

party had always worked underground and had been severely persecuted. By the time of its disbandment at least seven thousand members crowded the Polish prisons. Most of its leaders, virtually its whole Central Committee, had found refuge in Moscow. During the Yezhov terror nearly all of them were imprisoned there and executed as traitors and spies. Among them were men and women who had fought for thirty and even forty years without a break in Poland's underground movement. The best known was Adolf Warski, Rosa Luxemburg's close associate, who had represented the Polish Social Democratic Party in the Second International before 1914 and who later led the Communist parliamentary group in the Warsaw Diet. Warski had indeed stood close to Bukharin and Rykov, at least in his political views. But Warski's chief opponent and rival, Julian Lenski-Leszczyński, who had for many years represented the Polish party at the executive of the Comintern and had been known for his Stalinist zeal—it was he who expelled the writer of this article from the party—was also executed.

ALL THESE VICTIMS of the Stalinist terror, all these traitors, spies, Trotskyists, and Bukharinists, have now been suddenly rehabilitated. The act was carried out in rather odd fashion. The party newspapers have published long historical accounts of the Polish Communist movement, extolling the "heroic" roles which the men executed in Moscow had played as "leaders and inspirers of the Polish working class." *Trybuna Ludu*, the organ of the Central Committee, has filled its columns with the pictures of Stalin's victims. Not a word has been said, however, about the circumstances under which they met death.

In this rehabilitation, the Polish President and his associates have hardly acted only on their own initiative. They have evidently had Moscow's blessing for the act. This Polish rehabilitation, like the Yugoslav one, is only the beginning of a much wider historic revision of Stalin's great purges, a revision which may take years to accomplish, but which is inseparable from the breaking up of Stalinist orthodoxy.

Western Pactomania In the Middle East

RAY ALAN

A TURBULENT spring tide of neutralism is rising in the Middle East. What Radio Cairo calls the "new imperialism" of the Turkish-Iraqi pact (which is favorable to the West) and the "new nationalism" kindled by the Bandung Conference, together with what the West might justifiably call the "new cynicism" of the Soviet about-face on Austria and Yugoslavia, have combined to stiffen Arab resistance to western approaches. At no time since the outbreak of the Korean War have those Arabs free to express an opinion been so nearly unanimous in insisting that the Middle East must remain aloof from "imperialist" ties.

Egyptian officials have let it be known that Colonel Abdel Nasser, head of the Cairo military junta, was powerfully impressed by what he saw and heard at Bandung of Chou En-lai. He is reported to have found Chou "quite convincing" on the subject of both Chinese and Russian views on coexistence. In Calcutta, on his way home, Colonel Nasser went out of his way to be seen and photographed with the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, who is engaged at the moment in strengthening Afghan relations with the Soviet and heightening tension between his country and Pakistan over the trumped-up "Pushtoonistan" frontier issue. Both Indian and Egyptian official circles see in the Afghan initiative a useful means of detracting from the worth of Pakistan's nominal treaty links with Turkey and the United States.

Before leaving Calcutta, Colonel Nasser reopened his offensive against the Turkish-Iraqi pact and reiterated Egypt's "determined opposition" to big-power participation in Middle Eastern security arrangements. He stressed Egyptian "hatred" of British and all other foreign bases in the region. Back in Cairo—flanked by banners bearing portraits of Nehru and Chou and reading: WELCOME TO THE CONQUEROR OF IMPERIALISM!—the

Egyptian leader described the Bandung Conference as "the greatest international meeting of modern times."

The Cairo Plan

Radio Cairo has seized upon the U.S.S.R.'s "realistic reappraisal" of the Austrian situation and upon the Kremlin's desire for a rapprochement with Tito as justifying the Egyptian government's attitude. It gave prominence to Tito's own recent criticism of "bloc politics," which it applied to western efforts in the Middle East. Tito is to visit Cairo as a guest of the Egyptian government and is expected in Egyptian official circles to be the bearer of specific Soviet assurances that will complement those which Chou gave Nasser at Bandung.

On these assurances will hinge the fate of an as yet embryonic Egyptian plan for a Middle Eastern "neutrality pact" to which Tito's Yugoslavia would adhere. Egyptian officials admit that their plan is a direct rejoinder to Washington's Iraqi policy, and they also concede that it would undoubtedly please the Soviet bloc more than the western powers. Its aim would be to neutralize as much as possible of the Middle East (in the first instance, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen) on the lines of the Swedish-German-Swiss-Austrian-Yugoslav neutral zone the Kremlin is seeking to lay athwart Europe, with Yugoslavia linking the two systems.

THE PLAN'S Egyptian authors say they would like to see it guaranteed, or at least formally "recognized," in roughly identical terms, by both NATO and Russia's East European NATO-through-the-looking-glass. A request for such recognition, which could hardly be refused, would probably embarrass the western powers under present circumstances—not only by putting the "two NATOs" on an equal footing but by obliging the

West, implicitly, to renounce all further attempts to associate Egypt and the Arab League rump with Atlantic defense. It would annoy Iraq's royal family and those western officials who have decided that the Syrians are incapable of governing themselves because it would place Syria indefinitely beyond the reach of Iraq's expansionist ambitions. Egyptian advocates of the new Middle Eastern neutralism believe that the pact would inevitably lure Iraq away from its present western "entanglements" and back into the Arab League fold once the present Ministry of aging, ailing Nuri Pasha es Saïd was superseded by a more representative Government.

Accessories After the Pact

It would be an oversimplification to present the inter-Arab quarrel touched off by the American-sponsored Turkish-Iraqi pact as one between outright neutralist and wholehearted supporters of the West. The architects of the pact erred in subordinating the long-term interests of the democratic powers to the attainment of a relatively easy, relatively cheap short-term success—in aiming to tickle the passing fancies of psychological-warfare (and, presumably, domestic public-relations) tacticians rather than seriously serve the ends of western strategy. In their haste to chalk up a facile debating point they embarrassed many of the democracies' most worthwhile Middle Eastern friends and scared off many a waverer by appearing to associate the West irrevocably with the same old discredited figures on whom the régimes of the League of Nations mandate days and their immediate successors had leaned so heavily.

To the overwhelming majority of Iraqis, men like Premier Nuri and Crown Prince Abdul Illah are symbols of subjection—domestic and foreign. For nearly thirty years the corrupt, conscienceless landowning oligarchy they and their entourages represent were linked by close mutual dependence with British imperial interests. The oligarchy needed British support in order to be able to safeguard and extend its privileges; Britain needed the collaboration of the oligarchy in maintaining order and laying the administrative foundations of the Iraqi

state on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

But Britain was starting from scratch, an excuse the State Department can scarcely give. Today, direct British control of Iraqi affairs is no more, and the Iraqi ruling class, fortified by oil royalties, is able to stand on its own feet. But old habits of thought die hard, and so long as Nuri is on the stage and the Emir Abdul Illah in the wings, Iraqis will suspect that the show is British—or at any rate "imperialist." Britain's adherence to the Turkish-Iraqi pact did nothing to disillusion them.

In British official circles majority opinion still seems unenthusiastic about the pact. Some officials will admit that Sir Anthony Eden's decision to adhere to it made a handsome gift to Soviet propagandists and Arab Anglophobes alike. On the other hand, they ask, what was Britain to do? Having been rushed into this impasse by Washington's point-scoring "pactomanes," it was in danger of losing its traditional political lead in Iraq to Turkey. This Britain has averted for the time being, but at the exorbitant cost of losing face in the rest of the Middle East, jeopardizing its foothold in the councils of the Colombo powers, reviving French and Israeli—and Iraqi—mistrust, and tying its information services in knots.

Scandal in the Air

Meanwhile, among the Arabs themselves the quarrel grows more venomous daily. Infuriated by official Egyptian radio attacks over Cairo's powerful Voice of the Arabs transmitter, the Iraqi government recently sponsored a "Free Egypt" radio station that denounces the "tyrannous Nasser dictatorship" and urges Egypt's scattered anti-Nasser—but also anti-western—Moslem Brotherhood fanatics to prepare the junta's overthrow. The Egyptian government has retaliated by founding a "Free Iraqi" station that denounces the "tyrannous Nuri dictatorship," threatens to reveal the text of alleged secret clauses in the recent Anglo-Iraqi treaty, and regales its listeners with details of the allegedly unsavory sex life of the Crown Prince.

Syria, throughout history the plaything of Egyptian and Mesopotamian power politics, has been torn

apart by the dispute. The wounds left by its five postwar *coups d'état*—which seemed to be healing, with some hope of possible democratization and stabilization, in the months that followed the overthrow of military dictator Adib Shishakli—have been reopened. The pro-Egyptian Deputy Chief of Staff, Colonel Adnan Malki, has been shot dead by a pro-Iraqi military police sergeant and there have been fierce armed clashes between the rival factions. Senior army officers are again intervening in politics. To win a few cheers and maintain itself in office the Syrian government has been reduced once more to the threadbare device of firing on Jewish fishermen on the Sea of Galilee. Neutralism, in the worst anti-western sense of the term, is rampant.

This is the "situation of strength" on which Mr. Dulles has elected to repose the West's interests in the Near East. It is well to be under no illusions as to the identity of the only power able to draw strength and comfort from it. Apparently aloof from the strife and hubbub, the U.S.S.R. alone has been enabled by U.S. policy to pose as the friend of the Middle Eastern masses, requiring neither bases nor pacts nor privileges and asking only that they stay out of other people's quarrels—their natural inclination anyhow. The memory of the days when Russia was bullying Iran for an oil concession and Turkey for the cession of strategic frontier zones has become overlaid in Arab minds by resentment against current western tactics.

An extremely important Washington (Pentagon) personality, replying (in private) to objections that the U.S. government, like Whitehall in Ernest Bevin's heyday, was in danger of developing a vested interest in the maintenance in power of discredited, unrepresentative régimes, is quoted by a top Egyptian diplomat as saying (in effect): "What do we care about régimes? All we're interested in is real estate." When Middle Eastern affairs come to be conducted on that level of political understanding, it is almost time to give up. It is bad enough for the democratic nations to have Communists scattering tacks across every crossroads without their own employees putting sugar in the gas tank.

Every Congressman A Television Star

DOUGLAS CATER

JUST BEHIND the House Office Building, in offices above the dingy old George Washington Inn, a small group of Republican staff workers are pioneering in adapting politics to the mid-twentieth century. The group, led by a public-relations expert and a former legman for Fulton Lewis, Jr., works for the National Republican Congressional Committee. To a city accustomed on occasion to the composite photograph in politics, this group has brought the composite political telecast.

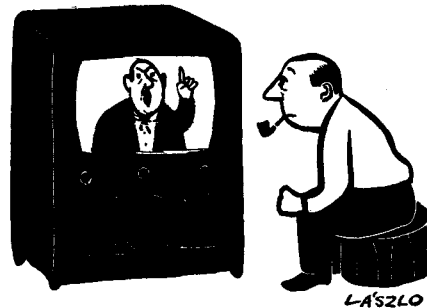
Take a recent memo sent by this group to every Republican Member of Congress. Would the Congressman be interested in filming a short discussion with Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey on such items of public interest as the budget, spending, security, more jobs, and the cost of living? If so, he should drop by the Joint House and Senate Recording Facility. He is furnished a written list of questions which he is to address to a TV camera. Without further fuss, a completed film will be turned over to him in which, as the memo makes clear, "The camera—or the voices if it is just for radio—will . . . switch back and forth between the Member and his guest [Secretary Humphrey] in a smooth manner as though both were present in the same room" (italics ours).

Big Man in Washington

A reasonably energetic Republican Congressman can now have his supposed familiarity with the highest policymakers widely publicized with little loss of his own time and even less of theirs—in fact, without ever having met them. He might have been seen discussing labor relations with Labor Secretary James Mitchell (CONGRESSMAN: There has been a lot of talk, Secretary Mitchell, about the Eisenhower Administration's not being pro-labor. . . . MITCHELL: Now you know, Congressman —, that kind of talk makes my hair stand on

end. I cannot say it too strongly: THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION IS PRO-LABOR.) Or he might have been shown discussing the Salk vaccine with Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Hobby (" . . . a three-minute TV-radio narration on the part the Eisenhower Administration is playing in promoting the use of this life-saving vaccine").

Occasionally, the skillful operators of this new craft have run into snags. The script prepared for the interview with Secretary of Labor Mitchell, for example, contained a section in which Mitchell was supposed to say to the Congressman



apropos a Democratic argument: "I do not need to point out to you, Congressman —, that is entirely wrong. You in — have the great — industry in — and the — industry in —. These — industries have different needs and so do their workers." Mitchell was to read words to fill the missing blanks for each Congressman, which would be spliced in at the appropriate places in the film. This section had to be dropped. The TV composite cannot be "personalized" that much yet.

BUT REPUBLICAN ingenuity has not ended with the television interview. The omnipresent Congressman, if he chooses, can be dubbed into a real Spectacular of rocketing Nikes, or, alternatively, of zooming F-84 Thunderjets, B-47s, and B-36s "re-

leasing an incredible string of bomb clusters, which explode against the ground in what seems like a never-ending series of blasts." He can be seen introducing a grand panorama of power plants and atomic installations while he explains the complex issues of Dixon-Yates. ("Members can arrange to be photographed at the television facility voicing their own opening and closing narrations—or the entire script, for that matter," the Dixon-Yates routine began, reflecting a certain wariness on the part of the ghosts as to whether the Member could handle so tough a subject.) The Member may also be seen behind his desk giving a lecture on pay-r work, which he will describe as a "monster threatening to engulf the very function for which the government was established."

Finally, for the well-rounded Congressman, the National Republican Congressional Committee will supply a three-minute Washington travelogue. ("If you are visited by a group of students or other tourists from your District, our photographer would be happy to shoot some motion picture scenes on the steps of the Capitol showing the group being greeted by you. Then the travelogue would be inserted, and your program would explain that these were some of the scenes which the group saw in their tour of Washington.")

Ghost Appearance

In sum, the Republican staff workers are making a valiant effort to move from ghostwriting to the ghost appearance. And it is not a high-priced operation. The film clips of which most such features are composed can be obtained from the armed services or almost as cheaply from the commercial television news companies. The Joint House and Senate Recording Facility, a private studio subsidized by Congress to the extent of rent and taxes, is equipped to make film shots of Congressmen and to edit and prepare finished prints at dirt-cheap prices. A thirty-minute print can be bought for less than \$150. A one-minute spot costs the Congressman as little as \$4.40.

Best of all, the Republicans are labeling their between-campaign TV and radio offerings as "public-service" features, so that the Congressman can dun his local station