

**HUNGARY REVISITED****Scientist Finds Soberness, Order, and Careful Optimism**

By J. D. BERNAL.

LONDON.

I HAVE recently returned from a week's visit to Budapest, undertaken primarily to make contact with scientific circles there, with the Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian organization of scientists in and technicians, M.E.T.E.Sz. My object was to see whether anything could usefully be done to assist scientists in Hungary and to re-establish their links with scientists in this country.

I was able to see a large number of old friends, among them Professor Rusnyak, president of the Academy, Dr. Gillemot, rector of the Technical University, Professor Janossy, director of the Physical Institute, Dr. Straub, the famous biochemist, and many other working scientists. I also had the opportunity of two long evenings with George Lukacs, just returned from his exile. I was delighted to find him serene and cheerful and fully prepared to undertake what he considers now to be his major work, the analysis of the difficulties and problems of the building of Socialism in a war-threatened world. It will be interesting to see how he develops his ideas in the new philosophical journal which he is helping to edit.

From all these conversations, I learned something of the opinions and judgments of at least the sci-



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entific sector of Hungarian intellectuals. Naturally, I heard much of the October days and of people's experiences in them. Nearly all spoke both of the spontaneous revolt against intolerable conditions and of the well-planned counter-revolutionary coup which determined its outbreak, though their opinions varied as to the relative importance of these two factors. What impressed me specially was the evidence for the emergence of violent anti-Semitism which seemed to be moving from the sporadic pogroms of the October days, with the markings of doors and the notices "Jew, you will not get as far as Auschwitz this time," towards a general massacre of Jews and Communists.

I spoke to a woman whose husband and family had all been killed in Nazi camps, who said that after years of security she had felt again for those few days the old fear. Whether, if it had been allowed to last, the Nagy government would have been strong enough to stop this fascist trend, which has deep roots in Hungary, is a point which I have heard disputed, but from its nature it is one that can never really be settled.

ALL RECOGNIZED, however, that the events in Hungary are not isolated but that the country has been, on account of its geographical position and recent history, a victim of the Cold War. They cannot expect any full recovery of the country's liberty and prosperity except as part of a European settlement which will make possible a withdrawal of military force on both sides.

This, however, is still a distant prospect and the real problem is what can be done in Hungary now. In the circumstances one might expect that some might take up an irreconcilable position and refuse to cooperate with a government of which they did not approve. This, I gathered, has been the attitude of many writers and journalists but it was not represented among the 30 or so people I spoke to who were mostly scientists and engineers. There I found already less emphasis on the past and more on the future.

As for the present, as any observer can testify, material conditions are good. Most of the damage, which was largely to walls and windows, has already been repaired and here and there whole houses have been rebuilt. Supplies are plentiful owing partly to better relations with the peasants and partly to Soviet deliveries. Everyone I met realized, however,

that this situation could not last, that there must be a self-supporting economy, but they were enjoying it while it did, rather as we enjoyed life after the raids, as a physical relief from emotional tension. By the time I arrived, the curfew had been lifted, there were no military vehicles or armed patrols or Soviet troops to be seen. Indeed, a visitor who did not know what had happened would only begin to ask questions when he saw the ruins in the eighth and ninth districts.

In education and science the restoration is practically complete. All damage to the university has been made good. Classes have been going on since February and, with some adjustment of dates, the normal year's work will be completed. All or nearly all, professors are at their posts, though some 15 percent of students are absent, mostly in the emigration. Research work is also in full swing though still suffering from a certain shortage of apparatus and foreign scientific literature.

WHAT, HOWEVER is mainly occupying the minds of scientists, technologists and economists is active planning for a new structure of industry and science which should avoid the main errors of the past. I discussed this with the new Director of Planning, Dr. Kiss, and some of his staff, as well as with the organization of engineers.

The main problem is how to change from an economy which tried to produce everything out of quite inadequate material and human resources to one with more limited aims adapted to local products and traditions; in other words, how to change from an autarchic, big national economy to that of a small nation living by the export of the goods it is most suited to make—in the case of Hungary, aluminum, diesel engines and electrical equipment.

As in Poland, as described in Mr. Karol's recent article in the New Statesman some of the difficulties of doing this are economic, involving the establishment of a Socialist price system that can be adjusted to world prices, and others are technical—how to produce enough energy from coal, electricity or atom power for the existing expanded industrial system. It seems that whatever the solution arrived at it will be one that seriously takes into account the opinions of experts which were often roughly set aside in the previous regime with disastrous results.

The watchwords now are the avoidance of "romanticism," such as the building of steel works where they are not wanted, and of "dilletanteism," which means carrying on in industry in defiance of scientific advice. A news system of scientific research and development is being set up rather more on the British than the Soviet pattern in that it will leave the Academy largely concerned with fundamental science.

The atmosphere in scientific circles is one of cautious optimism. Most scientists I met realize the difficult economic position of the country and the fact that a large number of the population still remain to be convinced that the new government will not follow the path of the old. Yet they think it is worth trying to create a viable economy, for failure to do so can only create more miseries and trouble which, in the present tense international situation, might well lead to a third world war. My own feeling is that, irrespective of any judgments on the political situation in Hungary we should welcome any constructive efforts there and try at least to restore friendly contacts between the scientists of our two countries.

**Wisconsin**

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the type of campaign he is already planning.

IN THE Democratic Party, the divisions for which it is notorious in Wisconsin, are already shaping up. The most prominent candidates looming today are William Proxmire, who ran for Governor three times, and Congressman Reuss of Milwaukee. It appears that State Senator Maier of Milwaukee, strongly backed by labor unions, may not enter the race. Some say he hopes to become Congressman in Reuss' place, if the latter runs and wins.

Issues are being subordinated to personalities. The press is deliberately playing down the problems of the people, and trying to bury issues. For instance, the Milwaukee Journal, in a "dope article" on May 12, signed by Edwin R. Bailey its political expert, stated: "Wisconsin is heading into a political campaign — to fill the seat vacated by the death of Sen. McCarthy—that will be almost completely devoid of issues."

But this is not true. The fact of the matter is that now the people of Wisconsin have a golden opportunity to reverse the political trend in their state that began in 1938 with the defeat of the Progressive-New Deal Democratic coalition, and the election of Gov. Heil and Sen. Wiley, which paved the way for the avalanche of McCarthyism that has smothered the state for 10 years.

Wisconsin can start this fall, in this special election, on the road to becoming a politically progressive state once more.

That is the big, over-riding issue of this election. Contributing to this, is the possibility for the people to raise their demands in this election campaign for a foreign policy of peace, for a halt to H-bomb tests, for a real working civil rights program, for legislation to benefit the workers and small farmers—for a New Deal, in short!