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A Program for Europe

Defense Against Russia Defined as Basis of Policy

The writer of the following letter, a Hungarian journalist, was formerly Counselor of the Hungarian Legation in Washington.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES,

Josiah E. Dubois Jr. in his letter published in THE TIMES of Jan. 23 suggests that one-half of Europe and a large part of Asia was lost to the Communists largely because the United States favored the German and Japanese aggressors rather than their victims. Mr. Dubois deploras the fact that "the actions of America" made the peoples of Asia and Europe " * * * face the possibility of reliving the dark era before the end of World War II or choosing communism."

I have strong sympathy with Mr. Dubois' statement that American leaders often are unaware of what actually has been occurring in distant parts of the world during the last generation. I agree that there is a lack of understanding of the wishes, hopes and dreams of distant peoples.

On the other hand, may I suggest what is wrong with some of the aspirations of my fellow-Europeans. I am sorry to say that meeting the hopes of the Europeans is not always the safest way to serve European interests. The aspirations born from the program of 1945 especially cannot be considered a good basis for a long-range truly European policy.

Defense Plans

The European program of 1945 was above all anti-German. Today a new program is needed. It is a defense program against Soviet Russia's aggression. It must be pro-European. As such it cannot be directed against any European nation. The conflict between the anti-German aspirations of 1945 and the present needs is evident. A conflict between the vested anti-German interests and European needs is the source of much confusion today.

Mr. Dubois blames one of the principal builders of the new European program, the United States, who by favoring Germany is, he believes, undermining the resistance to communism in some parts of Europe. The feeling of insecurity in Europe because of the American policy in Germany is undeniable. But, first, there is no conclusive evidence that such reactions to American policy were serious factors in paving the way for Communist aggression; second, the kind of security many Europeans would like to enjoy in relation to Germany simply cannot be furnished, either by the United States or by anyone else.

For instance, the insecurity of the Poles or the Czechs because of the expulsion of millions of Germans cannot be dispelled. These fears are the fatal offshoots of a short-sighted, though perhaps emotionally understandable, nationalistic policy of the recent past.

The French fear of the Germans, also referred to by Mr. Dubois, is the most serious problem of any new deal in Europe. But neither will this fear be cured by the program of 1945.

Federation as Solution

The German problem, this continental problem of global magnitude, cannot be solved by any program of the past. It will be solved only if the disastrous nation-state system of Europe is replaced by a federal union system. If the present danger does not weld Europe together, Europe is doomed. And the fall of Europe may bring doom to the whole Western World.

Nostalgic reminiscences of the 1945 program, according to which Germany was to be checked by the friendly cooperation of the democracies and Russia, do not seem to serve any practical political purpose today. As a matter of fact, this cooperation never materialized. And the European program of 1945 marks the all-time climax in nationalistic disintegration, a very unsuitable source of inspiration indeed for the political thinker.

There is, however, one point in the program the revival of which should be worthy of our best efforts. It is the crusading spirit of World War II when Western man, American and European, was fighting for the "four freedoms." It is disturbing to watch how people with fascist or feudal outlook are today pinning their hopes on the United States. There is a definite danger, it seems to me, that after this country has mistaken leftist reactionaries for democrats it is going to mistake rightist reactionaries for safe allies of democracy. In this sense I whole-heartedly agree with Mr. Dubois' warning.

STEPHEN BORSODY.

Pittsburgh, Jan. 30, 1951.

