

# HUNGARY - PAST AND FUTURE

By ALAN MAX

SOME READERS who agreed with the DW's first editorials on Poland and Hungary dropped in to express their concern over the DW editorial of Monday



following the weekend events.

According to these readers, the DW had failed to recognize a qualitative change in the situation in Hungary

from the beginning of the week when, they agreed, there was a genuine people's uprising, and the end of the week when they felt the forces of reaction were taking over and the necessity of Soviet intervention arose.

It is indisputable that there was a big change in Hungary—for the worse—in the course of a few days, and that it was to meet such a situation that the Soviet Union took the measures it did. (Of course, I am aware that some readers, starting from a contrary point of view, think there was no change at all on the ground that from the first the

uprising was a reactionary one. I strongly disagree with this and so does the Soviet government and so does the new Kadar regime in Hungary!)

THE REACTIONARY press in our country (and unfortunately the liberal press as well) would have the American people believe that what happened in Hungary was a steady crescendo in the democratic uprising so that it became more and more democratic by the hour—and then the Soviet Army suddenly acted. This is a falsification by those who know the real facts. These facts are that a popular uprising against the legacy of Stalinist repression met with still more repression in the form of the appeal by Erno Gero to the Soviet forces. This resulted in bloodshed and a new wave of popular fury which the reactionaries in Hungary, nurtured by our own State Department, were able to exploit for anti-Soviet and anti-democratic purposes.

The denunciation of the Warsaw Pact, the appeal to the United Nations against the Soviet Union, the hanging from

lamp posts of Communists, the outbreak of anti-Semitic pogroms, the plans to revive a clerical-fascist party—all these confronted the Soviet leaders by Sunday with an appalling decision to make. I say "appalling" because no decision, forced upon one by one's previous errors could have good results.

The choice, as the Soviet leaders saw it, I believe, was to permit a disintegration of the Eastern European military alliance—made necessary because of NATO and the revival of the German Wehrmacht—or to intervene in Hungary and try to make a fresh start. The decision for military intervention was probably inevitable. But—and this was the point I stressed in discussion with readers—to say that such a decision was inevitable only emphasizes the tragic errors of 11 years of Stalinist rule. (Think of the implications in the fact that Hungary, after eleven years of a certain kind of Communist rule, faced a fascist resurgence, while West Germany after 11 years of Adenauer rule faces a labor-backed Social-Democratic victory in the next

election!)

THE TRAGEDY in Hungary lies in the fact that after 11 years of Rakosi misrule, the Soviet Union felt it necessary to take measures which, however inevitable, can only bring on new woes. The Soviet government and the new Kadar regime are evidently aware of this. They promise now to make the needed changes which should have been made long ago. But now they go about making them under exceedingly worse conditions, brought on by events of the last weekend which have unquestionably deepened the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist sentiments among the Hungarian people and hurt the prestige of the Soviet Union everywhere.

As the DW editorial said last Monday, the extreme measures which the Soviet Union felt called upon to take will settle nothing—socialism cannot be imported on bayonets nor can military security either which, in the long run, must rest on the mutual confidence of peoples and the equal relations among countries united for peace.

THE SOVIET government is

not interested in intervention for the sake of intervention but seeks, I have never doubted, to secure the peace. It is to be fervently hoped that the Soviet leaders and the Kadar government in Hungary itself will be able to find the ways now—in the spirit of the Khrushchev speeches at the 20th Congress and the recent Soviet declaration on relations among socialist states—to find the way out of ever-deepening difficulties in Hungary.

We Marxists in America should ponder the tragic methods which led to a tragic situation which was then met by still more tragic methods. But our obligation does not rest in seeing and saying this. We especially have the duty to press our government for a policy of ending the Cold War and, together with the Soviet Union, for a withdrawal of all foreign troops from the soil of others, including from the hundreds of U. S. military bases throughout the world. In this way, it will make it easier for all peoples, both East and West, to exercise their inherent rights of sovereignty and national independence.