was introduced and Hungary's life quickly coordinated with Nazi concepts of policy. Under new anti-Semitic laws Jews were completely excluded from all economic, cultural or political activities in Hungary."

Hungary formally entered the war as Hitler's ally November 20, 1940. It joined the assault on the USSR, helped German troops invade Yugoslavia, and seized some Yugoslav territory "with the intention of incorporating it into the Hungarian state which then definitely formed part of Hitler's 'new order.'"

Hungary held out in the Nazi camp until almost the end of the war. A footnote is added by Emil Lengyel, a Hungarian born American writer, who wrote an article in the April, 1947, issue of *Soviet Russia Today* after a visit to Hungary. Describing the hostile role played by Cardinal Mindszenty at that time against both the Hungarian Government and the Russians, Lengyel said that Mindszenty advocated "forgiving" such organizations as the "Arrow Cross" and their Fascist allies, regarding whom, Lengyel added:

It should be pointed out to outsiders that those very people are guilty of more monstrous crimes even than the Nazis. At the very end of the war they kept on shipping trainloads of victims into the German gas chambers in Poland. . . . I know from some of the survivors of the gas chambers that some of the top Nazi murderers were horrified by the insensate deeds of their Hungarian accomplices. If the Hungarian assassins had not sent hundreds of thousands into the execution chambers up to the last minute, most of the Hungarian Jews could have been saved.

This may serve as a reminder that whatever wartime resistance forces

there were within Hungary had been ruthlessly suppressed. Hungary was not, like the other countries which became People's Democracies, a country liberated from Hitler occupation with the help of its own people. It was an enemy country in which German-Hungarian troops were defeated by the Russians in long and bitter battles. Budapest alone fell only after an eight-week siege by Soviet armies, in which 49,000 of the German-Hungarian troops were killed, 178,500 taken prisoner.

Many who had faced the Russians in battle or had supported the Horthy government in its war efforts fled to the West, later to form the recruits for the anti-Communist "liberation" campaigns. Many remained at home, and undoubtedly helped swell the ranks of the army and police.

The Battle for Budapest, part of the great campaign that ended in victory over Hitler, was only twelve years ago.

Post-war Hungary

Elections were held in 1945 under chaotic postwar conditions with many reactionary elements still in controlling positions. The Smallholders won a big majority, the Social Democrats came next and the Communists third. A *United Press* dispatch of June 8, 1945 by Ruth Lloyd, indicated the nature of the Smallholders Party at that time. They had, she said, "let in all the politically dispossessed members of the old order who had nowhere to go, including the bulk of the old aristocracy and the wealthy mercantile class."

The new coalition government immediately set about the task of reconstruction, put into effect important land reforms which gave five

acres apiece to millions of landless peasants and set in motion a plan for nationalizing the banks, which had owned some 60 per cent of basic industry, for industrializing the country and raising living standards.

In the article referred to above, Emil Lengyel describes the progress that had already been made in early 1947 when he visited there. The country was still nominally under the control of the Allied Control Council. Some 60,000 Soviet troops were still there pending withdrawal following the signing of the peace treaty, except for those who would remain to maintain communications lines with Austria. However, Lengyel found that the country was not under physical occupation by the Russians, who were little in evidence and all police services were carried on by Hungarians. The old town of Budapest "looked like a miniature Stalingrad," but miracles had been accomplished in digging out of the ruins and restoring public services. "Even the enemies of Russia," he noted, "admitted that the Red Army had had a hand in the performance of this miracle."

He found the land reform the most significant development in post-war Hungary, although the farmers were suffering because the government was too poor to provide needed equipment for them, and economic conditions were still very difficult.

Lengyel also noted the anti-Soviet movements "spearheaded by Cardinal Mindszenty" who described the land reform as a "Godless Act," and mourned the loss of the vast church lands (900,000 acres) to the people. Mindszenty also opposed secularization of the schools.

With the difficult internal situation, and so many reactionaries and fascists around, it was not surpris-

ing that plots should have developed against the regime. Following an outright Horthy plot, in February 1947, Bela Kovacs, a leader of the Smallholders, had been arrested by the Soviet occupation authorities on charges of a treasonable conspiracy directed against both the Hungarian Government and the Soviet occupation authorities. The fascist clique in the country was reported to have turned to foreign reactionary powers for help in forming a counter-government in exile which would be brought back to form a Horthy type dictatorship in Hungary.

In a signed confession, Kovacs implicated eight other Smallholders, including Ferenc Nagy, then Hungarian Premier (not to be confused with Imre Nagy). Kovacs, who spent eight years in jail in Russia, was freed in 1955. In the light of later revelations about the spurious nature of some of those early confessions, we do not know to what extent the earlier charges against him and his implication of Nagy and others were justified. However, that conspiracies or one sort or another existed was attested by many non-Communist sources.

At any rate, Ferenc Nagy, who was vacationing in Switzerland at the time, resigned and has remained in exile ever since, very active in Hungarian exile affairs in this country and in Europe.

Ferenc Nagy has revealed his political views in his book *The Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain*, published by Macmillan in 1948. In this he deplores the fact that the West did not follow Churchill's plan in 1944 of launching their attack on Europe through the Balkans. (page 82). He expressed his belief that America must lead the way "to eliminate Communism from human

society" (page 458). Finally, he expresses his contempt for the people and his anti-Semitic bias in the following paragraph outlining his ideas for his own country and the world in the period of "reconstruction" after anti-Communist forces have won:

After the guilty are punished, the misled masses must be depoliticized. In the new world order, the masses must have no opportunity or occasion to go astray politically. . . . The people, driven through common danger into common action, must assert politically that duty which was shouldered by humanity two thousand years ago in the creation and defense of the Christian world order. (pages 459-460)

We shall return to Mr. Nagy later.

Advances and Errors

In August 1947 new elections were held in Hungary, the results of which brought cries of a "Red coup" in the U.S. press. Actually the principal adults disfranchised were the former adherents of some 29 fascist organizations, and 280,000 more people voted than in the 1945 elections. A government coalition of Communists, Smallholders, Social Democratic and National Peasant Parties won the elections. The Communists this time came out ahead, with 1,113,050 votes, five per cent more than in the previous elections. In March 1948, the Social Democratic and Communist Parties merged. In 1949 Party Secretary Matyas Rakosi became Premier and the country moved quickly toward socialism under a program of nationalization, economic planning for industrialization, farm collectivization and a vast program for social welfare.

That they moved much too fast

will be clear both from the past history we have recounted which indicates that the people as a whole were far from ready for a full socialist program, and from the deep-rooted dissatisfactions of the people revealed in the current events.

It cannot be denied that there was much progress during the period. In the tempo of industrialization more was accomplished in the past ten years than in the whole preceding century. Education advanced as never before. Much was done for children, medical and welfare services.

Over the years our magazine has published many accounts of these advances from non-Communist sources. We do not believe that this record need be thrown out. The error was in its oneness, the failure to note the many negative features that were accompanying these advances, a failure for which the regime itself, for concealing much of the truth, must be held chiefly responsible.

For side by side with the advances, the Hungarian version of the Stalin cult was carrying out its own unjustifiable repressions and violations of socialist legality, a vast secret police apparatus was, as in the Soviet Union, doing great damage as an invisible government while the USSR's own policies in that period did much to retard progress. In 1948 came the break with Yugoslavia, and all its evil consequences, culminating in the trial and execution in 1949 of Foreign Minister Rajk and his associates, falsely charged, as Khrushchev revealed in his famous speech, of treason and espionage on behalf of the West, of plotting with Tito for the overthrow of the Hungarian Government and murder of its leaders.

Continuing economic difficulties were of course basic in enhancing the people's discontent. Part of these stemmed from the large reparations asked by the Soviet Union as a result of Hungary's role in the war, and from the Soviet share in the joint stock companies, (through which, in part, the USSR had realized its share of German assets in Hungary, assigned under the Allied reparations agreement), although much Soviet economic aid had also been forthcoming. Some of the pressures had already been eased, and the joint companies were dissolved after Stalin's death, but injustices in economic relations remained. The people did not sufficiently share in the returns of industrialization. Work norms remained too high, wages and living standards too low. Poor crops and floods in the past two years meant depressed farm conditions and increased peasant dissatisfaction with cooperative farming and with government taxes and obligatory deliveries. Added to these was the need for diverting larger funds to arms production in the developing cold war atmosphere.

A brief respite from economic difficulties was promised the people when Imre Nagy became Premier in 1953, following Stalin's death. He promised greater attention to light industry, more consumers' goods for the people, a slower tempo in the forming of agricultural collectives. But this movement was reversed when the Soviet Union itself reversed Malenkov's policy and insisted that emphasis on heavy industry must remain, and Nagy was replaced in February 1955 by Anton Hegedius, who restored the policy of following the Soviet pattern under Hungary's very different conditions.

But while the terrible mistakes

of the Party and the regime are incontrovertible, its bureaucracy, its separation from the people and lack of attention to their most vital economic needs as well as the repressions and the drive for conformity, the situation in Hungary cannot be considered apart from Western cold war policies of the post-war period which were helping to build up tensions in the whole socialist orbit and ever-ready to take advantage of them.

Western Policies and Hungary

It cannot be forgotten that the internal troubles that plunged Hungary into turmoil in 1947 coincided with the promulgation of the Truman doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey, which meant the beginning of American political and military intervention in the affairs of Europe. As Walter Lippmann put it:

The reason for intervention in Greece and Turkey is that of all places in the world they are best suited strategically for the employment of American military power to check the expansion of Soviet military power. (*New York Herald Tribune*, Mar. 29, 1947)

During 1948 Hungarian emigrés began to coalesce their activities for the formation of a "shadow government," to take over when the time was ripe. According to C. L. Sulzberger, (*New York Times*, Aug. 8, '48) "The Hungarian coalition was organized at the end of July with the tacit approval of the State Department." He mentioned the Hungarian National Committee as the over-all organizing body "regarded as the Parliament," and among its leaders the Rev. Bela Varga, former Catholic parish priest, Ferenc Nagy and the notorious Tibor Eckhardt.

During this period John Foster Dulles was already paving the way for the rearming of Germany.

These policies culminated in April 1949 in the signing of the North Atlantic Pact, a military alliance directed against the Soviet Union, providing for a whole string of U.S. military bases surrounding the USSR and the People's Democracies.

But not until May, 1955, following ratification of the Paris treaties, providing for the rearming of Germany and its entrance into NATO and the refusal by the West of the Soviet offer for an All-European Security Treaty, did the USSR make the counter move of organizing a mutual defense system under the Warsaw Treaty, but with the express condition that it would be dissolved whenever a general European collective security system should be formed. Without NATO and a remilitarized Germany there would have been no Warsaw Treaty, and hence no Soviet troops still stationed in Hungary.

In 1950, the Republican foreign policy plank expressly provided for "liberation" of the Eastern European countries, which thus became official Republican policy under the Eisenhower Administration.

In September 1951 this policy was implemented by the passage of the Mutual Security Act authorizing the President to spend up to \$100,000,000 to finance:

... any selected persons who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia or the Communist occupied areas of Germany and Austria, and other countries absorbed in the Soviet Union, either to form such persons into elements of the military forces of

the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or for other purposes. . . .

Additional appropriations for such purposes have been made each year. While such activities have been played down in the press recently, much has been published in the past about the activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and Project X in promoting sabotage and subversion in these countries. Well known is the State Department's direct encouragement and aid to the many emigré groups in Germany and elsewhere in Europe as well as their encouragement to the Crusade for Freedom and other private organizations which raise vast funds for subversive activities in socialist countries, for radio and balloon programs and the like.

What Was Behind the Revolt?

We have tried thus far to indicate some of the many complicated strands that wove the pattern of Hungary's present travail. Many have expressed the opinion that the reason events exploded as they did in Hungary in contrast to the way they are working out in Poland is that Poland moved more quickly in overcoming the evils of the Stalin era and in putting liberalization policies into effect. We are inclined to think the matter is more complex. What we have recalled of Hungary's Fascist past may be more pertinent. Perhaps a part of the explanation is also that, although many mistakes are admitted in Poland, the Stalinist repressions there were not quite so complete—at least Gomulka was merely jailed, not framed and executed as a traitor as in the case of Rajk and his associates. Poland, too, seems to have found stronger and wiser leadership.

While the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin had a shocking effect among the people in the Soviet Union, there had been some preparation for them in the three years since Stalin's death, and the corrective process was well under way. But while some slight reforms had already taken place in Hungary, there was no such preparation for the revelations, which must have struck like a bombshell among people who already had many legitimate grievances. At the same time, the constructive decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR with regard to differing roads to socialism and improved relations among socialist countries had not yet been fully implemented.

In February came the posthumous rehabilitation of Bela Kun, who had been executed in the Soviet Union as a traitor, presumably sometime in the '30's. In March, the rehabilitation of Rajk, about whose guilt questions must have arisen earlier, at the time in fact of the Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation in 1955, which absolved Tito of the conspiracy in which Rajk was supposed to have taken part. The revelation of the perfidy of those leaders and police officials who had a part in the framing, extorted confessions and executions must have made a profound impact on the people. (Their passions must have been deeply inflamed with the exhuming of the bodies of Rajk and three others and the mass funeral, reported to have been attended by 200,000 people, at the time of their re-burial with full official honors this October 6.) Much of the popular resentment was directed against Rakosi, who was replaced by Erno Gero as first Party Secretary in July.

While some of those responsible

for the repressions and frame-ups had been arrested, others remained in office.

Meantime, many thousands of political and other prisoners were being released from jail. While in the Soviet Union this process was carried on over a considerable period, all cases being carefully reviewed in order to insure correction of injustice, the process took place much more hastily in Hungary, and along with the innocent who had been unjustly punished it is said that many were released with fascist backgrounds and questionable records as well as outright criminal elements, and that their absorption into a discontented population inevitably created new problems.

In addition, ever since the spring of 1955, Hungarians abroad were being invited to return to their country "with no questions asked," which provided a perfect cloak for the entry of many fascist elements. Further opportunities were afforded by the opening of the Western border with Austria last spring. Tens of thousands of fascist and other counter-revolutionary elements, including many officers of the former Horthy army, are said to have taken advantage of these opportunities.

While liberalization may not have moved as quickly as in Poland, the process seems to have been well under way. Although not yet reflected in the official press, much free criticism was published in literary journals and many meetings were held where criticism of the regime was freely expressed, especially in youth and literary circles. Such criticism began among writers over a year ago. It reached its culmination last June when 8,000 people attended a meeting of the Petofi Circle in Budapest, where leading writers made

sharp attacks on Party and Government leaders.

Both the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party, in its Central Committee meeting last June, and government leaders, had mapped extensive measures to meet the people's grievances through higher living standards and greater democracy. These promises, however, were too little and too late and too slow in fulfillment.

Just before the dam burst, John MacCormac wrote from Budapest (*New York Times*, Oct. 19) that 'the thaw' that set in in Hungary when Matyas Rakosi was deposed . . . continues unabated." On October 21 he wrote that the tempo of change was very rapid. He cited government announcements regarding revision of the five-year plan in favor of increased consumers' goods and higher living standards, wage increases and an end of any coercion with regard to collective farms.

It is perhaps not without significance that the uprising started on the very eve of the convening of Parliament. As in Poland, reforms had already been made in parliamentary procedure to provide for freedom of debate and questioning of government ministers by deputies. This session of Parliament, which the uprising prevented, was slated to put into effect many of the reforms being demanded by the people.

The day before the demonstration that sparked the revolt, student meetings were held which issued a series of demands to the Government. These meetings led to street demonstrations by students, joined by many others on October 23, until that night tens of thousands converged on the Budapest radio station, where Party Secretary Gero had just been broadcasting. The people demanded Imre Nagy

as premier. Many workers now swelled the ranks of the demonstrators.

How Did the Violence Start?

Just how the first shooting began is not entirely clear. Most of the reports declared that as the crowd pressed against the doors of the radio station to find out why a delegation they sent inside had not returned, the police threw tear bombs, and then opened fire, killing one and wounding one demonstrator. Other accounts said the first shots came from armed persons in the crowd itself, and that members of the radio station staff had been wounded. Practically all accounts agree, however, that it had all started as a peaceful demonstration based on justified demands.

The next morning the government announced the replacement of Hege-dus by Imre Nagy as premier. Martial law was proclaimed, and Soviet troops stationed nearby called in to help. Nagy broadcast an appeal to the people to keep order and oppose the provocations of "enemies of the people who tried to convert peaceful demonstrations . . . into an attack on the Socialist system itself."

Nagy has since blamed the calling of Soviet troops on Gero alone. However that may be, it was Nagy who signed the decree, and who according to an editorial in the *New York Times*, called upon the people to "welcome our friends and allies." Indignation against Gero was so great that on October 25 he was replaced as Communist Secretary by Janos Kadar, who had spent several years in jail for alleged espionage and treason, and was recently exonerated and released.

The opinion is held rather gen-

erally that the first grave error was the calling in of Soviet troops, which inflamed the people, and that without this action the continuing tragic bloodshed might have been averted.

In this connection, it is pertinent to note the first reactions in Washington. In a dispatch to the *New York Times* (Oct. 27) Edwin L. Dale Jr., said the view of the State Department was "that there is little doubt that the troops have a right to be there," since the Warsaw Pact under which Soviet troops are in Hungary is a Soviet version of NATO. He continued:

But a question might be raised about the legitimacy of their use to put down an internal rebellion. Even this raises a problem, however. The Soviet troops are being used at the request of the Hungarian government. There is little effort in Washington to deny that the United States forces abroad could be used in the same way if there were a Communist-led revolution in, say Italy. In 1944 and 1945, for example, British troops, on the request of the Athens Government, fought Communist rebels in Greece. Furthermore, any possible United Nations approach is at the moment clouded by French threats to use force in Morocco and Tunisia to protect Europeans there.

As rioting and bloodshed mounted in the days that followed and spread throughout the country, Premier Nagy displayed the greatest vacillation and weakness, changing his cabinet constantly, acceding first to the just demands of the people, and then later to all demands without distinction.

Soviet Government Statement

On October 30, the Soviet Government issued a statement on the basic principles of its relations with other

Socialist states. It said "the countries of the great commonwealth of Socialist states can build their relations only on the principle of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs."

It admitted that there had been many downright mistakes and violations of these principles in the past which had been condemned by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, and that steps were being taken to correct them.

Recognizing its own responsibilities in Hungary's economic difficulties, the Soviet Government said it was ready to discuss the development and strengthening of economic ties among Socialist countries with a view to eliminating any violations of sovereignty and of mutual advantage and equality. It raised the question of the expediency of the further stay of Soviet economic advisers in the People's Democracies.

It expressed its readiness to discuss the whole question of the stationing of Soviet troops in other socialist countries under the terms of the Warsaw Pact.

On the question of Hungary, it said the people had rightly raised the question of eliminating serious shortcomings in economic development, and advancing the struggle against bureaucracy and for increased material well-being, but that this movement had been joined by forces of "black reaction and counter-revolution" trying to restore the old landlords' and capitalists' order.

Expressing regret at the development of events leading to bloodshed, the Soviet Government said it considered that the further presence of Soviet Army units, "can serve as a cause for an even greater deterior-

ration of the situation," had instructed its military command to withdraw from Budapest "as soon as this is recognized by the Hungarian Government to be necessary," and at the same time was "ready to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and other participants of the Warsaw Treaty on the question of the continued presence of the Soviet troops in Hungary." It expressed confidence that the people of Hungary would defend their socialist achievements.

President Eisenhower greeted this statement in his broadcast of October 31 with the words:

... If the Soviet Union indeed faithfully acts upon its announced intention, the world will witness the greatest forward stride toward justice, truth and understanding among nations in our generation.

There is no question that the Soviet Union intended to act on the basis of this statement, as they subsequently did in the agreement with Poland. The Soviet troops began to withdraw from Budapest. But other forces determined a very different outcome.

Had there been any sort of firm government, the situation might have been saved. But Nagy at once told the rebels they had won "full victory," gave in to all demands, including those leading to restoration of capitalism. He changed his Cabinet again to include not only the Smallholders (Zoltan Tildy, Bela Kovacs) already taken in, but opened the way for the inclusion of representatives of outright reaction. At this point, as the *New York Times* reported (Oct. 31): "Premier Nagy's weak national front government hav-

ing failed to defeat the national revolution even with the help of Soviet tanks and heavy artillery, apparently decided to join it." The Nagy government extended recognition to the Revolutionary Councils. A terrible blood bath started.

As the Soviet Troops Withdrew

As the Soviet troops completed their withdrawal from Budapest, the Nagy Government appeared to be in a state of collapse. John MacCor-mac wrote: "Now that the Russians have left Budapest, no one seems to know who rules Hungary." (*New York Times*, Nov. 1). An AP dispatch from Budapest (*New York Post*, Nov. 1) described what was happening:

... Vengeance squads of young revolutionaries still prowled the streets of Budapest and the city's sewers, hunting members of the hated Hungarian secret police. When they found them in sewers, they shot them and dumped their bodies. When they found them in the street they hung them up by the feet. When they shot them in the streets, they poured gasoline on their bodies and burned them.

The same issue of the *Times* carried a picture, brought back by Leo Cherne, showing a Hitler-like scene of citizens heaping Russian and Communist books and literature on a huge bonfire. "The fires," said Cherne approvingly, "burned all night." Many world classics fed the flames.

The rebels opened all the jails, releasing many criminals to join the reckless slaughter. Other reports made clear that while the main target of the people's wrath in the beginning was the secret police, it was extended to all who were suspected

of being Communists, and whole families, including children, were dragged from their beds and shot.

Life magazine of November 12 carried a ten-page spread, with pictures and text, of how "the flames of liberty and revenge against tyranny" rose high in Hungary in those three days.

The opening photos by photographer Timothy Foote shows a group of young Hungarian security police officers emerging from a building with hands raised in surrender, their collapse and death as they are met with a hail of machine gun bullets. Subsequent pictures show a crowd surrounding and a woman spitting upon a mangled body hanging by the heels from a tree and other lynching scenes. One picture is captioned "Soviet atrocity." Hospital doctors and nurses are examining a blood-spattered crib in a children's clinic. (For days there were press stories describing how the Russians had brutally shot their way through this children's clinic in an attack on a barracks beyond, killing many of the children. But the *New York Times*, Nov. 13, carried a joint dispatch from AP, UP, and Reuters correspondents in Budapest, saying the Russians had been unjustly blamed for this, that the clinic still stood, "and none of the 300 or more children had been injured.")

In the text accompanying the photos, *Life's* John Badovy described how he and Timothy Foote had joined the assault on the building held by the secret police. He said the rebels kept on shooting everyone who tried to surrender, shouting "No prisoners, no prisoners!" After he had watched this for about forty minutes, he wrote:

Then my nerves went. Tears

started to come down my cheeks. I had spent three years in the war, but nothing I saw then could compare with the horror of this.

The role of anti-Semitism in the outrages that were occurring has been indicated in several reports. Some of MacCormac's dispatches had attributed part of the unpopularity of Rakosi and Gero to the fact that they were Jewish. A dispatch from Sidney Gruson to the *New York Times*, Nov. 1, said:

Some of the reports reaching Warsaw from Budapest today (Oct. 31) caused considerable concern. These reports told of massacres of Communists and Jews by what were described as "Fascist elements" amongst those fighting against Soviet intervention.

Seymour Freiden wrote in the *New York Post*, November 2, of anti-Semitic speeches and cries of "Down with the Jews" in Budapest streets.

Jewish religious leaders in New York reported that they had received cables from Vienna about anti-Jewish pogroms in Hungary. *The Day*, Jewish journal, published an item: "A cable received by the Satmar Rabbi from Vienna reports the alarming news that Jewish blood is being shed by the rebels in Hungary."

Reaction to the Fore

Who emerged as the leaders of the "revolutionary forces" during these days of lynch law and anarchy?

The name of a certain Josef Dudas began to appear prominently. The *New York Times* of November 1 carried a dispatch from John MacCormac, which reported that "A pamphlet issued by a revolutionary committee and signed by Josef Dudas, its president, has summoned all national revolutionary organizations to

an assembly in the Budapest Sports Palace." The same day the *Herald Tribune* reported that Dudas had "emerged as a rival to Premier Imre Nagy," and two days later that he was the head of the "Budapest Revolutionary Committee which now controls the Hungarian capital."

On November 3 (before the return of the Soviet troops) MacCormac cabled the *Times* from Budapest:

A promising revolutionary career was cut short today when Josef Dudas, the self-proclaimed leader of the most important revolutionary group, was arrested. Mr. Dudas had advertised himself as a revolutionary hero and had demanded to take over the Hungarian Foreign Office by force, and actually had taken over the *Szabad Nep*. Mr. Dudas was now alleged to have compromised himself by Fascist activity in 1944.

After Cardinal Mindszenty was freed from jail, press reports indicated his readiness to help form a new "Popular Christian Party" that would join a new coalition government, that he might consider joining the government himself.

In a series of articles in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* (Oct. 29, 30, 31) George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College, said on the basis of "direct information" he had received from unrevealed secret sources, that "There can be no doubt that the key to the solution of the nation's problems is in Cardinal Mindszenty's hands. . . . He is the Kossuth of this movement." Shuster said that after the opening up of Hungary's frontiers to the West after the Austrian peace treaty "the highest organs of the state were infiltrated"; that Bela Kovacs, whom Imre Nagy had included in his regime, was a "faithful and ardent

supporter of Cardinal Mindszenty," who would be the power behind the "Christian Democratic regime" which the national resistance forces expected to set up.

In his fuller study of Mindszenty *In Silence I Speak* (Farrar, Straus, N. Y., 1956), Shuster says of the Cardinal, "Talking to many who heard him, . . . one gathers that the hope he evoked in their breasts, without perhaps overtly suggesting it, was that the Christian people of the world would, without firing a shot, through the irresistible impact of their commitment to liberty and justice, send the Russians packing home." Shuster goes on to say of Mindszenty, "that sometimes he did not avoid giving the impression that he himself was committed to the 'myth of St. Stephen'—that is, to the view that Hungary had been given a special mission to safeguard Christendom against the assorted tyrannies of the East."

Writing of Mindszenty as "one of Hungary's foremost leaders" in the *New York Herald Tribune* (Nov. 17) Barrett McGurn, in reviewing the recent events, said:

. . . It soon became clear that what Russia faced in Hungary was not the prospect of a Gomulka, a nationalist Communist of the stripe of Poland's premier, but an Adenauer, a militant Catholic *athwart natural tank routes into as well as out of the Soviet Union*. (Italics added).

He went on to say some Western friends of the Hungarian Government were horrified at the idea of a "Mindszenty Government," since the Cardinal's political ideas were of "the sixteenth century."

Ferenc Nagy, of whom we have written above, is perhaps more to the liking of these Western friends.

The *New York World-Telegram and Sun* (Oct. 29) had reported:

Even now nationalist leaders were reported in the West conducting negotiations with the exiled Hungarian leaders. In Paris, Ferenc Nagy . . . said he was willing to take over the reins of an anti-Communist government if called. And in Lisbon, Admiral Nicholas Horthy . . . cabled appeals for help. . . .

In Paris for the Congress of the International Peasant Union, Ferenc Nagy called on "the great powers of the free world to intervene at once." Next day he arrived in Vienna "hoping to get in touch with resistance forces at the frontier, but the Austrian Government ordered him to leave." (*New York Times*, Oct. 31). All this lent substance to the Moscow Radio broadcast (*New York Times*, Nov. 11) quoting a report from Vienna that Nagy had met with Hungarian emigrés in Munich "not long before the beginning of the rebellion in Hungary," and told them he had just come from the United States where "plans for the revolt had been agreed upon in the highest circles," and he had worked out plans for supporting the revolt with arms and supplies with "American organizations."

Ferenc Nagy's concern for Hungarian "independence" may be gauged from the fact that on his way to the United States (*New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 11) he urged that the United Nations not merely send observers, but "a security force to take over Hungary" (italics added). He said the Soviet Union should be expelled from the UN if it did not allow this.

Was there Outside Incitation?

While the Republican "truth squads" and Vice President Nixon

proclaimed during the election campaign that the revolts in Poland and Hungary were the result of the Eisenhower foreign policy, James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* (Oct. 25) that the only reservation in Washington was that "they may be moving too fast" and that the feeling among the best informed experts in Washington "is that whatever the United States does must be done quietly and without claims that the new situation was created by the United States."

The *New York Herald Tribune* (Oct. 25) reporting on a press conference at New York headquarters of the Hungarian National Council held by former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary Christian Ravndal, just returned and on his way to a new post, quoted him as saying:

. . . The only thing surprising about the revolt was its timing. Western observers had anticipated an anti-Russian uprising, but it came sooner than we had thought. *We had expected something of this sort around the end of the year.* (Italics added).

A similar comment by C.I.A. head Allen Dulles was reported.

As to other evidences of outside incitation to revolt, John MacCormac reported in the *New York Times* (Nov. 3) that General Bela Kiraly in an interview in Budapest, had regretted the lynchings that had been taking place, and

. . . In this connection he deprecated recent broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. He said they had been inciting Hungarians to further revolt and to strike, whereas what the revolution now needed was to have workers return to their jobs.

In the *New York Post*, Nov. 5, Pet-

er Hoffer, writing from Vienna of a trip from Budapest, quoted refugees met along the road as saying:

Where is NATO? Where are the Americans? The British? The French? We listened to your radios. We believed in freedom. There is no time now for conferences and discussion. Give us arms. Send the bombers. . . .

An AP dispatch from Munich to the *N. Y. Times* (Nov. 13 said:

West German and French newspapers are publishing charges that Radio Free Europe stirred up the Hungarians to revolt and by having promised help from the outside kept the fight going after all had been lost. . . . A West German Government spokesman in Bonn said an investigation had been started on the radio's broadcasts to Hungary during the revolution. Radio Free Europe is supported by private contributions in the United States. . . .

The same dispatch quoted Michael Gordey, just returned from Budapest, as writing in *France-Soir*:

We heard on Radio Free Europe programs whose impassioned tone and desperate calls to revolt certainly did a lot of wrong. During these last days, numerous Hungarians told us: "These broadcasts have provoked bloodshed."

Evidence of the direction in which some of the outside incitements were leading was furnished in another dispatch by Barrett McGurn from Budapest (*New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 3):

At Hegyshalom youths were distributing freshly printed leaflets asserting that Russia's own people should follow Hungary's example and rebel now against Communism in the

name of God and freedom. The pamphlets urged that Hungary carry its liberation eastward to the Russians. To let the Russians read, too, part of it was printed in their language.

Before the Troops Returned

While all these things were going on within Hungary the Middle East burst into flames.

On October 29 Israel launched its invasion in force of Egypt, fought its way through Egyptian territory and approached the Canal Zone.

On October 30 Britain and France issued their ultimatum calling on both Israel and Egypt to withdraw their forces to a distance ten miles from the canal or face Anglo-French military occupation of the Canal Zone. Since this ultimatum in fact sanctioned the Israeli invasion and arrogantly ordered the withdrawal of Egyptian forces from defense positions *within their own territory*, no one in the world could have expected Egypt to accept it.

On October 31 British and French bombs started dropping on Egyptian territory and people.

On November 1, British and French troops invaded Egypt.

And just at this point Imre Nagy took the hostile action of unilaterally denouncing the Warsaw Pact, called on the United Nations to intervene to protect Hungary's neutrality. This was followed by calling the people to arms against the Soviet army, although negotiations *were already under way* for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the Soviet Union had already agreed to negotiations on the question of any further stationing of troops in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact.

The sense of guilt in the West, as Soviet troops returned to Budapest, was emphasized in a dispatch

by Harold Callender from Paris (*New York Times*, Nov. 6):

There were many troubled consciences in Europe today. It was not easy to explain the coincidence of an attack by the two principal Western European parties on a small nation in Africa. . . . Objective diplomats in Europe insist that the West will not solve its problems by emphasizing the sins of the Soviet Union so as to divert attention from its own.

All this—the rise of those forces in Hungary determined to destroy all socialist gains and who had direct connections with circles promoting German remilitarization, the bloodbath already raging, the frightful vengeance being wreaked against the Communists and their supporters in Hungary, coupled with the new dangers of world war arising out of the invasion of Egypt, were the immediate occasion of the return of Soviet troops to Budapest.

Kadar Government Formed

A new Government was formed on November 4, at the moment of full collapse of the Nagy regime, by Janos Kadar and several other ministers of the Nagy Cabinet, leaving places open for representatives of several parties and non-party people. This government took the responsibility for the return of the Soviet troops, which happened the same day.

The new government took the name of the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants' Government. It appealed to the people for support and for an end to the fighting. It proclaimed a program with the following main points:

1. Unconditional insurance of national independence and sovereignty.

2. Defense and further advances of the People's Democratic and Socialist system.
3. Liquidation of fratricidal fighting, re-establishment of order, no prosecution of workers who have taken part.
4. Close brotherly and friendly relations with socialist countries on the basis of full equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and economic ties on the basis of mutual benefit and aid.
5. Peaceful cooperation with all states irrespective of their social systems and form of government.
6. Rapid improvement of living standards; more housing.
7. Re-examination of national economic plans and methods of administration.
8. Liquidation of bureaucracy, democracy for all sections of the working people.
9. Workers' administration in all factories and enterprises on the basis of wide democracy.
10. Raising of agricultural production, reductions in obligatory deliveries, aid to individual working peasants, an end of all illegalities in relation to agricultural cooperatives and guarantee of voluntary principle regarding entry.
11. Insurance of democratic elections of local authorities and revolutionary councils.
12. Assistance to small individual craftsmen and traders.
13. Consistent development of Hungarian national culture on the basis of its progressive traditions.
14. The Hungarian Government has appealed to the Soviet forces to help our people bridle the dark forces of reaction and help re-establish the socialist system.
15. As soon as order and calm have been restored, the Hungarian Government will enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government and other Warsaw Treaty members concerning the stationing of troops on Hungarian territory.

Peace and Disarmament the Only Solution

The Soviet Government has officially stated that its troops will be withdrawn when order is restored. At this writing, the bloodshed has

stopped, but the workers continue to remain on strike.

No friend of peace or of socialism can feel anything but regret at the terrible bloodshed that ensued as the Soviet troops put down the rebellion, at the suffering and death, and devastation of Hungary, the long time and difficult period of recovery before its people. We hope our country and our people will participate generously in aid, without strings, to hasten this recovery.

We have no wish to minimize the mistakes of the Soviet Government or Hungary's own Communist leaders. But, we repeat, condemnation is not enough. There must be a full understanding of the alternative that was faced. There must be a full assessment of the guilt of all the forces that went into the making of this tragic situation.

We believe it is wrong to attribute what has happened in Hungary to any revival of Stalinist policies on the part of the USSR. What has happened is that reaction stepped in to exploit the reaping of the dreadful whirlwind of those policies before the corrective process was given a chance to get fully under way. The West now has the responsibility to help create the conditions for these corrections to be resumed.

There must be full awareness of what it would mean to the USSR and the whole Socialist world, and to ourselves as well, to have a wedge thrust into the heart of the People's Democracies in the form of a neo-Fascist Government in Hungary, bordering directly on the Soviet Union, surrounded by Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and also with a border open to the West through Austria leading directly to a remilitarized Western Germany where former Nazi officers command

divisions to be integrated into the NATO forces.

In his speech at the UN Assembly, November 22, Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov declared:

But Hungary is not the only country concerned. The victory of reaction in Hungary would have created in the heart of Europe a Fascist state that would have become a focal point for the international reactionary forces that seek to revive fascism and take revenge on a European scale. Thus, the victory of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary would have meant the formation of a most dangerous hotbed of war in Europe.

It is essential for Americans to realize the threat to our own security from any such outcome. Walter Lippmann has underscored this in several recent columns urging that it is not in the best interests of the West to have anti-Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe. He wrote:

Had the Hungarian rebellion succeeded, and had it spread by the contagion of its example, the satellite orbit would almost certainly have not been Titoist and neutral but anti-Communist and anti-Russian.

(*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Nov. 9)

Lippmann advocated strong measures against propaganda from "our side of the iron curtain which could be treated by the Soviets as provocation. . . ."

President Eisenhower, in his November 14 press conference, denied that it is or ever has been U.S. policy to incite armed revolt. But it is necessary to stress again that the cumulative effect of the constant hammering of the Voice of America and other U.S. agencies on the "liberation" theme could not but have had the effect of such incitation, and the encouragement given by the

State Department to groups openly urging revolt is incontrovertible.

Such activities cannot be the basis for peaceful coexistence. We must rather base ourselves on the President's reference at the same press conference, to the "hope and desire of the world that some way can be found to settle disputes around the conference table." We need through such efforts to safeguard the accomplishments of Geneva rather than jeopardize all its gains in a new anti-Soviet drive and a new intensification of the cold war.

What can be accomplished when the United States and the Soviet Union act together was exemplified in the passage of the UN resolution which achieved a cease-fire in Egypt, and when they later again joined in calling for the withdrawal of all for-

eign troops from Egyptian soil.

Renewed efforts for peace, for disarmament and an end to atomic weapons, for an end of all aggression, for an end of all military blocs, of all stationing of any troops anywhere on the territory of another nation, is the only answer that will bring peace to Hungary and the Middle East, and prevent a repetition of violence and bloodshed as a way of settling the world's or any nation's problems.

Two main avenues are open to work toward these ends—unceasing efforts to end nuclear weapons tests as the first step toward disarmament and unrelenting pressure on our government to strive for these solutions both through the United Nations and a five-power Summit conference.

MAIN POINTS IN NEW SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL

PREMIER BULGANIN'S Disarmament Proposal sent to President Eisenhower November 17, contained the following main points:

1. Reduction within two years of armed forces of the USSR, USA and China to 1,000,000 to 1,150,000, Britain and France to 650,000, other countries to 150,000 to 200,000.
2. Within same period, banning of all atomic and hydrogen weapons beginning with immediate ending of tests.
3. Reduction during 1957 of armed forces of US, USSR, Britain and France on German territory.
4. To effect in 1957 considerable reduction of armed forces of U.S., Britain and France in NATO countries and of USSR in Warsaw Treaty countries.
5. To liquidate within two years all foreign military, naval and air bases in the territory of other states.
6. Reduction of all military expenditures of states in two years in conformity with above.
7. International control and inspection of above measures at strategic ground posts and reciprocal aerial photography over agreed-upon areas in Europe occupied by principal armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

In making these proposals, Premier Bulganin declared that the Soviet Government believed they should lead to liquidating completely armed forces and armaments of all types except for needs of internal security, and that it also proposed a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw pact countries. He urged that a conference of the heads of government of the USA, USSR, Britain, France and India, as proposed by Switzerland, consider these disarmament proposals, to be followed by a broader conference.

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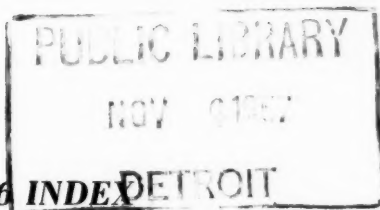
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