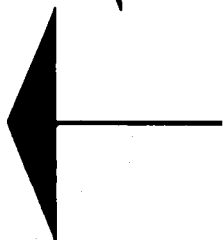
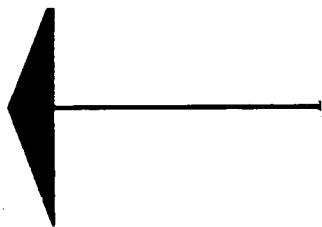


Challenge

in

Eastern

Europe



Foreword by Joseph C. Grew

Edited by C. E. BLACK

~~CH~~ALLENGE IN EASTERN EUROPE

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If Western democracies are to meet the challenge in Eastern Europe, then a thorough knowledge of these seven Iron Curtain countries is necessary.

In this book, American scholars and distinguished statesmen, exiled from Europe present their expert personal knowledge of this vital region. Analyzing social, political, and economic problems, they describe the transition now taking place in Eastern Europe and interpret its significance to the West.

Joseph C. Grew, in his FOREWORD, defines the challenge of Eastern Europe: "To sustain the hope of freedom in half a continent; to learn and to contribute to truth and knowledge; in enlightened self-interest to dedicate ourselves and our country to freedom's cause and restitution."

CHALLENGE in Eastern Europe

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12 Essays edited by

C. E. BLACK

Prepared under the auspices of the
MID-EUROPEAN STUDIES CENTER
*of the National Committee
for a Free Europe, Inc.*

Foreword by Joseph C. Grew

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Foreword

It was after his return home to England that John Donne wrote: "No man is an island, intire of itselfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde."

In the three centuries since Donne, the world has begun to learn the simple lesson that nations, like men, are their brothers' keepers. In today's world, where the distance from Boston to Berlin is shorter in time than was that from Donne's London to Liverpool—where men, or ideas, or total destruction can cross a continent or an ocean in a day—American interest encompasses the world.

The Monroe Doctrine, Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Truman Doctrine, Korea, and the forthright declarations of President Eisenhower all illustrate how United States foreign policy, in the nation's self-interest, has become progressively committed to a greater geographical periphery in a shrinking world.

From the economic, political, and strategic aspects, Eastern Europe is of vital importance to the Free World. The economic health of Western Europe ultimately depends upon a free intercourse among all the countries of Europe, and until that situation once again prevails, America must, to

some degree, help the West European economy. Meanwhile, the economy of captive Eastern Europe is being systematically and ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of Soviet Russia.

Politically and strategically, a permanently Communist Eastern Europe would be an American disaster. The Soviet power monopoly in the area has transposed Russian armed forces and communist ideology hundreds of miles nearer to the production and population centers of the West, affording the Soviet Union a strategic zone of hundreds of thousands of square miles and millions of human beings.

The United States has a moral obligation to help restore to the captive countries of Europe and their unhappy peoples our common cultural, religious, and political heritage. For it must always be remembered that these peoples are captives—that they did not freely choose Communism, but had it brutally or deviously thrust upon them.

Millions of American citizens or their forefathers came to this country before the First World War in the pursuit of some aspect of freedom that was denied them in the Eastern Europe of their time. But the current Communist oppression is absolute. Today, the people are subject to a new and universal tyranny which dims the minor past injustices of Old World empires to insignificance.

In the larger view, America cannot willingly accept a world, or a Europe, half slave and half free. The slave half of Europe must someday be free, or the free half of Europe too may be enslaved.

In the past, a large segment of the American public has seemed to be almost willfully ignorant of the peoples comprising Eastern Europe, and it may be held that this lack of knowledge contributed to the postwar Communist tragedy. More recently, the study of the area has been greatly developed in the United States and at long last is tending to assume its rightful place in American thinking. That knowledge is

power has held good for two thousand years. Knowledge remains one of freedom's major weapons.

America has assumed the leadership of the Free World in taking up the Communist challenge to individual liberty and national independence.

To sustain the hope of freedom in half a continent; to learn and to contribute to truth and knowledge; in enlightened self-interest to dedicate ourselves and our country to freedom's cause and restitution—

This is the *Challenge in Eastern Europe*.

JOSEPH C. GREW

Preface

Eastern Europe—the region embracing Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and for certain limited purposes the Soviet zones of Germany and Austria as well—has long been familiar to students of European history. To Western public opinion in general, however, this region has become known chiefly as a result of the two world wars, for which it provided some of the major diplomatic problems and military battlefields.

Despite the significant role of Eastern Europe, the Western democracies have tended to regard it primarily as a region of inherent economic poverty and political instability. They have failed either to recognize the extent to which its problems reflected their own policies, or to see it as an area vital to their security. This lack of understanding of the problems and significance of Eastern Europe was most conspicuous at the end of the Second World War. At that time decisions were reached and concessions made by the West on the basis of assumptions that were not firmly grounded in the realities of this region. Important lessons were eventually learned, but not until great harm had been done to the peoples of Eastern Europe and consequently also to the welfare of the Western democracies.

The purpose of the essays in this volume is to review the record of the recent past in order to interpret the many-sided

challenge presented by Eastern Europe. They describe this region in its transition from agrarian underdevelopment and political strife toward a more complex society, a more productive economy, and a more stable political system. The end of this process of transition is not yet in sight, and it has in most respects been set back by the policies of the Communist regimes since the Second World War. At the same time Eastern Europe remains a region of dynamic developments that have remained in many ways beyond the range of Western understanding.

These essays reflect the considerable diversity in experience and points of view of the authors. Some have wrestled with the problems of Eastern Europe as responsible members of governments both before and since the Second World War. Although they are acquainted at first hand with the policies of the Communist regimes, they write less from bitterness than from a desire to interpret for the West the lessons of their experience. Others bring to their subjects such objectivity as is afforded by academic study, and view Eastern Europe with a degree of abstraction difficult for those whose families and careers are directly involved. Still others combine academic study with some measure of personal experience that has permitted them to test the values that printed volumes do not always convey.

These diversities of background and viewpoint are merged in the common desire to interpret the challenge offered by Eastern Europe to the leaders of the Western democracies. Underlying these essays is the belief that a careful survey of the problems of this region is a first and essential step in the search for solutions in a democratic spirit. Although no blueprint for meeting the challenge of Eastern Europe is here attempted, an understanding of this region essential to the drafting of such a blueprint is offered.

With one exception, these essays were presented in a somewhat different form as lectures at the Institute of Public Af-

fairs and Regional Studies of the Graduate School of Arts and Science at New York University in the summer of 1953. They were prepared under the auspices of the Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. The assistance provided by the Center, both material and editorial, was vital to the completion of this volume. The editor is responsible in matters of planning and organization, but the views expressed herein are those of the several authors.

C. E. BLACK

Princeton, New Jersey
November, 1953

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