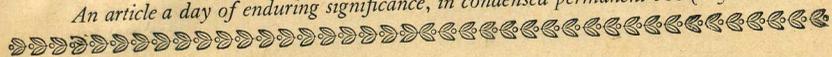


An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form

IS WAR WITH RUSSIA INEVITABLE?

Five Solid Arguments for Peace

By George F. Kennan
Counselor of the State Department

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GREAT CONFUSION of thought prevails today with respect to American policy toward the Soviet Union and Russia's real attitude toward us. There is much loose talk going around — on both sides of the ocean — about “preventive war,” “the inevitability of the conflict,” and “warmongering imperialists.” Let us ask, and answer, five basic questions — and see if they do not give a pretty clear answer to all this talk of war.

1. *Are the Russians planning to make war on us?*

Naturally, only the Soviet leaders themselves could answer this question with certainty. But the following facts are worth remembering.

It is true that Lenin wrote: “The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes, a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable.” And this still remains accepted Communist doctrine.

But current Stalinist doctrine does not demand war. On the contrary, it also teaches that eventually capitalism will fall largely of its own weight, *i.e.*, as a result of the inner "contradictions" which the Communists believe it embodies. They see the role of Communism as one of hastening the collapse of capitalism and assisting, as a midwife, at the birth of the Socialist order. In theory, they seem inclined to regard this as primarily the task of the native Communists in each country, and not of the Soviet Red Army.

There is nothing in Stalinist doctrine which would make it necessarily the main responsibility of the armed forces of the Soviet Union themselves to overthrow capitalism everywhere by direct military action. This premise would actually seem illogical and improper, from the Communist point of view; for it would imply that capitalism, in the absence of such an attack, would be basically sound and capable of coping permanently with its own "contradictions." But this is exactly what good Marxists do not believe.

So much for doctrine. How about Russian tradition? This factor cannot be ignored; for everyone who knows the Russians is sure that Russia has changed Communism more than Communism has changed Russia.

Russia has a long history of expansion; but it is generally a history of a sly and cautious expansion, of a readiness to wait patiently for opportunities to extend existing

borders without undue risk. Apparent exceptions, such as the Finnish War, seem to have been the results of miscalculations.

The Russians, because of the vastness of their territory and the nature of their geographic position, are land-minded; and this psychology leads them to a preoccupation with their land frontiers and the territories which lie just beyond them. This, on account of their technical and economic backwardness, generally precluded them from ventures which would carry them far afield. Russian imperialism has generally been a process of nibbling carefully geared to the capacity of the digestive organs of the Russian state. The experience with the present Eastern European satellites indicates that in this case Soviet imperialism bit off more than it could comfortably chew. The resulting discomfort should make the Kremlin more wary, rather than less, about taking on much bigger bites just at this time.

Finally, we must ask ourselves whether the Soviet leaders would have reason, from the standpoint of their internal interests, to want a world war at this time.

Less than five years have elapsed since the termination of the one great war in which the Soviet Union has engaged. For the Russians that war was terribly wearing and destructive. While steady progress is being made, it may be several years before the human and material damages have been entirely remedied.

In addition to repairing the devastations of the war, the Soviet regime is engaged, with deadly seriousness, in implementing a program designed to make the U.S.S.R. a strong and well-rounded industrial state. It will also take several years before some of the basic parts of this program could possibly be completed. World War II set the program back nearly ten years. Another one could not fail to constitute another serious interruption.

Viewed against the background of doctrine, tradition and practical realities, therefore, the picture would look something like this: The Russian leaders believe our downfall is inevitable. They would do anything they could to hasten it, but they would not wish to endanger in any major way the security of the world citadel of Communism, the U.S.S.R.

In these circumstances, where another world war would obviously involve such dangers, it is hardly likely that the Russians are now charting an early military onslaught on the Western World.

2. *How does Russia's development of atomic weapons affect this situation?*

From the evidence available today, Russia's development of the atomic bomb

does not affect it very much. The bomb is complicated, costly and difficult to produce. The raw materials required for its production are still not easy to come by.

Alone, the bomb could not win a total war against a great industrial nation unless it were possible to deliver enough bombs to cripple military resistance at the outset and to compel the government to sue for peace on the attacker's terms. The crippling of resistance would in itself require not just one bomb, successfully delivered, but many. And there are no indications that the Soviet Union now possesses anything like the requisite number of bombs and carriers to achieve this effect on the United States.

In 1946 Stalin said: "I do not believe the atomic bomb would be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it. Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating weak nerves, but they cannot decide the outcome of war."

There is no reason to believe that the Soviet leaders have departed from this view.

Furthermore, an aggressor would have to take account of the factor of retaliation. In a war where your adversary also has bombs and means of delivery, you have to reflect not only

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upon what you might do to him but also upon what he might do to you. A single bomb will not suffice to cripple a great industrial nation; but a single bomb may suffice to wipe out national landmarks and shrines of inestimable value in the hearts and traditions of a citizenry, to say nothing of individuals whose importance to the nation cannot be measured in any material terms. It is one thing to ask an innocent people to bear such blows when they come, unprovoked, from an arrogant aggressor; it is another to ask people to bear them when they represent the logical and foreseeable consequence of a policy on which their own government has deliberately embarked.

In the past, aggressors have generally had the hope that their own country might emerge relatively unscathed from the adventure upon which they were embarking. Weapons being what they were, it was technically possible, if your superiority looked good enough, to have such a hope. Today, if you inaugurate the use of the bomb against civilian-industrial targets, and if your adversary also has atomic bombs and carriers, this hope becomes much dimmer. You may do fearful injury to your adversary; conceivably, if you have enough bombs and the ability to deliver them, you may even inflict upon him damage which would wreck for a time his capacity for large-scale, organized resistance; but only two or three of *his* bombers need get through in order to wreak

upon your own country counter-injuries which can make any reports of victories far afield sound to most people like a hollow mockery.

Let us apply these considerations to the purposes and psychology of the men in the Kremlin.

With respect to such retaliation, it is not hard to guess at Soviet reactions. There is no country where the evidences of man's handiwork, both in the cultural monuments of the deep past and in the products of modern industrialization, mean more to people. The cultural monuments are few. They symbolize cultural achievements won with suffering and anguish from the soul of the Russian people. They command deep and general reverence.

The modern industrial plant has also been built up the hard way. Much of it would not compare qualitatively with our own. But to most Russians, regardless of their attitude toward the Communist regime, it symbolizes, again, the potential road of escape from the bondage of Russian backwardness. As for the Russian Communists themselves, it is their outstanding prize and achievement. It was for this, good Communists might privately tell you, that the comfort and the freedoms of at least one generation have been sacrificed.

Now we have already seen that these physical values took a terrible beating in World War II. In these circumstances, further large-scale destruction in Russian cities or industrial communities would consti-

tute a major tragedy from the standpoint of both the regime and the people. This is not to mention the human values; and not even the Kremlin can be oblivious to these, for man power constitutes the core of dictatorship as well as of democracy. The idea that the men in the Kremlin, just because they are tough, "wouldn't care" about atomic destruction in Russia reflects an ignorance of Russian realities.

For the Russians, then, atomic aggression would be an inconclusive and risky venture. It might produce certain momentary favorable effects, but it would also involve considerable dangers. It would begin a war which it alone could not finish. The last two world wars stand as lessons to those who start things they can't finish, and particularly to those who attempt to conquer Europe before they have found some means of permanently neutralizing the military-industrial potential of the North American continent.

In an atomic world, total war remains a possibility, inherent in the susceptibility of men to fallacy. But it is now perhaps even less of a probability than before. For it has become potentially more suicidal; and the masters of the Kremlin, in contradistinction to Hitler and the Japanese, are not suicidally inclined.

3. *Is war possible?*

Of course it is, and we must unfortunately always think of it as possible as long as we have the sort of world we have today. As Alexander

Hamilton once wrote: "Let us recollect that peace or war will not always be left to our opinion; that, however moderate or unambitious we may be, we cannot count upon the moderation, or hope to extinguish the ambition, of others."

There are three main reasons why we must reckon with the possibility of war:

(a) Wars can arise by accident, even though none of the parties really wants them. Considerations of prestige, and the natural nervousness which surrounds the use of armed forces anywhere, mean that nations can become involved in wars accidentally. This risk is perhaps less than it used to be: people are today well aware of the horror of war, and they have calmer nerves than they used to have in dealing with explosive incidents.

The totalitarian states are particularly callous about these matters. In 1938 the Russians and the Japanese fought a full-fledged pocket war, using artillery and aircraft and whole divisions of troops, with scarcely a word about it in their government-controlled newspapers and without any formal complications. The democratic countries, which are more old-fashioned in this respect, are also learning to keep cool nerves in tight situations. But still, when you have military forces operating in such close physical proximity and in such complex conditions as our forces and the Russian forces in Germany and Austria, there is always a danger of incidents.

(b) War can occur because the Russians may think someone is going to attack them. While their ideology does not say that they must attack us, it does not say that we will not sooner or later attack them. On the contrary, the official doctrine is that most non-Communist statesmen are panting to unleash military attacks on the Soviet Union; that they are restrained temporarily by the might of the Red Army and by the great sympathy and respect which, according to the Soviet press, the U.S.S.R. enjoys among the popular masses throughout the world; but that eventually, unless world revolution or some devastating inter-capitalist war intervenes, the attack will come.

The fact that this is nonsense does not make it any the less serious. One of the worst things about totalitarian governments is that they tend to misinform themselves. No one, not even the dictator, can be sure that he is getting honest and reliable information. While we think the Soviet leaders must know that we are neither armed nor arming for aggressive war, we have absolutely no reason to trust the accuracy of the information about our ultimate intentions which is permitted to reach higher authority by the organs of the Soviet secret police. And we have no reason to trust the ability of that higher authority — cut off as it is from normal contact with the world — to evaluate such information as it receives.

The thesis that the outside world is hostile and deceitful and menacing

is essential to the maintenance of the internal power and position of the Soviet secret police. They will do everything they can to uphold that thesis, without regard to reality. We can never be entirely sure that they will not someday succeed either in convincing themselves and their masters that a capitalist attack is imminent, in which case they might feel that they had to move in order to get the jump on their enemies, or in causing those masters to make further miscalculations similar to those they have occasionally made in the past, with similar results.

(c) This analysis, like any other analysis involving the future of international affairs, may be wrong. Of estimates of this nature, none is fool-proof; there are only some that are more likely to be right. The author believes that his is likely to be right, or he would not have written it. But the public should bear in mind, as the author does, that he may be wrong.

These are all reasons why we must regard war as *possible*. No one of them could be cited, nor all of them together, as a valid reason for regarding war as *probable* at an early date.

4. *Where, in these circumstances, must the accent of U. S. policy lie, with respect to the Communist danger?*

It must continue to lie in a vigorous and hopeful foreign policy which firmly rejects all defeatism about a future war and aims at keeping alive and pursuing vigorously every possibility for solving international differences where pos-

sible (and for bearing them where solution is not yet possible) without recourse to war.

The events of the past few months have caused many of us to be concerned primarily with the possibility of military attack on our own territory. But that is not the only way that our security can be menaced. If the Russian Communists should succeed, by means short of war, in bringing progressively under their influence the remaining non-Communist countries of Europe and Asia, our security would be more subtly (but perhaps just as dangerously) undermined than by an atomic attack on our own territory. For the world balance of power would then be turned, at least temporarily, against us.

It is this political expansionism which has been the real Soviet program since the conclusion of World War II. During this period the Soviet Government has not taken one inch of land by outright military aggression. There are easier, less expensive and far less risky means of extending power than aggressive war; and it is on these means that the Kremlin appears to have placed its first reliance. There is no reason to believe that this basic relationship will be changed by Russia's possession of the atomic weapon.

Thus we still have justification for hoping that by continuing the political struggle known as the "cold war" the worst of our present difficulties can eventually be overcome without another great outbreak of

international violence. It means that we must continue to take an intelligent and helpful interest in the efforts of people everywhere to withstand the sort of pressures which are brought to bear against them from the Moscow Communist side. It means that we must continue the policy of throwing our weight into the balance wherever there are relatively good chances that it will be effective in preventing the further expansion of the power of international Communism.

This policy has never been guaranteed to be equally successful always and everywhere. There are limits to what a democracy can do in this respect. The result depends invariably not just on what we do but on the interaction between our own policy and the natural powers of resistance which exist among the peoples affected. (No one can force a country to be free which is not itself deeply concerned for its own freedom.) Nothing that has occurred in the recent past has disproven the thesis that such a policy, if resolutely and actively pursued, provides the best chance of carrying us over the peculiar dangers of the present to a more stable and satisfactory condition of international society.

This procedure will not satisfy those impatient spirits who look for some sudden or dramatic solution to the ills which now beset the international community. But these people would find it easier to reconcile themselves to this procedure if they would reflect realistically on the al-

ternatives. There are only two: (a) a return to isolation and armed neutrality, or (b) war. The first would be accompanied by a disastrous deterioration of conditions in the rest of the world. The second is something which no democratic country could make the objective of its policy.

An attempt at an over-all "agreement" with the Soviet leaders is not really an alternative. The dynamism of world Communism would not be seriously affected by such an agreement. Words would still mean different things to the Russians than they mean to us. The agreement would be worth precisely what the realities of world power made it worth at any particular moment. Unless the free world, including ourselves, maintained a vigorous resistance to Soviet Communist political expansion wherever possibilities for such resistance presented themselves these realities would rapidly deteriorate, from our standpoint, and with them the value of the agreement. Not to mention the fact that in any over-all agreement the Russians would doubtless insist on provisions which would be interpreted everywhere as an acceptance and approval on our part of the system of colonial oppression and exploitation which they have imposed upon other peoples in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

The "cold war" will not be entirely settled in our favor until those whose aims and decisions now keep the international community in a turmoil have been caused to conclude that efforts to maintain or es-

tablish political power over other peoples are detrimental to their own selfish interests and that it is inadvisable for them to pursue those efforts further. They will not be brought to this view by oral persuasion. They must come to it in their own manner in the face of a situation of fact which it is our business to help create. Until they do this, no over-all written agreement will really bind them to act as though they had.

It is evident, then, that there is no escape for us from the long hard road on which we have been advancing with a view to bringing about, by peaceful means, a happier and safer and more stable international society. This is the hardest task our country has ever undertaken. It is one unfamiliar to us by experience or tradition. But it has fallen to us by the logic of history and there is no avoiding it.

5. *On what, then, does our national security really rest in this coming period?*

First, our security rests in making sure that military aggression remains improbable if not impossible. We should continue to maintain a military posture which, as Theodore Roosevelt once said, will make fighting us "too expensive and dangerous a task to be undertaken lightly by anybody." Let us not be diverted from our task by a morbid preoccupation with what *could possibly happen if*. Let us remember that there is no security in a search for the absolute defense. Security lies in accepting moderate risks in order that

immoderate ones may be avoided.

Second, our security rests in remembering that the fiber of political resistance among our allies to Moscow Communist pressure will be deeply affected by the extent to which they continue to feel themselves secure in the military sense. Let us give those allies the assurance that we are solidly with them. At the same time, let us help them achieve, for their part, a calm and balanced understanding of the nature of their danger, so that their enemies cannot play on false fears.

Third, our security rests in keeping our flag flying high here at home. Few Americans are aware of the intense and skeptical scrutiny to which our domestic affairs are subjected by the outside world, and of the beneficial effect produced on both our friends and our enemies by evidences that we are seriously tackling the problems of our own society.

This is not just a question of material prosperity. What the outside world is more eager to know is whether we are capable of coping with the sociological and spiritual strains placed upon us by all this abundance. It is eager to know whether we are going to be able to retain, in a mechanized environment, the individuality, the emotional tone and the civic vigor of earlier generations of Americans. Naturally, a nation cannot rely on social and spiritual progress for safety, any more than it can rely on inoffensiveness. But the connection between these things is closer than

most of us would think. We will not convince others, or perhaps even ourselves, that we are protecting something precious unless we cultivate that something as assiduously as we prepare to defend it. To make sure that we can fully respect ourselves remains the best way to hold the respect of others.

Fourth, our security rests in continuing to act in a spirit of justice and good will toward others, which will make it possible for us to help a little toward bringing about a general attitude of peaceful cooperation in the world at large. It is here that the present possibilities of the United Nations come into their own.

We should not lose ourselves in vainglorious schemes for changing human nature all over the planet. Rather, we should learn to view ourselves with a sense of proportion and Christian humility before the enormous complexity of the world in which it has been given us to live.

If we do these things, we should be able to go about our international business with our heads high and our eyes clear, untroubled either by overweening ambitions or by panicky anxieties, accepting the risks which are the inevitable concomitant of all real human progress, and keeping our gaze fixed confidently on the distant goals which it is every man's duty always to move toward even though they may never be entirely reached. We will then be doing the best we can in a complex and problematical world. No nation can do more than that.

Partial Text of McMahon's Speech on Atomic Disarmament

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—A partial text of a speech in the Senate today by Senator Brian McMahon, Democrat of Connecticut, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, follows:

The President of the United States has now given orders to build the hydrogen bomb—is create, in deliverable quantities, those chunks of the sun technically known as thermo-nuclear weapons.

The scientists feel more confident that this most horrible of armaments can be developed successfully than they felt in 1940 when the original atomic bomb was under consideration. The hydrogen development will be cheaper than its uranium forerunner. Theoretically, it is without limit in destructive capacity. A weapon made of such material would destroy any military or other target, including the largest city on earth.

Calls Decision 'Right'

The President's decision was dictated by the severe realities of the world which we inhabit today. He had no choice, and his decision under present circumstances is right.

American recognition of the hydrogen bomb would mean embracing the folly of "disarmament by example." Our friends abroad would shrink away from us, seeing that we had lost power to defend the United States, much less to help defend Europe, Kaputza, the great Soviet physicist, and German scientists imported into Russia are noted for their special competence in the technical problems relating to hydrogen weapons. Densely populated American cities are made to order for an explosive that level hundreds of square miles. Communism suffered a defeat in practice when our democracy completed the earliest atomic bombs, but this prestige defeat would be more than recouped assuming that Russia were to complete hydrogen bombs sooner. Furthermore, if the Kremlin believes that it cannot out-produce us in ordinary atomic weapons—imagines calling the destroyers of Hiroshima and Nagasaki "ordinary"—its logical strategy is to excel in the thermo-nuclear field. All such factors as these serve to warn America against complacency.

But please note my insistence that we possess no monopoly upon the hydrogen bomb idea. If we win the race to build this weapon first, it is only a matter of time, and possibly a short time, before the Kremlin achieves success also. Let me warn, with all the solemnity at my command, that building hydrogen bombs does not promise positive security for the United States. It only promises the negative result of averting, for a few months or years, well-timed certain catastrophe. Do not for a moment overlook the obvious—that Soviet Russia broke our atomic bomb monopoly sooner than we had expected, and she would break any hydrogen bomb monopoly that we enjoyed with equal or greater speed. We are plunged into a truly terrible arms race!

Choice of Two Policies

What are we going to do about it?

There are really, I suggest, no more than two broad policies from which to choose. One consists in resigning ourselves to a generation of waging the "cold war"—that is, striving endlessly to contain Russia's outward pressure, pouring out our substance to stay ahead in the weapons competition even after the Kremlin becomes armed with hydrogen bombs, and cherishing indefinitely the hope that Soviet tyranny will somehow see the evil of its ways and refrain itself from within. Arrayed against the choice of such a policy is 8,000 years of recorded history, which teaches again and again and again that armaments races lead to war—under today's conditions, hydrogen war!

The other broad policy which we may choose consists in moving heaven and earth to stop the atomic armaments race, to establish world-wide atomic peace, and to make possible atomic-crested abundance among all men. In pursuing that policy we would tap to the roots the resources of our ingenuity and imagination; we would regard no suggestion as too startling or unconventional; for careful consideration; and we would be guided, disciplined, and inspired

by our code of ethics and democratic, peace-loving tendencies. It was from this kind of philosophy that we generated our original proposal for international control—a proposal which should constitute a source of pride to every citizen of our land. When the atom was split for destruction during the recent war, a transcendent moral problem came into being; and the responsibility for moral leadership on an equal order of magnitude rested upon us, since we had made the first bomb. . . .

Offer to Share the Good

In essence we offered to share all that is good in atomic energy, and we asked only for the minimum safeguards, as operative upon ourselves as upon others, that would prevent the evil in atomic energy from being used to destroy us. . . .

We may as well bluntly recognize, here and now, that in the ledger of life and death, the ledger of world peace and world destruction, there is only one entry on the hopeful side; the study, the improvement and finally the indorsement of the American proposal by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations. On the death side of the ledger, on the side of world destruction, there have been repeated entries—a succession which began when Mr. Gromyko, as the Soviet delegate, stated that our plan is unacceptable either in whole or in part. For the sake of confining world opinion, the Kremlin has retreated somewhat from that statement, using phrases too vague to define but basically Mr. Gromyko's words reflect the Soviet attitude as accurately today as when they were uttered.

It is my intense conviction that our decision, born of necessity, to build the hydrogen bomb must be accompanied by a moral crusade for peace having far greater potential effect than any physical weapon, even chunks of the sun. Otherwise we would deal a severe blow both to our moral position and to our fervent hopes for a secure future. . . .

Iron Curtain Blamed

Yet, through Barnet's immortal address of more than three years ago, we have already undertaken one major peace effort—and it was unsuccessful in that today we remain as far distant from atomic agreement as when we started. Why did this honest peace effort fail to impact successfully upon all mankind?

The answer is obvious and may be summarized in three words: Russia's Iron Curtain. The people of Russia, thanks

to the Iron Curtain, have been prevented from knowing the true and desperate nature of the atomic crisis. They have been kept from learning, due to the Iron Curtain, how we extended toward them the hand of friendship and offer a just atomic control plan for their protection, and incalculable benefit as well as our own. Any information on the subject that reaches the Russian people is first twisted and distorted into the Red focus of the Kremlin's official line.

We have spent \$29 billion a year on what we are pleased to call the "Voice of America." It should be called the "Whisper of America." We spend over \$30 million a year to advertise cosmetics—and \$29 million, I repeat, to sell the previous commodity of freedom!

All over the world today—perhaps because laziness and mediocrity have characterized our attempts to sell what America is, what America wants, and what America intends—there exists misunderstanding as to our attitude. The thirty years of vilification emanating from behind the Iron Curtain in Moscow have taken a toll on our reputation as a peace-loving and peace-loving nation. There are millions of people abroad who observe our armaments expenditures and fail to grasp that these are for self-defense. . . .

Would Enlarge Broadcasts

I advocate, Mr. President, a United States program of attention-arresting foreign broadcasts that would compare in size and scope to the Soviet effort along this line and that would genuinely deserve the name, "Voice of America." I favor exploring the efficacy of printing millions of leaflets for world-wide circulation, explaining a new United States proposal for atomic peace. We should publicly and repeatedly challenge the Kremlin to make known the terms of this proposal to newspaper readers and radio listeners inside Russia. We should publicly and repeatedly challenge the Kremlin to permit a meeting of the United Nations in Moscow, so that the trend of international discussions and our own sincerity would be more likely to enter the mental horizon of the average Russian.

We now spend about \$15 billion annually for armaments. Why not offer to take two-thirds of this sum, of \$10 billion, and, instead of amassing sterile weapons, use it to foster peace throughout the world for a five-year period? Why not offer to spread the annual \$10 billion over three programs: President

Truman's Point 4 proposal, development of atomic energy everywhere for peace, and general economic aid and help to all countries, including Russia, such a global "Marshall plan" might combine with the marvelous power of peace-time atomic energy to generate universal material progress and a universal co-operative spirit.

In exchange for our own contribution of \$10 billion annually, we would ask (1) general acceptance of an effective program for international control of atomic energy, and (2) an agreement by all countries enforced through inspection, that two-thirds of their present spending upon armaments be devoted toward constructive ends. Administration of the annual \$10 billion which we offered to make available would be carried out through the United Nations. . . .

Margins of Starvation

At present only one-third of the world's 2,300,000,000 people receive enough food to sustain life on a decent basis. The other two-thirds live continuously at margins of starvation. Mr. President, it is atomic energy that opens up the vision of expanding material decency until there is enough to go around for all—until every last hungry mouth is filled. Perhaps through the expenditure of a few extra tens of millions we can conquer the riddle of photosynthesis and extract from the processes of plant growth a means of multiplying many times the world's food supply. Perhaps through atomic power for industry and agriculture we can transform the deserts of Africa, Asia and the Americas into blooming crop-producing acres and the arid hills of the world into gardens. . . .

I might point out that we have already poured billions into foreign economic aid, asking nothing in return, and still Communist propaganda has blackened our motives in the eyes of millions. I believe that every morning each member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and each high official of the executive branch, should glance at the sun and reflect that what he sees there, millions of miles away, threatens to be recreated on this earth, in our own cities, in Washington, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. This is a time for soul-searching, for nation-wide and world-wide debate, and for the launching and maintaining of that moral crusade for peace which alone can save us and lead mankind along the righteous paths of security, abundance and liberty.

McMahon

(Continued from page one)

atomic explosion. He made clear that he thought 100,000,000 other Americans have good reason to be equally worried.

He warned the Senate that Russia now has atomic weapons and that it, too, can make hydrogen bombs such as those ordered by President Truman in his momentous directive on Tuesday. Theoretically, he said, the new weapons are "without limit in destructive capacity." He agreed that Mr. Truman had no alternative; that the decision was "born of necessity." But he warned that in an arms race involving weapons of that magnitude liberty cannot long survive, even if war does not come.

"How is it possible," he asked, "for free institutions to flourish or even to maintain themselves in a situation where defenses, civil and military, must be ceaselessly poised to meet an attack that might incinerate 50,000,000 Americans—not in the space of an evening, but in the space of minutes?"

The Senator said his proposal was based on many weeks and months of continuous reflection. There was no indication that he had consulted the Administration in advance. It was clear, in fact, that he was offering it wholly on his own.

He pointed out that the United States already has "poured billions into foreign aid." For \$50,000,000,000, he said, the world would have foreign aid and peace if his plan were accepted.

"I am willing," he said, "to have my suggestions today judged against the background of Mr. Barnet's (Bernard M. Baruch, who was United States Representative in the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission) words spoken more than three years ago—words which I have quoted and which I now repeat:

"We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead. That is our business.

"Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: we must elect world peace or world destruction."

The reaction of his colleagues was immediate. Some rushed across the floor to shake his hand. Other waited their turns to express their appreciation.

Senator William F. Knowland, Republican of California, termed it an interesting talk that deserved further discussion by the Senate.

Senator Joseph G. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, called the speech "a great contribution to public understanding of the gravity of the problem before us."

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois, applauded it as

an example of "extraordinarily brilliant, moving, high statesmanship." The address, he said, "contained the very essence of Christianity" and "should be given unreserved consideration" by the whole Senate. It was an address, he added, that made him proud to be a Senator.

Lehman Adds Approval

Senator Taylor called it "statesmanlike" and asserted, "if there had been some of this kind of thinking earlier we might not now be faced with our terrible dilemma." He went on, though, to attack State Department policy as largely influenced by "Dillon Reed," the New York banking firm. Senator McMahon's "constructive" statement lifted from that line, stating that no sinking firm or any other firm influences American foreign policy.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat-Liberal of New York, rose to associate himself with Senator O'Mahoney and Senator Douglas "in deep appreciation" for Senator McMahon's "constructive, humane and spiritual remarks." "It was a great speech, a great public document," the New Yorker added.

Senator Frank P. Graham, Democrat of North Carolina, Senator Eugene D. Milliken, Republican of Colorado, and Senator Forrest C. Donnell, Republican of Missouri, joined in the praise. When Senator Donnell asked how much the hydrogen bomb would

cost, he was cut off with an explanation that to disclose that might reveal the method the United States will use.

President Truman's comments at his news conference were in response to requests by reporters for comment on Senator Vandenberg's proposal. Mr. Truman replied that he had no comment to make, but pointed out that the United States has urged constantly that international control be accepted by all the nations of the world.

Hardly a week goes by, he said, that the matter is not brought up at the U. S. at his suggestion. But he said he did not think a formal note on the hydrogen bomb was advisable and he made clear that as far as he is concerned he has no further comment on the statement he made announcing the project.

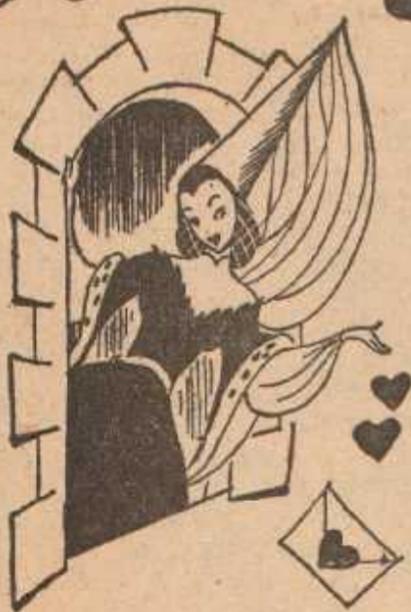
Ask Army Finance Unit Inquiry

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP)—The House Civil Service Committee asked the Army today to conduct a "complete investigation" of the Army Finance Center and to report its findings to the House. Chairman of the committee, Democrat of Tennessee, said in a preliminary hearing that the staff investigation should include a number of questions which relate to the center's operations and its alleged mismanagement.

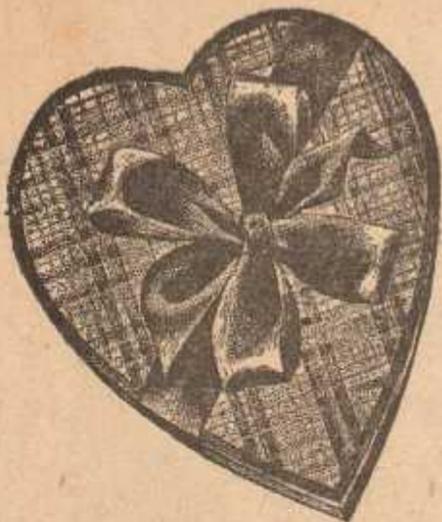
When Senator Donnell asked how much the hydrogen bomb would

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Today in Washington

Conscience Asks if U. S. Really Means to Use Hydrogen Bomb or Only Wants It as Threat

By David Lawrence

Copyright, 1950, New York Herald Tribune Inc.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—Conscience—that invisible and intangible force which pursues man at every turn—has bobbed up with a penetrating question here.

Does the United States really mean to use the hydrogen bomb some day or do we merely intend to threaten its use so as to force an agreement assuring international control of atomic weapons?

Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Republican, reveals the pin pricks in a nation's conscience when he proposes that the President notify the United Nations of our intention to stop making hydrogen bombs the moment Russia submits to an effective form of outlawing atomic weapons of all kinds.

The President said, before the subject of the hydrogen bomb came to public notice, that he would not hesitate to order the dropping of atom bombs, if necessary, in war time. This was done evidently to let the Russians know that no reasons of humaneness would govern if war came.

Historically the position of the United States has altered considerably from the days in 1939 when the late President Roosevelt made a plea to all belligerent nations not to bomb innocent civilians and to confine bombing strictly to the battlefields or to military installations behind the lines. The decision by President Truman in 1945 to drop the atom bomb on two heavily populated cities in Japan without specific warning in advance is now American policy.

What Will Russians Think?

Assuming that the Russians some day allow full and frank discussion of the hydrogen bomb in their press, what will the average mother and father in Russia say when they learn that the United States has ordered the making of the most destructive bomb in all human experience? Will they feel more kindly toward the United States and the American people? Will they be less or more likely to believe the charges of the Kremlin leaders that the American government is "war-mongering"?

Hardly any one here disputes the wisdom of going ahead to

make the hydrogen bomb. But the government's responsibility unfortunately isn't confined to that simple point. Talk is astir again, of course, about renewing the negotiations for agreement with Russia to control the making of atomic weapons. With the existing state of suspicion and distrust, however, on everything else in the relations between the two countries, it seems improbable that any agreement can be readily reached. Instead, the Russians will naturally decide to concentrate more than ever on finding ways of making a hydrogen bomb and building up their atomic stockpile.

History Being Repeated

What is happening today has happened throughout all history—one nation gets a larger quantity of armament and threatens the other. The temporarily weaker nation, if it possesses the necessary resources, promptly responds—and an armament race is on. Usually war has come because of the fear, accentuated by military strategists, that if the first blow isn't struck to stop potential aggression, then actual aggression will ensue.

The President has an unexampled opportunity to call for a re-examination of Russian-American relations in every aspect. The defeatist notion that everything has been done by us that can be done to avert war is widespread, but moral force has often removed the causes of human friction and solved disputes where there is a manifestation of give-and-take and a spirit of true accommodation.

If the acts of the Kremlin have forced America to make the hydrogen bomb, it is a safe bet that the Russian people do not know it. The facts in the case have never been assembled—outside of our own official state papers—either before the United Nations or elsewhere in a judicial manner. Has our diplomacy always been fair and just? Is it really helpless to find even an unorthodox approach to a solution? Is ingenuity confined solely to the laboratories of nuclear physics?

The conscience of a Christian world may soon begin to press for the answers.

Italy to Seize Big Estates in Land Reforms

De Gasperi Asks Action in Limited Area, Followed by an Over-All Program

By Barrett McGurn

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

Copyright, 1950, New York Herald Tribune Inc.
ROME, March 14.—A broad plan of reforms to combat the misery in Italy on which the Communists have been capitalizing was announced today by Premier Alcide De Gasperi.

In a one-and-one-half hour press conference, the first since the formation of his new government, Mr. De Gasperi announced:

1. The government within one week will ask Parliament to permit a quick advanced land reform in an area of "several hundred thousand hectares" (100,000 hectares equals 386 square miles) in sections of Italy where land reform will be

easiest to accomplish and where action is needed most speedily.

2. The government will present the terms of its long-promised over-all land reform to Parliament within the same time limit. The over-all reform will cover an area two and one-half times the size of its quick reform. Discussion of the bill in Parliament is expected to consume about a year.

3. The government will ask Parliament to authorize the creation of a new organization for a ten-year, \$1,600,000,000 public works program in Italy's poorest area, the South. The new organization will have the right to spend money without asking the customary prior approval of Parliament. The needs of modern democracy make this speedier method a necessity, Mr. De Gasperi told newspaper men.

4. To finance the program, Marshall plan grants and funds which came from the United States before the beginning of the Marshall plan will cover more than half the bills for the first two years, but increased taxes will have to carry the bulk of the burden in the third year. Mr. De Gasperi implied that Italy will need

further American loans and expects to get them if it succeeds in convincing America that Italy is doing everything possible to help herself.

Mr. De Gasperi told reporters that a few final details on the land reform still are to be worked out, but that agreement has been reached on a system of gradually increased confiscations which will hit ill cultivated large properties the hardest. He implied that some owners may lose as much as 95 per cent of their land. Some Italian property owners now possess more than sixty square miles.

Demands by Leftists that a ceiling of approximately three square miles be placed on private holdings probably will not be granted, the Premier implied.

The quick land reform probably would occur in the heel, toe and ankle of the Italian boot—Calabria, Apulia, Campania and Lucania, members of the government told reporters. Some of Italy's worst poverty, highest illiteracy rates and highest infant mortality rates occur now in those areas. They are also areas where huge semi-feudal estates owned by no-

bles and worked by share-croppers still exist.

The expropriated owners will be

paid 10 per cent more assessed valuation for purposes, Mr. De G

'The Complex Issue of the Ex-Communists'

Shortly after the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury, Arthur Koestler, noted author, received a letter from a woman unknown to him urging him to write a defense of Mr. Hiss, since only "a European with a left-wing past" could understand the Hiss story. Mr. Koestler then offered *The Times Magazine* the article, "The Complex Issue of the Ex-Communists" which was published on Feb. 19. The response from readers has been unusually strong and predominantly critical, and it seems to indicate deep concern over the Hiss-Chambers conflict, as well as wide interest in the moral situation of ex-Communists. In his article, Mr. Koestler made and discussed four main points. These, with excerpts from readers' comments, follow:

1. Was Hiss the "real villain?"—Mr. Koestler said that Hiss "persisted stubbornly on his single track." Chambers performed "a service of great social utility."

BLACK SHEEP

TO THE EDITOR:

Mr. Koestler makes the issue more complex instead of more simple. The question is not, "Was Chambers the real villain rather than Hiss?" It may turn out that they were both real villains, but this much we already know: that Whittaker Chambers is a self-confessed perjurer and traitor to his country and other things that are best not mentioned, and that the deathbed confessions and later repentances will never make a woolly white lamb out of this very black sheep.

If it turns out, as it well may, that Alger Hiss is tarred with the same stick, surely Mr. Koestler doesn't feel that a last-minute confession will remove his guilt.

Methinks Mr. Koestler doth protest too much and that, as an ex-Communist himself, he would like to feel his soul absolved and washed clean because he has belatedly seen the light.

ROBERT N. KASTOR.

Hillsdale, N. J.

TWO PERJURERS

TO THE EDITOR:

I was rather dishearteningly surprised as to the tone of Arthur Koestler's article. To me he seemed to take up the question of the former political philosophy of both Chambers and Hiss, whereas the crime of which Hiss was convicted was perjury, not whether or not he believed in communism.

Koestler, in my opinion, neglects one cardinal point in the Chambers-Hiss feud. If Hiss is guilty of perjury and stands convicted after a fair trial by jury, the law has been satisfied. The same law, however, should also apply to Whittaker Chambers, who himself has admitted that he is guilty of the same crime of perjury. Why, then, isn't Chambers tried for perjury as well as Hiss?

(Mrs.) ELAINE P. HEINEMANN,
Drexel Hill, Pa.

UNADMIRABLE PERSON

TO THE EDITOR:

As neither a Communist nor an ex-Communist, I should like to defend the point of view expressed by Arthur Koestler's ex-Communist woman correspondent concerning the relative merits of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers. It seems to me that Koestler, leaning over backward to deny all things Communist, has, in fact, ignored

Arthur Koestler's analysis of the Hiss case provokes a strong response from readers.



Arthur Koestler.

some fundamental implications of the woman's point of view. Further, I suggest that his attitudes result from several errors of both fact and opinion.

His refutation of the woman's sympathy for Hiss rests on the assumption that, for Americans at least, dislike of Whittaker Chambers arises from politically irrelevant standards of group loyalty. This, I submit, is simply untrue. Most Americans thoroughly dislike Communists and are glad to welcome apostates from communism when they seem to represent the force of honest democratic objections to it. At the same time they dislike a Chambers, neither because he was a Communist nor because he is an apostate, but because in either guise he is to them an unadmirable person. The very personal characteristics which presumably both led him to embrace and caused him to break with communism are distasteful to them. * * *

The ex-Communists should make every effort to keep their argument on a logical and non-vindictive basis; they should appeal to the values of the democratic processes, most particularly the idea of law. Ironically enough, it is Koestler's own writings which up until now have served as an example of the very kind of refutation of communism which is valid.

RUSH E. WELTER.

Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

CONFUSION CUT

TO THE EDITOR:

Arthur Koestler on the Hiss trial cuts through the sentimental confusion surrounding this *cause célèbre*. His analysis is both brilliant and profound. The

article is a contribution to sound thinking on a problem of international importance.

CARLTON F. WELLS.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

2. Was Chambers right in speaking out?—Mr. Koestler said yes. Otherwise, the facts on the evils of the Soviet totalitarian regime "could never have been assembled."

PUBLICITY FROM SIN

TO THE EDITOR:

Arthur Koestler's article is enough to appall any good American. Though he claims to be a converted Communist, it betrays how deeply totalitarian ideas still dominate his thinking.

The sum and substance of his article is that there is only one method possible in the repentance of one's sins and that is by the totalitarian method of standing before a court in a public place with newspaper men gathered round to take down the words of the recanting sinner. Part of our American tradition is the right to repent of our sins in private and not to make a public spectacle of ourselves. It is important to point out the dangers along this line just now, when so many prominent people are making publicity out of their sins.

(Rev.) CHARLES FLOYD FULLER.

Hamden, Conn.

BETRAYERS OR BETRAYED?

TO THE EDITOR:

Arthur Koestler's article was excellent in most respects. But Koestler made an unnecessary concession to Communist propaganda when he admitted by implication that Whittaker Chambers and other ex-Communists "betrayed their cause." Isn't it rather true that the cause betrayed them? They were serving the Communist

movement in the belief that they helped to bring about freedom, equality and justice. They discovered that the Communist party, directed by the Soviet rulers, aimed at introducing slavery and bloody oppression in the whole world. Weren't they more loyal to their real cause when they left the Communist movement and started to fight against it at that moment?

We think the word "betrayal" describes more accurately the behavior of those who stay in the Communist Party, although it stands for the very opposite of the ideals for which they once joined it. * * *

ESTHER WITTFOGEL and

PETER MEYER.

New York.

SQUEALER'S LOT

TO THE EDITOR:

Mr. Koestler's is certainly a brilliant analysis * * * but if Chambers saw the light—he might have recognized that others associated with him might see the light, too. He could have revealed his connections without involving others. None of us trusts or admires the squealer.

BESS GORDON.

Brooklyn.

ADDITIONAL HYSTERIA

TO THE EDITOR:

At the time when Arthur Koestler and so many other authors turned to communism, they did not turn to the Stalinist totalitarian regime. Worldwide depression led all thinking citizens to look for more equitable methods of governing mankind. These authors were easily able to turn, without governmental punishment, back to democracy when under capable leadership it proved spiritually able to meet the challenge of the time. The ideal of communism as envisaged by its philosophers, Marx and Engels, meanwhile had degenerated into iron rule.

What has Whittaker Chambers actually done? He has superimposed the wants and actions of the Nineteen Thirties on the fears of the Nineteen Fifties; a man of the Nineteen Thirties on a man of the Nineteen Fifties. One cannot say that the Alger Hiss of today feels as the Alger Hiss of a far-away yesterday felt. To say that would be to ignore the great ideological progress our country has made in the interim. Mr. Chambers has only added to the confused hysteria of our time by giving the impression that communism is strongly threatening our Government from within at this time.

(Mrs.) BARBARA LANDOWNE.

Long Beach, N. Y.

3. Should ex-Communists be trusted?—Mr. Koestler said they must be. Although the public "is entitled to feel repelled" by them, "it is not entitled to let its bias interfere with its judgment" of what such men have been able to expose.

EARNED DISTRUST

TO THE EDITOR:

* * * Perseverance in sin is never virtuous; but neither is renunciation of sin a certificate of purity, probity and moral infallibility. Ex-Communists, who now abound about us, can hardly expect the favor and trust of the community simply by their act of renunciation. This is not a question of the public's unconscious psyche being repelled by the "renegade." It is a question of a lingering distrust of those who admitted. (Continued on Page 57)

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'Issue of the Ex-Communists'

(Continued from Page 12)

ly have earned that distrust in the past.

Those who distrust Whit-taker Chambers have as much to justify their suspicion in his record after renunciation as before. Admitted perjury before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a Federal Grand Jury, and the first Hiss court, totally unsubstantiated charges against such people as Francis B. Sayre and others—these and other incidents in the post-Communist phase of the Chambers saga give ample grounds for those who feel he is something less than trustworthy.

(Mrs.) THERESA WOLF.
Alexandria, Va.

"PIGEON-HOLE" MINDS

TO THE EDITOR:

I should like to supplement Mr. Koestler's succinct analysis by one observation. I think it is our common practice to "pigeon-hole" people, and we are loath to allow for any change in a person's character (once a liar, always a liar).

It is so much easier to run our affairs on this basis without having to make allowance for a possible change of heart.

PETER FRANCK.

Scarsdale.

CHAMBERS' MOTIVES

TO THE EDITOR:

I believe that Koestler misunderstands the general animosity against Chambers. This is not based on a preference for Hiss. It is simply that great numbers of Americans do not believe that Chambers is sincere; they do not believe that his testimony against Hiss was based on a newfound loyalty to his country. What they do suspect is that Chambers was governed by private and revengeful motives having nothing to do with the greater, more publicized issues. Furthermore, a man who lied nineteen times during grand jury hearings after his great reformation scarcely "came out on the side of the angels."

Koestler, who has achieved considerable reputation for his insight (I remember and possess his "Arrival and Departure") obviously has his work cut out for him. He has yet to resolve his own confusions regarding the differences between the honorable and the dishonorable.

GEORGE MARQUISEE.

New York.

THOSE WHO SWING

TO THE EDITOR:

Mr. Koestler fails to mention what seems to me the most ethical course for a disillusioned Communist: to become one of the independent

(Continued on Following Page)

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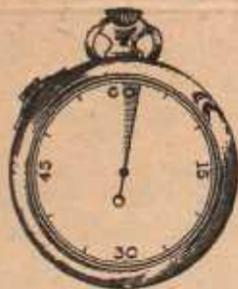
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(Continued from Preceding Page)
radicals or real liberals who as individuals or in small groups are sincerely working for a better world.

The Chamberses, the Kravchenkos, and so many other Communist renegades have turned from stooges of totalitarian Russia into stooges of capitalist America, writing for the Hearst papers, testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee and collaborating with the most ardent native opponents of the true principles of democracy.

It may be said that between the social system of this country and of Russia, ours is in practice the lesser of two evils. It might therefore follow that to be a stooge of the United States Government is less bad than to be a stooge of the Russian Government. However, is it essential that an ex-Communist continue to be a stooge?

JAMES PECK.

New York.

A PARALLEL?

TO THE EDITOR:

Arthur Koestler defends the ex-Communists. According to

news reports, Dr. Klaus Fuchs claims to have turned his back on the Communist movement over two years ago. Does Mr. Koestler think that Scotland Yard ought to drop the espionage charges against Dr. Fuchs as the United States did against Whittaker Chambers now that they know he has undergone a change of heart?

S. HERBERT MELLER.

Hartsdale, N. Y.

FOR OBJECTIVITY

TO THE EDITOR:

Your choice of Arthur Koestler as a supposedly objective judge of the Chambers-Hitt controversy was an unfortunate one. Finding himself in the same position as Chambers, how can he help but defend action of that type on personal grounds? A better report might be given by an eminent jurist who had the cause of justice at the heart of his writing.

Koestler himself is to be criticized for demolishing the evidence of "some academic gents" who are specialists in the field of psychology and then immediately building his own case around amateurish

(Continued on Following Page)

Mr. Koestler Answers a Criticism

A friend of Mr. Koestler's, after reading his article, wrote to him as follows:

YOU have not convinced me on two points. I do not think you have dealt with your woman correspondent's assumption that Hiss left the Communists in 1939 or thereabouts and then, for the sake of expediency, felt he could not announce his switch. Certainly I would be willing to bet that in the last ten years Hiss was intent at all times on coolly making his way up in the official world and had no truck whatsoever with the Communists (as a matter of fact, there is a good deal of evidence to the contrary). The question arises, then, what good did Chambers accomplish by putting his finger on him?

That raises the second question. I feel that Chambers did positive harm. There is little doubt in my mind that Hiss was guilty of lying and that there were manipulations in the Thirties, but the case became, as you may or may not know, a *cause célèbre*. On the one side were those who defended Hiss because they believed in Franklin Roosevelt, and on the other side were those who, through Hiss, were attacking the Roosevelt Administration. I do not believe the issue was ever there but, nevertheless, it was made such at both trials.

Thus Chambers was used as an instrument by those who oppose the vital social reforms we have had in the last twenty years. It seems to me that at some point, knowing all this, Chambers could have said: "Look, I believe that the issues in this case are being misrepresented. I have spoken about Hiss because I was forced to, but those who are using what I say in order to attack principles in which I believe, I renounce herewith."

This was Mr. Koestler's reply, which he has given permission to reprint:

I AGREE with the first point raised in your letter. I also agree that Chambers should have said that he regretted that his revelations were exploited by people and for purposes alien to him.

But I don't agree with you on one point. The danger that the fight against Stalinism will be exploited by the forces who fight liberalism has always existed and will continue to exist. This was the argument by which all criticism of the Soviet Union was branded as "playing into the hands of reaction." I don't believe that considerations of this sort should act as a deterrent from telling the truth; for I believe that "a harmful truth is better than a useful lie"—see "The God That Failed."

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

generalizations in the same field. If we are to gain anything through discussion of this case, let us have it done by those whose personal background does not preclude a subjective presentation of the problems of objective justice. Subjective rancor may enhance novels. It does little good where reporting is desired.

WILLIAM W. VOORHEES.
New York.

WHEN DO THEY CEASE?

TO THE EDITOR:

*** I'd like to answer one question Mr. Koestler puts forward—regarding the "vague public sentiment" which finds Chambers "repugnant": We do not trust those reporting fellows who tell us that they have lied and why they lied, because one never knows when they cease lying.***

WERNER LANDSHOFF.
New York.

4. Are Liberals wrong in defending Hiss and condemning Chambers? Mr. Koestler said, "The greatest danger to liberalism today lies in such starry-eyed confusion."

LIBERALS

TO THE EDITOR:

I feel that Mr. Koestler would have been more objective if he had felt inclined to use some of the material which Merle Miller used in a recent article on the Hiss case. Mr. Miller thought that Mr. Hiss was guilty of passing the information. However, he pointed out that Mr. Hiss was an aid to the repeal of the Neutrality Act and that in 1939 he was one of the first to outline the Lend-Lease idea.

May I point out that at that "terrible hour," not only for Britain but for the democracies in general, it was the liberal who fought staunchly for these measures of great importance. At that moment the Communists and Conservatives in this country were in concert against them.

I wish to make two suggestions. First, Mr. Hiss was wrong in giving information to Russia in 1937 but was a great aid to democracy in 1939. Second, I feel that the liberals, whom Mr. Koestler seems to love to call confused, had enough presence of mind in 1939 to make it possible (against the wishes of Conservatives and Communists) for the idea of democracy to survive.

OWEN E. MILLER, M. D.
Philadelphia.

TOWARD HYSTERIA

TO THE EDITOR:

Like most converts Mr. Koestler rushes from one extreme to the other. I believe that he and Mr. Chambers besmirch a tradition and way of living which we call liberalism and which goes far back in our national history. Their type of thinking leads to hysteria, repression and the destruction of individual liberties.

GEORGE ABRAMS.
Buffalo.

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Acheson's Address on U. S. - Soviet Tensions

BERKELEY, Calif., March 16 (AP)—The complete text of Secretary of State Dean Acheson's address today, a frank discussion of the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I wish to make a report to you about the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Now, the right and obligation of the Secretary of State to speak to his fellow citizens, or to the representatives of other nations, about our foreign relations is not derived from any claim on his part to special knowledge or wisdom which makes him right and other people wrong.

A President is elected under this Constitution with a heavy and solemn responsibility to direct the foreign relations of the American people. The President has, in accordance with law and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed a man to serve as Secretary of State to assist him in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

A little over thirty years ago there came into power in one of the great countries of the world a group of people who also claim the right to speak on your behalf. That claim was based not on any constitutional procedure, or on any expression of the will of those whose representatives they professed to be.

It is not fair, rather it is wrong, to say that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian system. It is a system which is based on the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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To Put It Another Way, U. S. Is No Prostachok

From the Herald Tribune Service LAKELAND, Fla., March 16.—What the United States doesn't want to be is a "prostachok" (Russian for "simpleton"). That is the way the Russians would understand Secretary of State Dean Acheson's "internationalist" speech tonight.

A respect for the expressed will of the majority is a fundamental principle of the United Nations Charter, and which pointed to practical steps which members should take to support the peace.

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American political leaders are driving their people toward a war with Russia because they have "no confidence in their own system."

Mr. Rogge said he disagreed with the World Committee of Peace Parliaments on two main points. The sentence to "put all the blame for the cold war upon the United States" and the conclusion that the United States is planning a war against Russia.

We must not slacken, rather we must reinvigorate, the kind of democratic efforts which are represented by the European Recovery Program, the North Atlantic Pact, the mutual defense assistance program, the Point 4 program for developing the world's new resources and assistance in creating the conditions necessary to a growing, many-sided exchange of the world's products.

We must recognize that our ability to achieve our purpose cannot rest alone on a desire for peace, but that it must be supported by the strength in peace which we have in our own hands.

We must not make the mistake, in other words, of using Soviet conduct as a standard for our own. Our efforts cannot be merely reactions to the moves by the Kremlin.

Progress is to be gained by the doing of the constructive things which give positive illustration to the principles by which we live.

The success of our efforts rests finally on our faith in ourselves and in the values for which this republic stands.

Mr. Rogge, who recently went to Moscow as vice-president of the World Committee of Peace Parliaments and became one of the few foreigners ever to speak before the Supreme Soviet (Parliament), said he disagreed with Communist members of the organization.

Mr. Rogge, one of the policy-makers for Henry Wallace's Progressive party, commented particularly on a speech by Friedrich Joliot-Curie, Communist atomic energy chief for France, yesterday at the opening of a Peace Parliaments conference.

"Propaganda of President Truman's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb," said Mr. Rogge. "I do not believe that he or other American leaders are planning any war."

Mr. Joliot-Curie had told delegates to the conference that the United States is planning a war against Russia.

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Books In Review

The 'New' Capitalism

AMERICAN CAPITALISM, By John K. Galbraith, Houghton Mifflin, \$3.00.

REVIEWED BY JACK CYPIN

This year bids fair to mark the beginning of a new era in the terminology of economists in the U.S. The term "capitalism" has apparently become respectable rather than marking its user as having been exposed to the Marxian heresy. The title of this book, by a former editor of *Fortune* and presently a Harvard professor, is a milestone in this direction compared, for example, to the NAM's two volumes in which the word was carefully avoided.

The difference in terminology is symptomatic of the gap between the sophisticated conservative and the "dinosaur" or reactionary type of conservative in the realm of ideas. Galbraith is civilized, reasonable and ready to admit obvious facts and go on from there. He eschews the NAM's tortured sophistries but attempts to develop the same thesis in a much more intelligent fashion.

That thesis is, the ability of private capitalism to operate better than any other economic or social order not only yesterday but also today and even perhaps tomorrow. This is especially true of private capitalism in the U.S.

Let me hasten to add that this "essay in social criticism" is not simply an apology for "things as they are." It builds a reasonable and recognizable model of capitalism in this country. While weak in discussion of inequality, the book shows a reasonable amount of thought given to the problems of concentration, unemployment and inflation. The critical weakness of the approach lies not so much in the model as in the mechanical way in which that model changes.

We have here again, on an institutional level, the search for an equilibrium which has been so characteristic of classical and neo-classical economic theory. Instead of the economic equilibrium so dear to the worshipers of the competitive market model, such as Von Mises, Hayek and the NAM, we now have a social equilibrium. But the emphasis is still upon the minimum amount of change in order to keep the model itself from changing. The assumption behind this reasoning is that the model has maximized human welfare in the past and will continue to do so.

Yet the assertion that private capitalism has maximized human welfare is almost as difficult to prove as Adam Smith's dictum that the competitive market "transforms private greed into public benefit." Even granting the correctness of each, it by no means follows that this will be true in the future.

In fact, the probability is that it will not be true on the basis of all past human experience. The history of social change indicates clearly that existing practices have always interfered with the ability to develop new practices better suited to changing conditions.

The critical test of Galbraith's approach is in the area of the concentration of economic power. This is the area which most economists of classical antecedents had managed to avoid even more successfully than that of economic instability, except for some lip service to the monopoly problem.

The Marxian, socialist and institutional heretics had this field

to themselves till its belated and naive analysis by the theorists of "oligopoly" or "competition among the few." It was the heretics who developed the concepts of "social conflict" and "social equilibrium" in the field of political economy. And these two concepts form the core for the idea of "countervailing power."

SOURCE OF POWER

Galbraith's discussion of economic power forms a pleasing contrast to that collection of slick sophistries issued by *Fortune* recently under the impressive title of "USA: The Permanent Revolution."

He is not coy in admitting that the old model of the economy, which "provided an almost perfect solution of the problem of power," has been superseded to the point of being useless. Price competition has declined to the level of impotence and corporate empires have become the typical examples and exemplars of "free enterprise" in the strategic part of our economy. The liberal "trust-busters," as represented by the TNEC, were "unable to approve of the economy . . . but equally . . . unable to embrace any alternative."

The necessity for an alternative to private capitalism was, however, underlined during this same period by the Great Depression. In fact, though Galbraith does not make this point as clearly as he should, the concern with private economic power by both "respectable" intellectuals and politicians did not become acute till it had failed them.

FAILURE OF RESPONSIBILITY

This failure of private capitalism, despite the disturbing concentration of private economic power, underlined the shortsightedness and lack of responsibility of the large businessmen. It developed a tendency among people, including classical economists, to abandon their utopian illusions about the benevolent paternalism of businessmen, who increasingly controlled the "automatic progress" that the "self-controlled market" was supposed to insure. The outstanding contribution in this area made by Keynes and his followers, in using national income analysis to develop a government full-employment policy, is evaluated rather over-optimistically by the author.

Yet he shows some signs of political realism when he discusses the roots of business hostility to the kind of government intervention which will be needed to prevent future unemployment. He points out that "Keynes was sufficiently unpalatable when he made depression and inflation, not adventitious or war-induced misfortunes, but normal occurrences. He went on

to make government the indispensable partner of business."

Let us see the extent to which the development of "countervailing power" can solve this dilemma: where the businessmen act on the political field to prevent government officials from saving private capitalism for them, Galbraith defines his concept as a process in which; " . . . the existence of market power creates an incentive to the organization of another position of power that neutralizes it."

RESTORING COMPETITION

This has involved the organization of the trade union movement, the farm bloc, the large retail business organizations and the cooperative movement. These have all acted to neutralize the concentrated power of manufacturing, processing and transport corporations and restore some degree of competition.

But only a part of this development of "countervailing power" involves the restoration of sufficient bargaining equality in the market to rehabilitate price competition. The more important side of this process involves the restoration of a political balance of power between various organized groups.

Thus, the political monopoly which large businessmen have had for so long is being weakened, here, as other groups move to organize their power positions. The resulting "pressure groups" transform economic conflicts into political and social conflict as differences in ideology grow between what began as "pressure groups."

This stems from the reluctance of businessmen to agree to the kind of program which might preserve the maximum degree of private ownership and control compatible with the welfare of the rest of the population. By opposing intervention by business-minded government officials to minimize the instability, inequality and concentration of power growing out of the operation of private capitalism today they virtually assure such intervention tomorrow, by less sympathetic government officials who will be more representative of the increasingly anti-business sections of the population.

This eventual conflict of ideologies leading to social change has been virtually lost sight of by Galbraith. Because he was concentrating on discovering equilibrium rather than the direction of economic and social change, he overlooked the obvious implications of his own theory.

These implications are in the direction of state capitalism or democratic socialism, depending on the kind of social conflict which develops and the effectiveness of solutions to problems offered by various political groups.

FORD FUND REPORTS ON BEHAVIOR WORK

Over Half of Division's Outlays
Since 1951 Went to Improve
Competence of Scientists

With a solution of "pressing problems of human welfare" its primary concern, the Ford Foundation's behavioral sciences division reported yesterday it had spent more than half its funds since 1951 for improving the competence of behavioral scientists.

Bernard Berelson, division director, disclosed in a seventy-one-page report that the funds were being used to support research and training projects aimed at increasing and applying scientific knowledge of human conduct to practical affairs.

Of an allocation of \$7,201,300, the foundation expended \$4,558,000 to improve the knowledge of those seeking precise solutions. The largest single amount—\$3,500,000—was appropriated for the establishment and support for five years of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. The foundation has not yet determined where to locate the center.

Embraces Many Studies

Mr. Berelson defined these sciences as denoting all "intellectual activities that contribute more or less directly to the scientific understanding of problems of individual behavior and human relations." Their scope embraces psychology, anthropology, sociology, political science and other social sciences, as well as geography, biology, law, medicine, education and journalism.

The division is one of the five set up by the foundation's trustees in 1950.

The other four are concerned with the establishment of peace, the strengthening of democracy, the strengthening of economy and the advancement of education. A

total of \$1,475,000 was allocated last year to programs dealing with such problems.

But the main emphasis last year was given to projects aimed at improving the competence of behavioral scientists. The Center for Advanced Study, the report states, will concentrate on the post-doctoral training of young scientists to help meet the need of universities for highly competent teachers and researchers.

Law Studies Supported

A grant of \$200,000 was made to support the work of Drs. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of the Harvard Law School, who are trying to find ways to detect potential delinquency in young children, so that such children might receive preventive care at an early age.

The University of Chicago Law School received a grant of \$400,000 for a four-year research program designed to relate the techniques of the behavioral sciences to legal problems.

A grant of \$875,000 went to the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for a four-year research program dealing with "how people's behavior and attitudes toward foreign countries are affected by the international transmission of information and ideas."

The foundation also granted funds for fellowships, research apprenticeships, inter-university exchanges of teachers and graduate students and other projects for recruiting and training.

Grants totaling \$680,000 also were made last year in such fields as child development, communication and political behavior.

Shaw Memorial Plan Dropped

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., Aug. 8—An appeal by a British committee, formed soon after the death of George Bernard Shaw in 1950, to raise \$700,000 for a memorial to the playwright, has been a "disastrous flop," Dr. Archibald Henderson, professor emeritus of the University of North Carolina and Shaw biographer, declared today. He said only \$2,800 was raised and the project had been abandoned.

Men and Women of Mountain and Plain

Tales of Americans Who "Turned the Tough Breaks Their Way"



Mountain Medicine Man



The Smoke Jumpers



Paul Revere Was a Piker



King of the Steer Ropers

Illustrations by H. Ray Baker from "Rocky Mountain Empire"

ROCKY MOUNTAIN EMPIRE: From the pages of the "Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine" of "The Denver Post." Edited by Elvon L. Howe. Foreword by Palmer Hoyt. 272 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. \$3.

Reviewed by
THOMAS HORNSBY FERRIS

"ROCKY MOUNTAIN EMPIRE" is a lively inventory of Western life, twenty-eight selections by seventeen writers of stories which have appeared during the last four years in the "Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine" of "The Denver Post."

This miscellany ranges over Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. Only a few of the writers wear the West on their sleeves, nor does the book have any flavor of yesterday's newspaper. To me their accomplishment is first rate, as illuminating to regional people like myself as to those unfamiliar with this area.

The foregoing point, what "The Post" is doing to give Westerners new access to their own meanings, deserves some explanation.

"The Post," started in 1892, had always been a phenomenal newspaper. The story of its founders Harry S. Tamm and F. G. Bonfile, as romanticized by Gene Fowler in "Timberline," would have been even more fantastic if told more accurately. The paper became rich and powerful but, after the passing of Tamm and Bonfile, grew to be so tightly ritualized that it was often myopic toward its own West while the outer world, as seen by "The Post," was mostly barbarian. This was what Palmer Hoyt walked in on when he left "The Portland Oregonian" to become publisher of "The Post" in 1946. Hoyt promptly set about to widen the horizons and look at the local scene with fresh eyes: "Post" reporters were soon flying all over the globe while their colleagues were rediscovering the Western States.

The best of this regional ore was smelted in "The Empire Magazine," founded in 1946 with Elvon L. Howe as editor. Howe was soon aided by Bill Hosokawa, an excellent writer from Seattle, and Fred Gipson, the Texas genius who wrote "Hound Dog Man."

Of these twenty-eight stories, all but one, Fred Gipson's psychic

idyll of a child's first break with home, are descriptive narration. A dominant theme is personal resourcefulness: men and women of mountain and plain who have turned the tough breaks their way, made loneliness endurable and put guts into the platitude that the greatest happiness comes from service to others.

The reader comes to know the doctor, the priest, the Navajo, the dust-bowl school teacher, the forest-fire parachute jumper, the old-timer who whacked out the rail-

road ties, the fellow who chases meteorites, the man who sells Wyoming jade to the Orient, the steer roper, the lady jack-whacker, the man who captured the last long-horn yet didn't, the big surgeon all a man's neighbors couldn't land, truck drivers on high passes, ranch wives alone in winter, all kinds of people plagued by snow; and what it's like to live with the bomb at Los Alamos, to save a railroad single-handed, to lick tuberculosis and become a famous author, to run a paper with no deadlines, to rope cattle and hunt mountain lions, to be the heroine of a town where nearly all the women are widows, or to meet up with a gentle cottage-camp proprietor who was once Wyoming's

most notorious train robber. This is sampling, not summary—but you will certainly know the modern West better after reading this good book.

The foreword is by Palmer Hoyt. The authors are Elvon L. Howe, Bill Hosokawa, Fred Gipson, James C. G. Conniff, Ken Byerly, Don Davis, Jane Truc, Edith Endora Kohl, Eyan Edwards, Franklin Reynolds, Gene Lindberg, Rebecca Tyson Northen, William J. Barker, Blaine Littell, Doris Gruenwald, Marian Talmadge and Iris Gilmore. The drawings have been done by H. Ray Baker.

Thomas Hornsby Ferris, essayist and poet, is an editor of "The Rocky Mountain Herald."

Program for a Healthy Capitalism

Linked With Our Free Institutions, It Deserves to Survive—and Can

MAKING CAPITALISM WORK: A Program for Preserving Freedom and Stabilizing Prosperity. By Dexter M. Keezer and Associates. 316 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.50.

Reviewed by
LOUIS HACKER

AFTER the dismal analyses of the ten years 1936-45 (America had become a mature economy; it was incapable of converting all its savings into investments; business fluctuations were occurring more frequently and depressions were becoming deeper; monopoly was spreading and choking enterprise) one notes with interest the growing numbers of those economists who no longer view with alarm

Despite our details, Europe has always had a powerful hold on the American mind; and as Americans contemplated the depression and looked to the war's end with misgiving, it was small wonder that they turned to Europe for guidance. But Europe held out little hope: its confidence in man's rationality was slipping; its faith in democratic institutions also shaken. In politics E. H. Carr, in public policy Karl Polanyi, in morals and business behavior Joseph Schumpeter, in economics J. M. Keynes; these voices—powerful, compelling, highly cultured—called upon Americans, as they themselves were prepared to do, to abandon old gods and seek out new ones. New? Not quite; but the regulated economy (with or without Socialism) these Europeans preached was only a throwback to the mercantilism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. True, mercantilism had stifled innovation, rejected the dignity of human labor, maintained full employment only through the poorhouse, corrupted the state. No matter; men were sick unto death of the mischances associated with the marketplace and now wanted only security and stability even if achieving these also meant the fastening of poverty on the West for all time.

Mr. Keezer and his associates clearly have escaped from this bondage; as have also Sumner Slichter, Harold G. Moulton, Edwin G. Nourse, George Terborgh, David McC. Wright. Of this group, Mr. Keezer and his friends are the most sanguine. The troubled world in which we live holds no terrors for them; we can survive—in the face of the greatest ideological threat to settled institutions appearing since the Protestant Reformation—if we can keep our house in order.

Capitalism is worthy of survival; it is linked inextricably with free institutions, technological daring

and progress and advancing standards of living. It can survive if it is ready to maintain a climate favorable to capital formation, keeping the doors open to new talent and young, risk-taking enterprisers.

How do this? Say our authors: the Federal tax structure needs complete overhauling (the proposals advanced are simple and sensible); present laws on the statute books to preserve and protect fair competition require more realistic and effective enforcement (attacking bigness alone is yielding before populist clamor); Americans should be prepared to invest heavily overseas in the economies of underdeveloped countries (given, of course, the necessary legal safeguards). The key to policy is high private investment.

The authors are not unaware—nor do they disapprove—of the

expanding functions of the modern state and the need for the extension of the social services. Such obligations we must accept; through personal savings, co-operative efforts, group practices; but our responsibilities dare not exceed our capacities to create wealth. Here is the nub of the matter; the world needs more rather than less capital plant; the problem of gyertime is the beating out of a public and private code of law and manners under which risky investment by many small firms can occur. The authors are confident Americans can do it.

The book is a storehouse of information as well as a guide for the perplexed.

Louis Hacker, professor of economics, Columbia University, is the author of "The Triumph of American Capitalism," etc.

A Young and Vital Novelist

SO MANY DOORS. By Oakley Hall. 302 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.

Reviewed by
MARGARET EVANS

"SO MANY DOORS," by Oakley Hall, displays a vigor and a tempered skill that are outstanding in the work of a first novelist and not too common among more experienced writers. Like a hound dog hot on the trail of a wily fox, Mr. Hall circles his story, running it now from the right, now from the left, closing in steadily, finally cornering it, making it yield up its full motive and meaning, and then lie quiet, wholly expressed. And one striking thing about the technique of this story-hunt of Mr. Hall's is that we know the outcome, roughly, from the beginning, have had it provisioned for us and our interest in it heightened by a foretaste of its resolution in Chapter One.

"So Many Doors" is a small, strong, vital novel dealing in a young man's way with subject-matter with which the young are, perforce, obsessively preoccupied. It is the story of young Jack Ward, a "cat skinner," a Californian, geographically mobile as so many Californians are, bulldozing his way up and down the state from Bakersfield to Dago, doing his stint with the Marines in the Pacific, and coming back to his girl V. No, most particularly not coming back to V again. That he had promised himself he would not do, V's hold on him, both as a long-legged, beautiful young female and as a sexual partner was too strong; it humiliated him, violated him, somehow, threatened

his independence. And V, who at the beginning had been a passionate giver, offering her innocence, her love, her place as the daughter of the house on her father's ranch to this bold lover, had to learn how to deal with Jack's resistance—had to learn how to taunt, to withhold herself, to challenge, to make jealous. But that did not work too well either. In spite of the unbreakable bond between them, each hopelessly, bitterly married some one else. And three people paid a terrible price for the kind of error that the strongly driven fall into when wilfulness and pride win a savourless victory over love.

Mr. Hall does not cut and chop either the words or the acts of his personae in "So Many Doors." This story of a young, obsessive love is about love and sex and real young people, full of sap and arrogance and desire, who talk, act and feel as young people do. Its setting is the Hitching Post, the familiar smoke-filled bar where the gang foregathers, cheap rooming-houses, and California out-of-doors, from the Baird ranch, where V grew up on horseback, to the C. C. C. camp and the Kearney Mesa where Jack and the fellows he palled around with did their massive work of regrading, remaking California.

Both narrative and setting are admirably handled, and the practical value of the novel is considerably fortified by the author's clear indication that even for a pair of wilful and importunate young lovers like Jack and V there is a right door, too, which they might have chosen among "So Many Doors."

34

On the Books On an Author

By JOHN K. HUTCHENS



One Thing and Another

FROM Beverly Hills, Stephen Longstreet advises that an excerpt here from his "Los Angeles Daily News" review of T. S. Elliot's " Cocktail Party" didn't adequately convey the point he was trying to make—i. e., that Mr. Elliot is "the world's greatest living poet but almost its worst thinker." And, while he is at it, Mr. Longstreet obliges with a note on the state of culture "during the last days of television's death grip on Hollywood. . . . Panic has hit heaven, and people are turning to reading. Ten per cent of all books sold in America are sold around Los Angeles and more first editions and rare editions and rare books are eaten here by silver fish and termites than any place in the world."

"The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser" is conducting what it calls a "plodding search for an Alabamian who has written and sold a novel without the manufacturing aids of the (Hudson) Strode Novel Works" at State University down there. No luck yet. Thought they had a possibility in Haywood Patterson, author of "Scottsboro Boy," who never attended Mr. Strode's class, but Mr. Patterson turned out to be not a native Alabamian; nor is "Scottsboro Boy" a novel.

In a little essay on this page awhile back about Helen Howe, her mother's name was given as Fanny Huntington Howe, and a number of Bostonians (resident or ex-) have written to say that the full, correct name is Fanny Huntington Quincy Howe. They are, of course, right. Among them is William B. Munro, historian and political scientist, now of Pasadena, Calif., who is further reminded that a scholarly wit once essayed to Latinize the name of Miss Howe's father, Mark Anthony De Wolfe Howe. It came out "Marcus Antonius de Lupus Quam, et Quam," says Mr. Munro, adding that this exercise took place at the Tavern Club in—where else?—Boston.

Added Starters

AND here are a few more titles on the late summer-early autumn lists, in addition to those noted last week:

August: "Faster! Faster!" by Patrick Blair, a first novel by a young English writer. (Viking) . . . Malcolm Ross's "The Man Who Lived Backward," a fantasy by the author of "Death of a Yale Man," (Farrar, Straus) . . . A new French author, Francois Boyer, is introduced with a short novel, "The Secret Game." (Harcourt, Brace.)

September: "The Year of the Oath," by George R. Stewart and other professors at the University of California, discusses the controversial issue of the loyalty oath demanded of teachers at that institution. (Doubleday) . . . In "Our Jungle Rush to Tokyo" General Robert L. Eichelberger, with the collaboration of Milton MacKaye, tells the story of the Army's ground war in the Pacific. (Viking) . . . "The Truman Merry-Go-Round," promising red faces at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, is by Robert S. Allen (co-author of the famous "Washington Merry-Go-Round" of irreverent memory) and William V. Shannon. (Vanguard) . . . "Purple Passage," by Emily Hahn, a biographical novel about Aphra Behn, that lively seventeenth-century Englishwoman. (Doubleday) . . . "Born Evil," a second novel by William Gardner Smith, author of the well-received "Last of the Conquerors." (Farrar, Straus).

Market Place

THE Literary Guild's November choice (they really work ahead over there) is Thomas B. Costain's new novel, "Son of a Hundred Kings," to be published by Doubleday on Oct. 27; the story of an English boy in Canada in the 1890's. It is Mr. Costain's second Guild selection; his first, the enormously successful "The Black Rose." . . . Van H. Carlmell, Vincent T. Smith and Vic Schwab have resigned as executives of the Garden City Publishing Company to form a book sales organization. . . . The "Publishers Weekly" calculators say the first six months of this year brought a total of 5,121 new books, and new editions of old books. Total for the corresponding period last year: 4,916.

Lillian Russell Ever Write a Book?

THE most beautiful author of 1950 (all right, the year is only 187/365 gone, but that still stands and may even include 1951) went home to Virginia the other day to be there when her first book, "Virginia Reel," was published, and a re-



porter for "The Richmond News-Leader" made an astute observation.

"Those who meet Virginia Gilbert here today probably will want to read her book, if only to see if any one that pretty can write," said the reporter.

The autographing party went ahead, and, sure enough, it appeared that the Lippincott people have the most glamorous touring attraction since the early Kathleen Winsor. If she had to, Mrs. Gilbert could also sing, dance and act, as you know if you have read her cheerful fable of her girlhood in Clifton Forge, Va. She has also been a Powers model, and how many of those do you think there are there in the Authors League of America?

In recent years she has been in summer

stock with the Lakewood Players in Pennsylvania, but now, what with one thing and another, including a newly acquired old house in Connecticut and a new career as author, she isn't thinking much about the theatre, she says. With her husband, Edwin Gilbert (he wrote "The Squirrel Cage" and "Damion's Daughter"), she will try some short stories, and there may be a sequel to "Virginia Reel." For instance, her mother, who in "Virginia Reel" was trading piano lessons for groceries, is now in Hollywood selling lessons for cash to the children of movie stars. The sister who used to sit around modeling elves now runs a ceramic factory. And Mrs. Gilbert is a success, as of course the hometown folks knew all along she would be.

Or, as the "News-Leader" reporter put it, "Mrs. Gilbert's bid for national attention was not totally unanticipated by persons in Clifton Forge."

The Magazines

IN PARIS, where so many of the little magazines used to begin life, another one is announced by David Barnett, son of Martha Foley and Whit Burnett, who launched "Story" in Europe some twenty years ago. To be devoted entirely to short stories, this one will be called "New-Story," with offices at 29 Place Dauphine. . . . Another, the new Dublin review called "Envoy," is actually breaking even now after six issues—which is six times as many issues as a lot of avant-garde periodicals live to publish. Explanation by Michael Horton, associate editor: "We issued no manifesto." . . . "Harper's Magazine" will celebrate its centennial in October, and one of its festive features



of the number will concern the contributors who used to illustrate their own stories. Some pretty good ones, too, including Mark Twain and William M. Thackeray.



E. K. Anderson

J. Saunders Redding

IF YOU ask J. Saunders Redding what, in the course of a busy life, he takes most pride in, he characteristically mentions his wife and two sons, his Phi Beta Kappa membership, and the invitation he accepted last fall as visiting Professor of English at Brown University, his old home as an undergraduate and graduate student. A writer's books, he really seems to feel, should speak for themselves.

The Redding books that have spoken for themselves are "To Make a Poet Black," an appraisal of Negro literature from the Negro point of view (1939); "No Day of Triumph," the chronicle of a Negro's pilgrimage through the modern South (1942); "Stranger and Alone," a first novel (last February); and now "They Came in Chains," a history of the Negro in America, the latest volume in Lippincott's Peoples of America Series.

Writing well, he also writes slowly. Having received a 1945-46 Guggenheim Fellowship to do "Stranger and Alone," he used up the money and his year's leave of absence from Hampton Institute (where he is regularly on the faculty) without having finished his book. For the next two years he scheduled his classes for the afternoon, arose at 4 a. m. and worked to 11 a. m. on his novel. "They Came in Chains" was done on about the same schedule.

He was born in Wilmington, Del. in 1906. One of his grandmothers, he noted in one of his books, was an ex-slave who hated all whites—and with reason. The other had three generations of freedom behind her, said "Good morning" as if she were pronouncing the will of God. All the grandchildren went to college in the North. Saunders Redding's first stop being at Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, for a year. Then Brown, class of '28, for his undergraduate degree and his M.A., with three years of teaching at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., in between.

For he is first of all a teacher—at Southern University, Baton Rouge, 1934-'36, at State Teachers College, North Carolina, for six years after that, before going to Hampton. No one, it is generally conceded, knows more than he about the Negro in American literature, as indicated when he was invited to deliver the annual Phi Beta Kappa lecture at Hunter College last winter. An earlier honor came to him when, after "No Day of Triumph," he received the Mayflower Society Award for "distinguished writing by a resident of North Carolina."

But when he arrived at his alma mater last year, the first Negro ever to be appointed to its faculty, reporters had a tough time getting anything out of him.

"I just hate to speak ex cathedra, so to speak," he said. "I'm terribly green at this sort of thing and it takes quite a bit of time to explain some of these matters."

NEW YORK Herald Tribune BOOK REVIEW

Edited by IRITA VAN DOREN

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ROCKY MOUNTAIN EMPIRE, edited by Elvon L. Howe. Reviewed by Thomas Hornsby Ferril.	4
MAKING CAPITALISM WORK, by Dexter M. Keeter and Associates. Reviewed by Louis Hacker.	4
SO MANY DOORS, by Oakley Hall. Reviewed by Margaret Evans.	4
THE LITTLE PRINCESSES, by Marion Crawford. Reviewed by Florence Haxton Bullock.	5
MORE YESTERDAYS, by Rebekah Kohut. Reviewed by Frances Witherspoon.	5
THEY CAME IN CHAINS, by J. Saunders Redding. Reviewed by Worth Tuttle Hedden.	6
FOLLOW ME DOWN, by Shelby Foote. Reviewed by John J. Maloney.	6
FRUIT AMONG THE LEAVES, edited by Samuel C. Chew. Reviewed by Walter Prichard Eaton.	7
THE UNITED STATES AND SCANDINAVIA, by Franklin D. Scott. Reviewed by Marjula Childs.	8
TIME OF HOPE, by C. P. Snow. Reviewed by James Hiltou.	10
THE DOG STAR, by Donald Windham. Reviewed by John J. Maloney.	10
THE WILD WIND, by Marjorie Sinclair. Reviewed by Louise Townsend Nicholl.	10

STILL THE HEART SINGS, by Ronald Kirkbride. Reviewed by Mary Edas.	10
THE SMALL HOURS OF THE NIGHT, by Timothy Angus Jones. Reviewed by Florence Haxton Bullock.	10
THE CELEBRATED CASE OF FITZ JOHN PORTER, by Otto Elenschimi. Reviewed by Henry Steele Commager.	12
MARGARET DREIER ROBINS, by Mary E. Dezer. Reviewed by Elinore Herrick.	12
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THE HILL OF GLASS, by Catherine Whitcomb. Reviewed by Mary Ross.	13
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LONDON, PARIS SEE NO SOVIET CHANGE

New Policies Not Expected to Come From Party Shifts, Held Facade Alteration

LONDON, Aug. 23—British reports on Soviet affairs today... Paris, Aug. 23—The French... The British experts observed that in getting rid of the Politburo and the Central Committee...



ALING ROYALTY: The Duke of Windsor, suffering from an attack of gastroenteritis, was aided by the Duchess and a detective when he arrived in Paris last Sunday from Italy. At the right is the Duke's secretary, Vladimir Wladimirovich.

MALENKOV IN FORE TO SUCCEED STALIN

Continued From Page 1

by the Soviet press, which carried a large picture of him... Mr. Malenkov's main strength in the race for the succession is believed to lie in three facts...

First, he obtained his initial prominence in the Soviet hierarchy as one of Premier Stalin's personal assistants in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs... Second, Mr. Malenkov has secured many important party and Government assignments since the end of the war...

Air Force Releases Pilot's Last Message During Fatal Pursuit of Aerial 'Object'

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AIM HELD SECURE SUCCESSION

By DREW BISHLETON

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NATO COUNCIL SEES '52 GOAL BEING MET

Defense Targets Are Expected to Be Approximately Gained—43 French Cut Seen

By HAROLD CALLENDER

PARIS, Aug. 23—Disturbed by reports that the defense goals set for 1952 by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization... The experts thought it quite possible that Mr. Stalin would become chairman of the Politburo...

PARIS, Aug. 23—Changing the Politburo into a Presidium and retaining the Communist party will not in any way alter the form or system of the Soviet Government...

CHINA AND IRAN CITED AS OPIUM OFFENDERS

China and Iran were accused yesterday of violating opium adoptions in the United States.

Deputy Inspector Peter B. Terranova, chief of the Police Bureau of Narcotics, told members of the sixth annual Institute on Narcotics Control at New York University...

BRITAIN ALLOTS FLOOD AID

Cabinet Assigns \$70,000, Plans to Build Sea Wall

LONDON, Aug. 23 (Reuters)—The Government will make an immediate grant of £500,000 (£70,000) to victims of the floods that hit several villages in Devon and Somerset last week-end.

MOW PAPERS FOUND IN HOME OF WIFE

Continued From Page 1

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24 WEST FIFTY SEVENTH



Thursday memo for working girls

Take nylon and wool separates for the prettiest bit of practicality and fashion combined. It's wonderful, looks like worsted, resists creases. Peter pan blouse 17.95 Pleated skirt 29.95 Gray in sizes 10 to 18 Sports Fifth Floor New York Chicago Cleveland Boston White Plains

Bonwit Teller invites you to see our New Fall 1952 Fashions featured in Glamour Magazine. Commented by Miss Joan Paley. Glamour Editor. Miss Joy Gottschalk, contest prize winner will be introduced and will model the cover costume. Thursday, August 21st at 5:35 p.m. on our Fourth Floor

Young Timers with wedding bells on the agenda will make a bee-line for our Trozeen Ensemble. Following tradition, it's of gleaming satin—silk and tulle. Following in the modern, it's topped and hemmed in a frill of nylon net sprinkled with tiny blossoms that have make-believe jewel centers. White or pale blue... sizes 12 to 36. Gown, \$22.95... Paigour, \$23.00.

MUNKÁSFRONT

HARC A MUNKANÉLKÜLISÉG ELLEN

KANADA számos iparágában, de főleg a textil-, autó- és mezőgazdasági gépiparban félelmetesen növekedik a munkások elbocsátása és számos jele mutatkozik annak, hogy a legtöbb ilyen esetben a tartós munkanélküliség következik be. Ugyanakkor a további elbocsátások veszélye, valamint a részidő munka is nagyobb méretűvé válik, ami mind azt mutatja, hogy a gazdasági válság fekélye mind mélyebbre eszi be magát Kanada gazdasági életébe.

A harmincas nyomorévek tapasztalatából tanulva azonban, a szervezett munkásság nem nézi karbatett kézzel a veszedelmet. A fegyverkezéssel és tényleges háborúval keltett mesterséges illúziók oszlófélben vannak; bebizonyosodva áll ma már sok munkás előtt, hogy a háborús gazdaság a dolgozó nép elszegényedését és a monopóliókészek megszirosodását eredményezi; kezdik meglátni, hogy a háborús gazdaság nem oldja meg a válságot, sőt még mélyebbre taszít abba, s hogy az imperialisták még nagyobb fegyverkezéssel és egy szörnyű mérszárszékkel számítják mégis »megoldani« a válságot és munkanélküliséget.

A helyzet súlyosságát mutatja a szakszervezetek által az elmúlt hetekben tett lépések sorozata. A Textile Workers Union of America (CCL) nov. 7-én küldöttséget vezetett Ottawába és C. D. Howe kereskedelmi miniszter elé tárta a textiliparban uralkodó súlyos helyzetet. A küldöttség 3-pontos program elfogadását követelte a kormánytól: 1. Tegyenek lépéseket a kanadai textilipar megmentésére a külföldi dömpinggel szemben; 2. akadályozzák meg az elbocsátásokat és 3. a kormány vesse el azt a tervét, melynek célja, hogy leszállítsa a vámokat a U.S. által megszállt Japánból importált textilárúkra.

Az előterjesztett felirat némi képet ad a textilipar helyzetéről. A hamiltoni textilgyárak között a Canadian Cotton Ltd. 1000 munkásából mindössze 80 dolgozik 5 napos munkahetet, a Cosmos Imperial 2-4 napot dolgoztat egy héten, a Mercury Mills a 600 munkásból 300-at elbocsátott, a Hamilton Cotton Mills a 600 munkásának jórésztét készül elbocsátani. A galti pamutszövő 500 munkást bocsátott el. Simcoe, Trenton és Perth gyapjuszövő gyárak csökkentették a termelést. Kingstonban a selyemszövőből 200 munkást adtak le. Torontóban egyes ruhagyárakat lezártak, a nőruhagyártás csökken. Quebecben a Dominion Textile egyik gyárában a 2200 munkásból 550-et bocsátottak el. Itt is és a legtöbb helyen az amerikai textildömpinget okozzák a válságot. Több helyen a szakszervezetek lépéseit a városi hatóságok is támogatják.

A hivatalos statisztika szerint 1953-ban eddig 14 textil cég jutott esődbe s az alkalmazott munkások száma 100.000-ról 85.000-re csökkent.

Az autó- és mezőgazdasági gépiparban működő UAW (autómunkás unió) a legtöbb helyen azonnali hatályos lépésekre sürgeti a kormányt a mind nagyobb méreteket öltő munkanélküliséggel szemben. A windsori egyesített 195-ös lokál nov. 15-én táviratban követelte a kormánytól, hogy haladéktalanul kössön üzletet Kínával és napirendre tette a 35-órás munkahét kérdését. Brantfordon, ahol minden 5-ik munkás munka nélkül van, a UAW közmunkákat, vagy a munkanélküli biztosítás felemelését követelte a kormánytól. St. Catharinesben a UAW 199-es lokálja a hatóságokhoz fordult, s városi segély kérdését vetette fel, mivel a McKinnon gyárból leadott 800 munkás között soknak már a munkanélküli biztosítása is fogytán van. Ugyanakkor nagy állami közmunkák elindítását követelik. Oshawán a GM-nál az exportra csomagoló üzemből lezárták, s valami 1000 ember marad munka nélkül. A mezőgazdasági gépiparban tovább folynak a leadások Torontóban, Hamiltonban, Wellandon, Chathamban és más helyeken.

Nova Scotiában és New Brunswickban 25.000 munkanélküli acélmunkás és szénbányász van hivatalosan nyilvántartva. A bányászszakszervezet (UMWA) élesen kritizálja a kormányt, mert amíg itt a bányákat teljesen lezárták, Amerikából millió tonnaszámba hozzák be a dömpingszenet.

A wellandi Electro Metal (fűstös) a normális 1400 munkaeső létszámát a felére csökkentette. Hamiltonban a Westinghouse bocsátott el 300 munkást — mindkettő a UE-ba van szervezve.

Az ontáriói gumigyárak csökkentik a traktor-gumikerék gyártását. Ugyanakkor a gumi lábbelikre is csökken a kereslet.

Toronto, Kitchener és Barrie cipőgyárain üzleti zuhanásról jelentenek. Ontárióban és Quebecben mind több embert bocsátanak el a vasutakról, egyre csökkentik a pályafenntartó és műhelyi személyzetet.

Ezek az adatok azonban nem mutatják meg a teljes képet a mind nyomasztóbbá váló munkanélküli helyzetről, sem a keleti tartományokban, sem az egész országot tekintve. S a kilátások minden nap rosszabbak. A torontói munkaközvetítő hivatal vezetője például a múlt héten arról beszélt, hogy Nagy-Toronto területén a munkanélküliek száma január végéig legalább 30.000-re fog szaporodni. B. C.-ban az a kilátás, hogy a következő pár hónapban minden 10 munkásból hat munka

AMERIKA DIKTÁLTA A KANADAI BÜNTETŐTÖRVÉNYKÖNYV MÓDOSÍTÁSÁT

MOST, amikor az egész józan világ megbotránkozással s némi irónikus humorral figyeli az amerikai mcarthyizmus örjöngő tobzódását, ami csak az eszközeiben és módszereiben különbözik valamit, de a szellemében ugyanaz a fasiszta örület, amit Hitlerék éppen husz esztendeje indítottak el és gazoltak le mindenkit, aki nem rogyott térdre esztelenségük előtt, azt látjuk, hogy Kanada népére is ezeket a hitleri mcarthyista fattyakcsöcselékét akarják rászabadítani.

Az egész tragi-komédiának a legbizonyosabb jele az a tény, hogy a kanadai kormányzat is be lett illesztve a mcarthyista ügyminiszterét az orosz szovjet »kém«-ek közé. S az a tény, hogy az a Peary megtorló parameposztó len pill az áld

A módosított gazdasági hingtaknak. Gazsáb

Allamok kormányánál jeztették itt elő. Ez St. Laurent miniszter lágossá, mikor a kor a bérbead ményének a gyestült All hogy K

A verseny tovább élénkül

(Folytatás az 1. oldalról)
 azve \$426.27-t számoltak
 tagok. Ebből 279 dollár
 klapokból való, 147.27
 akcióból.

Fallsou nyerhessük meg.
 S. Begella

HAMILTON: Újabb 145 dollár a kampányra

A sikeres megnyitó akci-
 ónk után a kampánymunka
 általában is jól folyik. Az
 Emléklapokat a bizottság
 totta és még kérünk
 ből a 25-ösből és
 ből.

munkáért mindazoknak, a-
 kik elősegítették a bál sike-
 rét.

Az Emléklapokat is meg-
 kaptuk és az árusításuk
 megkezdődött, de ennek az
 eredményéről nem tudunk
 jelteni csak később.

J. Kerekes

LONDON: \$50 beköszöntésül

Mi londoniak is életjelt a-
 dunk magunkról, bár nem
 tehetjük úgy, mint a na-
 gyobb városok 100 dolláros
 adományokkal, de amit le-
 het megteszünk, hogy a
 Munkás 25 éves jubileumi
 pályát a magunk részé-
 kére tessék.

egyéni adomány-
 duk díszked-
 klapok eladá-
 az első 50
 k a kvó-
 ni, ami
 szik, de

vást tehát elfogadjuk.

A munkatervünkben az
 Emléklapok árusításán kívül
 van egy nagyobb szabásu
 mulatság és egy bankett
 rendezése, ezekről majd
 hírt adunk, amikor sorra ke-
 rül a megtartásuk.

F. Csotneci

CALGARY: \$98.20 akcióból a kampányra

A kampánymunkát Calga-
 ryban is megkezdtek, az el-
 ső küldeményünk 98.20, a-

mely akciók eredménye.
 Tervbe van véve több akció
 rendezése a kampány folya-
 mán. Az Emléklapok árusí-
 tása is elég jól indult, bár
 nagyobb egyéni adományok-
 ra kevés kilátásunk van, de
 majd később tudódik ki ez
 is. Abban azonban bízunk,
 hogy jó eredményünk lesz
 a kisebb adományokkal.

Jelentést időről-időre kül-
 dünk a kampány alatt, be-
 számolunk a munkánk me-
 netéről és az elért ered-
 ményről.

F. Simon

HUSZONÖT ÉVÜNK

— Visszaemlékezések —

AZ »ÉHES HARMINCAS« évek kibontakozó gazdasági
 válságának előestéjén, pontosabban 1929 július 16-án,
 az ontáriói Hamilton acélvárosból indult történelmi ut-
 jára lapunk, a »Kanadai Magyar MUNKÁS«. Az indu-
 laskor szerkesztője Dohány József, ügyvezetője Kristóff
 Ferenc volt, Botos István, Baxsó Ferenc, Nyerkó Gyula,
 Jánosik Béla, Balogh Sámuel, Princz György, stb., vala-
 mint a már fellendülő betegségyelzómozgalomnál műkö-
 dő Král József, Pásztor Miklós, Mélykuty Ferenc, Blitz-
 man Imre és mások közreműködésével.

»Néhány szürke, rongyos, fáradttestű proletár, áldo-
 zatkész munkások támogatásával alkotta meg a »Kana-
 dai Magyar Munkás«-t, a kanadai magyar dolgozók szó-
 szólóját«, olvassuk a 6-oldalas, kislakú első szám ár-
 guló papírján, az »A MI LAPUNK« című első vezércikk
 bevezetését.

Az első oldalon a MUNKÁS-fej cím mellett jobbra
 keretben ez áll: »HARCOLUNK — Az új Világháború
 ellen! A nemzetközi fasizmus ellen! A munkásosztály
 felszabadításáért!« Jobbra pedig ez áll: »CELUNK —
 A szervezetenek megszervezése és a munkásság políti-
 kai nevelése!«

Ennek rövidesen 25 éve, és a mai időknek megfelelő
 kiszélesítéssel ma is maradéktalanul helytálló.

A lapnak már az első száma is — hirdás és ut-
 mutatás mellett — leleplezik a főellenség mellett a ma-
 gyar dolgozók közvetlen ellenségeit: a csalással, félre-
 vezetéssel dolgozó különböző magyar ügytököket. A
 magyar reakció felhorkant, megrémült a dolgozók szó-
 szólójától — futottak Montrealba, Winnipegre a Horthy-
 konzulokhoz, majd Ottawába, hogy a »Munkás« ellen
 segítséget, intézkedést kérjenek.

Erről írva, a lap harmadik, már nagyobbalakú 1929
 aug. 1-i számának 2. oldalán így végződik a szerkesztő
 cikke: »Rágalom, denúciálás jut részünkre ellensége-
 inktől. Becsülés, szeretet a dolgozó munkástömegek ré-
 széről. — Így van és így is lesz ez, míg osztályharc
 lesz . . . «

Az első számmal az első oldal első hasábján szati-
 rikus rovat indult »Hétről-hétre« címmel. A rovat elsője
 így kezdődik: »Gyászjelentést kaptunk Torontóból. A je-
 lentés úgy szól, hogy összeütközés következtében halálos
 sérülést kapott a Kanadai Magyar Hirlap, amit kórház-
 ba szállítottak, de az orvosi műtét nem használt és ki-
 szenvedett ebből az árnyékvilágból. Az összeütközés ott
 kezdődött, hogy ez a torzszülött minden munkás érdek-
 nek ellensége volt firkászain keresztül . . . A munkások
 kérgecs ökle, egységes akarata súlyos sebet ejtett a ma-
 gyar fasizták táborán . . . «

A »bucsuztatóban« a rovatvezető figyelmeztet: a
 kimúlt reakciós lap »Sirhantjairól jusson mindenki eszé-
 be, hogy így jár az, aki a munkások ellensége.« A ka-
 nadai magyar dolgozókhoz pedig azzal a felhívással for-
 dul, hogy az ellenségeik »aholcsak megjelennek, kösse-
 nek utilaput a talpukra. Mi pedig ott leszünk és segí-
 tünk nekik hétről-hétre.«

Nem egészen így sikerült, mert az első válságos é-
 vekben voltak közben-közben hetek, amikor a hősi tö-
 rekvés és áldozatkészség dacára sem tudták pénzhia-
 nyában a lapot kiadni. De ilyen és hasonló akadályok
 ellenére is, egész sor reakciós, népellenes magyar lap-
 nak tekerte ki a kanadai magyarság a nyakát a Munkás
 segítségével: az említett, Wellandról Torontóba mentett
 »Kanadai Magyar Hirlap« 1929-es kimulása után jött a
 hamiltoni »Kanadai Magyar Népszava« 1930-as, a to-
 rantói »Hiradó« 1937-es, a wellandi »Kis Újság«, a ha-
 miltoni-torontói »Magyarság« 1939/40-es és a delhil
 »Kanadai Dohányvidék« 1940-es kimulása, de így járt a
 montreáli »Egyetértés«, a saskatooni »Otthon«, a toron-
 tói »Világossága«, a hamiltoni »Figyelő«, a torontói »Tá-
 rogató« és egy jónéhány halvaszületett után mostanában
 adta be a kulesot a torontói »Sporthirlap« és a montreá-
 li »Északi Fény« . . .

Kimultak, mert a kanadai magyar dolgozóknak
 vagy nyílt ellenségei voltak, vagy lesipuskás félrevezetői
 próbáltak lenni.

És ami késik, az nem mulik . . . A McCarthyék 100-
 milliós zsoldalapja ellenére se!

Sz. I.

The Captain's 'Tall Tales'

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH: His Life and Legend. By Bradford Smith. 375 pp. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$5.

By **WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL**

GOOD American children, brought up on the romantic story of Pocahontas saving the life of Capt. John Smith, are saddened if they subsequently read any history by the doubts cast upon their hero's character and veracity. He was, they soon learn, a braggart, liar and thoroughly undependable fellow, largely because of his tall tales of the martial exploits that he achieved in Hungary and Trans-



Illustration from the book
Captain John Smith.

sylvania before coming to Virginia in 1607.

Since 1859, when Charles Deane began the attack upon Smith's credibility, denouncing the story of his rescue by Pocahontas as pure fiction, many historians have viewed the details of his life with dismal skepticism, while even his stoutest defenders offer some apology. Samuel Eliot Morison, who placed him high among the "promoters and precursors" of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, presented a good defense: "John Smith was a liar, if you will; but a thoroughly cheerful and generally harmless liar, and a valiant Christian gentleman as well."

WITH twenty-odd biographies in existence, the reader may well wonder why another is needed, until he discovers that Bradford Smith (no descendant, for the captain was a bachelor) has for the first time attempted a carefully documented study of the veracity of Capt. John Smith. In search of contemporary evidence by which John Smith's statements may be checked, his latest biographer has let down a capacious net, and, unlike his recent predecessors, has even attempted to verify the boastful tales of feats of arms in Central Europe.

On this last point, he has enlisted the aid of Laura Polanyi Striker, who has contributed a carefully constructed appendix, replete with references, entitled "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," that leads in-

exorably to the conclusion that "John Smith's veracity is so vindicated wherever it can be checked that his account not only blends into the known historical facts but throws new, sharp lights upon the confused scene of the times."

Having thus, with the aid of his collaborator, seized the offensive by proving that John Smith might have been telling the truth about the years 1600 to 1604, Bradford Smith examines with meticulous care the details of the remaining twenty-seven years of his subject's life. In spite of his initial skepticism, the author ends by "being won over to John Smith."

This is an agreeable and readable biography, derived from sober research and supported by the useful apparatus of scholarship. In order to color the scene for the general reader, however, the author has built a series of backgrounds and has indulged in some speculation about possible incidents in the captain's life. Although inferences are plainly labeled as such, they somewhat impede the narrative.

"It is likely that John [as a schoolboy] felt a special attachment to 'Tom a Lincoln,' and other romances of chivalry. 'John may have read, too, Froissart's 'Chronicles.' 'He may have used his father's death as an excuse to get away.' 'He probably went to the Globe near by, where 'Othello' was just now being produced.' 'Saint Paul's was a place Smith would have frequented.' Although this kind of writing is not to everyone's taste, it should not obscure our gratitude to the author for his manful—and to this reviewer successful—effort to rescue Capt. John Smith from the company of Ananias.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

AZ ÚJ PROGRAM és a nemzetiségi csoportok

A LABOR-Progresszív Párt 1954 márciusvégi 5. konvenciója véglegesítette a pártnak előzőleg két éven át nyilvános vitát alávetett új programját. Rövidesen nyomatásban is megjelent ezzel a címmel:

»KANADAI FÜGGETLENSÉG ÉS NÉPI PARLAMENT»
»Kanada útja a szocializmushoz»

— és a múlt nyáron már 8 nyelven állott élénk piros-fehér fedőlappal úgy párttagok, mint minden érdeklődő rendelkezésére. Vagyis: Kanada hét nemzete — az angolnyelvű és a francia-kanadai nemzet mellett, hét nagyobb nemzetiségi csoportnak, köztük a magyar-kanadaiaknak is megjelent saját nemzeti nyelvükön a program.

Ez a program kommunista pártprogram, melyet csak a haladás javára világviszonylatban, a fasizmus elleni népháború győzelmével és azt követően létrejött hatalmas kedvező változások tették lehetővé és követték meg, mint a kapitalizmusból a szocializmushoz így lehetségessé vált BÉKÉS átmenethez szükséges vezérfonalat.

Ebből következik, hogy ez a program nemcsak pártprogram, hanem — minden dolgozó, minden igaz kanadai, az egész ország érdekét képviselő a nagytökések áruló körével és a fasizmusra, tőkés világ zsandárságára és újabb világháborúra történő USA-imperializmussal szemben — azzal az igénnyel lép fel, hogy az egész kanadai nép programjává váljék és a munkásosztály vezetésével az ország népet demokratikus nemzeti frontba mozgósítva, a függetlenségi harcban át vezesse el a szocializmushoz, a külső béke megőrzésének feltételeit közt, belső politikai küzdelmeken át.

Az program tehát a nemzetiségi csoportok programja is, és annak minden kitétele, egésze vonatkozik rájuk is. »A demokratikus nemzeti front kifejlődése többek között »a faji és nemzetiségi megkülönböztetés ellen» irányuló küzdelmekből is, mondja a program. A nemzetiségi csoportokat, az összes általános vonatkozásai mellett, tehát még különleges érdekek is fűzik a programhoz. Így a nemzetiségi csoportokhoz tartozó kommunistáknak, a magyar-kanadaiaknak is, még különleges okuk is van arra, hogy a programot a legalaposabban tanulmányozzák, terjesszék és minden munkájukban vezérfonalként használják nemzetiségük legzöldebb körében is.

A nemzetiségi csoportok különleges érdekeinek a védelmezői és harcosai mindig éppen azok, éppen a kommunisták voltak, akik a mai helyzetben — a gyarmatosító, jogtalanító és atombombázó pusztítással fenyegető jenkai uralommal szemben — az egyedüli demokratikus megoldást kínálják fel programjukban. Most a valósággal és háborurátortéssel járó megkülönböztetés és fasisztizációs törekvések elhárításában a nemzetiségeket fenyegetik és ezzel szemben most, úgy mint a múltban, csak a kommunisták kínálják fel védelmet.

Az 1920-as és 30-as években csak a kommunisták harcoltak igazán a »bevándoroltakkal», a nemzetiségeikkel szemben alkalmazott munkaügyi megkülönböztetés, deportálási fenyegetés, segélybeli megkülönböztetés, kijáratlás és sok másfajta megkülönböztetés és fasisztizáló bántalmazások ellen.

A fasizmus elleni népháborúban is a kommunisták voltak a legadoadóbbak abban, hogy minél hathatósabban kanadai haditörökvés is segítse elő a nemzetiségek öházáinak a fasizmus csapása alól való felszabadítását. A kommunisták azok, akik a népháború után idevándorolt újkandaiak érdekeit is védelmezik úgy a velük együtt behozott fűhrerek terrorjával, mint a kanadai munkások és politikusok részéről velük szemben gyakorolt megkülönböztetésekkel szemben. A kommunisták járnak elől olyan kanadai külpolitikáért való harcban, mely a nemzetiségek öházába való beavatkozás háborús politikájával szemben normális, békés kapcsolatokat, gazdasági és kulturális együttműködést céloz azokkal az öházákkal is.

A. A. MacLeod és J. B. Salsberg kommunista képviselők voltak azok, akik a nemzetiségi megkülönböztetés elleni tervényt kiharcolták Ontárióban, és csak a napokban újra Salsberg volt az, aki az ontáriói motorengegyesek kérvényformáiból a nemzetiségi-születési megkülönböztetést törölte. A helyi kormányzatokban, a helyhatósági tanácsokban is a kommunisták azok, akik a nép általános érdekei mellett a nemzetiségek különös érdekeit védelmében is harcolnak és védelmezik őket.

Ezek azok a tények, amelyeket a nemzetiségi csoportokban lévő kommunistáknak az új program általános LEGFONTOSABB vonatkozásai mellett (béke, kanadai függetlenség, demokrácia, a gazdasági válság legyőzésére külkereskedelem, belső reformok, országépítés, stb.) figyelembe kell venniük, egész nemzetiségi csoportjaikban kell tudatosítaniuk, hogy a programért való harcban méltóan kivethessék részüket. — Sz. I.

ben szállították le a hábo- háború előtt. Ezen-
ruantáni évek folyamán a ben azonban a kiskereske-

KANADAI FÜGGETLENSÉG ÉS NÉPI PARLAMENT

— Kanada útja a szocializmushoz —

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MOST KÜLÖNÖS

Igy szól Malenkov újévi üzenete az amerikai

MOSZKVA — Charles E. Shutt, a Telenews televíziós és filmhíradó részvénytársaság washingtoni irodájának vezetője azzal a kéréssel fordult G. M. Malenkovhoz, a Szovjetunió Minisztertanácsának elnökéhez, válaszul néhány kérdésre. Az alábbiakban közöljük Charles E. Shutt kérdéseit és G. M. Malenkov válaszait.

Kérdés: Hogyan lehetne a legjobban fenntartani a békét országaink között?

Válasz: A Szovjetunió és az Amerikai Egyesült Államok közötti béke fenntartása mindenekelőtt megköveteli, hogy mind a két fél ózintén óhajtsa a békét és arra törekedjék, hogy kapcsolatban abból induljon ki: lehetséges és szükséges a béke együttélés egymással, továbbá abból, hogy figyelembe veszi egymás kölcsönös jogos érdekeit.

Ami a Szovjetuniót illeti, a fenti tétellektől vezettetve, kész továbbra is minden tőle telhetőt elkövetni a Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok tartós és szilárd békes kapcsolatának biztosításán, a fennálló nézeteltérések rendezése érdekében, feltételezve, hogy az Amerikai Egyesült Államok részéről is ugyanilyen készség nyilvánul meg.

Kérdés: Az ön véleménye szerint mi a legfőbb oka a Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok közötti feszültségnek?

Válasz: A Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok közötti viszony feszültségnek legfőbb oka az, hogy bizonyos amerikai körök a revansvágyó nyugatnémet hadsereg feltámasztására irányuló politikát követnek, fegyverkezési versenyt folytatnak és amerikai katonai támaszpontok hálózatát építik ki a Szovjetunió és más békeszerető államok körül, amit nem lehet egyébként, mint egy új háborúra irányuló előkészületnek tekinteni. Mindenki előtt ismeretes, hogy jelenleg a londoni és párizsi egyezményeket megkötő nyugati hatalmak hibájából fokozódik a békét fenyegető veszély és nő a háború veszélye.

Hogy ki lehessen küszöbölni a feszültséget a Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok viszonyából, szilárd alapot lehessen teremteni országaink békés együttműködésének sikeres fejlesztéséhez, véget kell vetni a német militarizmus talpraállítást célzó politikának, mert a német militarizmus már eddig is mérhetetlen nyomorúságot szűdött az emberiségre, véget kell vetni a fegyverkezési versenynek és annak a politikának, amely katonai támaszpontokkal akarja körülvenni a békeszerető államokat.

Kérdés: Szívesen látna-e ön olyan diplomáciai tárgyalásokat, amelyek célja a távolkeleti nézeteltérések rendezése?

Válasz: Igen, üdvözölni kell az érdekelt államok közötti olyan tárgyalásokat, amelyeknek célja, hogy rendezzék a távolkeleti kérdések egész sorát. A genfi értekezlet tapasztalataival, a

mely értekezleten más hatalmakkal együtt a Kínai Népköztársaság is résztvett, azt mutatják, hogy az ilyen tárgyalások kedvező eredménnyel járnak.

Kérdés: Mi az ön véleménye az atomfegyver nemzetközi ellenőrzésének kérdéséről, és lehetségesnek tartja-e egy sikeres, valamennyi érdekelt fél számára elfogadható terv kidolgozását ebben a kérdésben?

Válasz: A Szovjetunió az atomfegyver kérdésében elfoglalt álláspontja jól ismeri. A Szovjetunió az atomfegyver feltétlenül eltiltá-

A falusi fiatal nemzetközi

EGY ÉVE MÚLT, hogy az olaszországi San Alberto di Ravenna parasztfiataljai felhívással fordultak a világ minden táján élő falusi testvércikkekhez. A felhívás egy nemzetközi találkozóra szólította fel a világ parasztfiataljait. A ravennai felhívást a DIVSZ (Demokratikus Ifjúsági Világszövetség) 85 millió tagjának aktív támogatása segítette.

A felhívás hamarosan elterjedt a világ minden táján. Megalakult a találkozót nemzetközi előkészítő bizottsága is, amely kidolgozta a falusi ifjúság követelésainek chartáját és azótküldte azt minden országba. A találkozót előkészítése során megtartott szántalan gyűlés és konferencia a falusi fiatalok millióit mozgósította a közös célra. Japánban a falusi fiatalok nemzeti találkozóján 26 kerület képviselőjében ezer küldött vett részt. Az olaszországi Sienna tartományban a parasztfiatalok 95 százaléka vett részt az előkészületekben. Finnországban száz helyi gyűlésen választották meg a nemzeti találkozót küldötteit. Ilyen előzmények után jött össze december közepén Bécsben a falusi ifjúság első világtalálkozója, amelyen 69 ország, 356 küldöttel képviseltette magát.

A bécsi találkozót érdekes, átfogó képet adott a falusi fiatalok helyzetéről. Megmutatta, hogy a nyugati, de különösen a gyarmati országokban valamennyi ifjúsági réteg közül a falusi fiatalok helyzete a legsúlyosabb. Bár ezekben az országokban sok ezer hektárnyi föld hever parlagon, a parasztság nagyobb részének mégisincs földje. Brazíliában például tízmillió a földnélküli paraszt. A kevés föl-

E. V., Calgary, Alta.

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AZ ÚJ PROGRAM és a nemzetiségi csoportok

A LABOR-Progresszív Párt most már közel egyévi véglegesített új Programjának tanulmányozásánál és terjesztésénél számos nehézséggel találjuk szembe magunkat, úgy általános kanadai vonatkozásban, mint a nemzetiségi csoportok között is. Ezeket a nehézségeket azonban helytelen volna az új Program rovására írni — hiszen éppen az ellenkezőről van szó!

Amellett a legfőbb érdeme és történelmi fontossága mellett, hogy az új Program úgy a kanadai nép egészének, mint a nemzetiségi csoportoknak is AZ EGYETLEN KIVEZETŐ UTAT MUTATJA MEG az USA-dominálás, faizmus, gazdasági válság és atombombás pusztulás veszélyéből a nemzeti függetlenség, a demokratikus szabadság, a prosperitás és a szocializmus felé. — nagy érdeme az új Programnak az is, hogy többvonalozású elmaradottságunkra, ferdeségünkre és hibáinkra is rábír, amikor a feladatokat elénk tűzi.

A Program ilyen vonatkozásban TUKÖR, amelyben saját magunkat megvizsgálhatjuk.

Az elszigeteltség, szektaszellemű szűkkebliség, a hazafiság és kommunista viszonyának ferde értelmezése, a nacionalista elhajlások, az elméleti ön- és kollektív fejlesztés terén, különösen pedig Sztálin »A szocializmus gazdasági problémái a Szovjetunióban« című nélkülözhetetlen művének elsajátítása, 19-ik kongresszusai beszédének megszívlelése terén észlelhető elmaradottságaink és ferdeségeink nem olyan valamik, amiket az új Program teremtett, hanem ellenkezőleg: olyan régiék, amiket az új Program fényénél kezdünk jobban felismerni és helyrehozásuk szükségének tudatára ébredni.

Igy a Program nemcsak tükör, amelyben hibáinkat és fogyatékságainkat meglátjuk, hanem FEGYVER is, amelynek megismerése és használatának elsajátítása közben ezeket a hibáinkat, fogyatékságainkat legyőzhetjük — felkészültebb, alaposabb párttagokká, jobb kanadaiakká, kezdeményező- és vezetőképesebb vezetőkké tudunk válni.

A Program értékének és használhatóságának felmérésénél egy másik fontos szempontot sem szabad szemelől tévesztelnünk — a már eddig elért eredmények figyelembe vételét.

Pártvezetőségünknek, különösen országos vezetőinknek, Tim Buck elvtárnak multhatatlan érdeme, hogy közel egyévi Sztálin történelmi, a marxizmus továbbfejlesztését jelentő meglátásainak feltárása előtt, Országos Bizottságunk már 1952 februárjában elfogadott és márciusában közzétett egy olyan Program-tervezetet, amely nagyjából és egészében megfelelt a Sztálin által elemzett új világhelyzetnek és követelményeinek.

Az igaz, hogy sokan mások is érezték a világhelyzet alapvető változásait, de az abból fakadó következtetéseket és lehetőségeket alig tudtuk tudatosabban levonni, mint ahogy a macska megérzi az időváltozást.

Pártvezetőségünk bátor és alapvetően tudományos fordulata nyomán az utóbbi három-négy év folyamán (hiszen már a Tervezet kiadása előtt sok hónappal, a Tervezeten való dolgozás alatt is, Pártvezetőségünk az irányítást, a feladatok meghatározását új Programunk szellemében végezte) — egyre inkább szabadultunk a hidegháború hatásai alól és új megvilágításban kezdünk jobban tudatára ébredni a Pártunk és a munkásosztály történelmi, felszabadító hivatásának. Sztálin műve, a proletárhazafiság mai elhivatottságáról mondott beszéde, Rákosi Mátyás »Népi demokráciánk útja« című műve, a saját Program-tervezetük kilévi vitatása és végül új Programunk elfogadása és kilenc nyelven való megjelenése nagyban segítettek abban, hogy nemcsak saját beállítottágunk lett helyesebb, hanem azon át más kanadai ezreknek és tízezreknek a meglátását és aktivitását is helyesebben befolyásoltuk.

Ha csak arra gondolunk, hogy milyen megmozdulásokat és tömegtüntetéseket értünk el egy kizárólag kanadai Tengeriút építése követelésében, a némejek újrafegyverkezése ellen és a hazaküldő nagytőke uniósellenes és hűvő támadásával szemben — akkor is éreznünk és tudnunk kell, hogy új Programunknak képesítő szellemét és a nemzeti függetlenségért való küzdelmen át egy kanadai népi parlamenthez és a szocializmushoz vezető út kijelölését nem becsülhetjük eléggé.

A nagyobb, kisebb és általános eredmények egész sora bizonyítja Programunk helyességét és használhatóságát.

A Programunkban való hitet tovább kell építenünk magunkban és terjesztenünk kell azt másokban is: mélyebben és szüntelenül kell azt tanulmányoznunk, hogy mégjobban tudjuk azt vezérfonálul használnunk minden mozgalmi tevékenységünkben és minden helyzetben. Hogy ezt elősegítsük, legközelebb sorra vesszük néhány nehézséget, amivel a Program tanulmányozásánál és gyakorlati alkalmazásánál találkozunk.

öltözködik. A lakosság társaság csaknem 39 milliórd rubel-karéképzetári betétjeinek re, több mint ötszörannyira összege pedig 1953 végén rugott, mint a háború előtt.

E. V., Calgary, Alta.

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AZ ÚJ PROGRAM és a nemzetiségi csoportok

A PROGRAM tanulmányozásához körlevél kíséretében még a múlt augusztus közepén kiküldött, az egyes fejezetekhez szóló »használati utasítások« kétségtelenül megkönnyítik az új Programnak úgy legfontosabb egyéni, mint szintén igenfontos kollektív tanulmányozását. A »Korai kanadai történethez« címen megjelent I—I általános és magyar vonatkozású vázlat (Munkás, 1954 nov. 4. és 11. szám) különösen a bekezdéshez, az »A nemzeti szabadságért való küzdelem« című 1. fejezethez nyújt segítséget.

Itt most sorra veszünk néhány nehézséget, amikkel ha megbirkózunk, nagyban megkönnyebbülhet részünkre az odaadó, kitartó és sikeres tanulmányozás.

1. "A munkásoknak nincs hazájuk"?

Csaknem mindenki, aki a munkásmozgalomban kísé jártas, idézni tudja az 1848 februárjában kelt »Kommunista kiáltvány«-ból azt a marxi-engelsi kitétel, hogy »A munkásoknak nincs hazájuk«, és sokaknál ez az alap a »haza«, az »ország«, a »nemzet« fogalmának közbönsen vételére, olykor még nihilista elutasítására is. Így: a proletárok »nem hazafiak«, hanem »csak nemzetköziek«! A hazafisághoz, a nemzeti függetlenség kérdéséhez a proletáriátusnak, a munkásosztálynak »semmi köze« — burzsoá ügy!

Holott a hazafiság ma az egyik legfontosabb politikai erő úgy a tőkés, mint a szocialista országokban; enélkül nincs nemzeti függetlenségi küzdelem, ami pedig Programunknak, egész jelen küzdelmünknek az emelőrudja!

Persze, az »A munkásoknak nincs hazájuk« kitétel a Kiáltványból nem szabad elszigetelten, dogmatikusan vennünk. Marx és Engels ezt a megállapítást az ellen a rágalom ellen használta érvül, miszerint a kommunisták »el akarják törölni a hazát, a nemzetiséget«. Persze Marxék, amikor a haza-elvevést illetően a proletáriátusra vonatkoztatva rámutatnak, hogy »nem lehet tőlük elvenni azt, amijük nincs«, ugyanabban a szakaszban a következő következtetést vonják le: »Mint hogy a proletáriátusnak mindenekelőtt a politikai hatalmat kell meghódítania, önmagát nemzeti osztállyá kell emelnie, önmagát nemzeté kell szerveznie, maga is még nemzeti, bár semmiesetre sem burzsoá értelemben.«

Ebből ne csak azt jegyezzük meg, hogy a proletáriátusnak a politikai hatalom megszerzéséhez »önmagát nemzeti osztállyá kell emelnie« — amihez feltétlenül kell hazafiság is! — hanem azt is, hogy mint ilyen »maga is még nemzeti, bár semmiesetre sem burzsoá értelemben«.

A Kiáltvány első, »Burzsoák és proletárok« című fejezete rámutat: »A proletárnak nincsen tulajdona; . . . a modern ipari munka, a tőke modern igája . . . lehántott róla minden nemzeti jelleget«. Mindamellett: »Há nem is tartalmában, de formájában a proletáriátusnak a burzsoázia ellen folyó harca eleinte nemzeti. Minden egyes ország proletáriátusának természetesen mindenekelőtt a saját burzsoáziájával kell leszámolnia.«

Tehát, amíg a proletárnak a tőkés társadalomban »nincs hazája«, hazafiságának lennie kell, hogy nemzeti és szocialista hivatását teljesíthesse: hazafisága formájában nemzeti, de tartalmában szocialista.

Nos, és a kommunisták, a proletáriátus, a munkásosztály élcsapata?

A kommunistákat a Kiáltvány szerint megkülönbözteti az, »hogy egyrészt a proletárok különböző nemzeti harcaiban az egész proletáriátus közös, a nemzetiségtől független érdekeit hangsúlyozzák és érvényesítik«, másrészt az, »hogy a proletáriátus és a burzsoázia között folyó harc fejlődésének különböző fokozatai során mindig az összmozgalom érdekeit képviselik«.

Szóval a kommunisták nemzetköziek és hazafiak is egyidőben.

Míg a burzsoázia, a tőkésosztály csak magának hazafi (profitcsinálásra kell a »haza«, a nemzeti piac), és mint osztály csak haladó, kezdeti időszakában, addig a kommunisták igazi és tartós hazafiak, mert az ő vezetésükkel a munkásosztálynak »a politikai hatalmat kell meghódítania, önmagát nemzeti osztállyá emelnie, önmagát nemzeté kell szerveznie . . . «

Ezt a tanítást Lenin, Dimitrov, Sztálin fejlesztette tovább és alkalmazza minden vezető marxista, köztük a mi Tim Buckunk is. Ezt a tanítást régen beigazolták az 1871-es párizsi kommunárdok, az 1917-es orosz, az 1919-es magyar szocialista forradalom, a leghősiesebben a Szovjet Hadsereg a Nagy Honvédő Háborúban a német fasiszta militarizmus ellen, igazolják a népi demokráciák, de Franciaország, Olaszország és sok más ország között Kanada kommunistái is.

Ez az egyik legfontosabb és mindenbizonnyal a leg-sürgösebb tanulság részünkre, hogy meg tudjunk szabadulni a hazafiság terén észlelhető szektásságtól, sőt olykor nihilizmustól, és hogy a Programban vetett hittel, annak vonalán és szellemében való munkával a kanadai nép és haza vezetőjévé tudjuk segíteni a munkásosztályt egy nemzeti demokratikus fronton át a békéért, demokráciáért, nemzeti függetlenségért, a gazdasági válság ellen — népi parlamentért, szocializmusért!

ELŐKÉSZÜLET TAGSZERZÉSI KAMPÁNYRA

Versenyre hívják a windsori magyar és torontói szlovák fiókat

— Torontó, Ont. —

A KOSSUTH Betegsegélyző Egylet torontói fióka január 18-án tartott gyűlésén foglalkozott a szervezet továbbfejlesztésével. Az építésnek egyik legfőbb alapja: a tagszerzés. A központtól kiküldött körlevél foglalkozott a március 15-én elindítandó tagszerzési kampány kérdésével, amit a fiók tagsága elfogadott.

A tagszerzésre megvan a lehetőség. Az utóbbi időben sokan munkanélkülivé váltak a magyarság közül is, akik elveszítették azokat a biztosításokat, amelyekben az üzemekben részesültek. Szervezetünknel bárki alacsony díjazás mellett biztosításban részesülhet, ami nem költséges és könnyen fizethető. Egyetlen munkanélkülivé vált egyén sem nézheti tétlenül családjá helyzetét, biztosítani kell magát és családját már azelőtt mielőtt munkanélkülség közben betegség környékeznék meg a családfőt.

A tagszerzési kampány körül eleven vita fejlődött ki a versenyt illetően. A vezetőség javaslatát a tagság elfogadta, mely úgy szól, hogy a tagszerzési kampányban hívjunk ki versenyre két fiókot, az egyik a windsori magyar, a másik a torontói szlovák fiók legyen. Élénk vitát váltott még ki a versenyben bukó fél »büntetése« is. A torontói szlovák fiókot versenyre hívva, a tagság úgy döntött, hogy a kampányban a versenyt elbukó fél egy bankettet rendezzen a nyert fél tiszteletére, mindkét fiók tagságát meghívva a bankettre, azonban a kampányban résztvevő élenjárók ingyenes vacsorát kapjanak a bukó féltől.

Nyugat-Németország felfegyverzése ellen

Mivel Nyugat-Németország felfegyverzésének kérdése veszélyezteti a világbékét — és amely kérdés a francia parlament elfogadása után most a kanadai parlament előtt van vitatás alatt — a fiók sok tagja küldött képviselőjüknek táviratot Nyugat-Németország felfegyverzésének elvetéséért, a Kanadai Békakongresszus által rendezett akción is többen résztvettek Ottawában, arra kérve a parlamenti képviselőket, mikor a kérdés vitatásra kerül a parlamentben, foglaljanak állást Nyugat-Németország

felfegyverzésének megtiltása mellett.

Az utóbbi háboruban a náci kegyetlensége következtében a megszállt területek védtelen lakosságának legyilkolása mellett 6 millió zsidót végeztek ki gázkamrákban, gettókból, kínzások után. Most azoknak a gyilkosoknak egyrészt igyekeznie ismét felhasználni a béke ellen, védtelen nők és gyermekek legyilkolására. A fenevadakat nem szabad ismét szabadjárta engedni, mert ha a lavina elindul, nem tudni, hol fog megállni.

A Kossuth-fiók tagságának is és általában minden dolgozónak érdeke a béke megőrzése és ennek érdekében kell munkálkodni, mert ezen a munkán is mulik a háboru vagy béke kérdése. A mi célunk a béke megőrzése lehet, békében mindent elérhetünk, egy háboru esetén mindent elveszithetünk. A szervezet építésére a legjobb biztosíték a béke megőrzésére, építsük nagygyá, erőssé.

Más kérdések is felmerültek

A Kossuth torontói fiókjának ifjai kultúrelőadással délutáni turán vannak, amit továbbra is szorgalmazni kell. Felmerült az a kérdés is, hogy mivel a st. catharines-i rádióprogrammunkát adó bizottság nehéz anyagi körülmények között küzd, minden támogatást meg kell adni e nehézség leküzdésére, hogy a program zavartalanul folytatódjon. Már most szóva került a gyermekek nyaraltatásának kérdése is, noha ezen a gyűlésen nem volt határozat, a kezdeményezés elindult abba az irányba, ha a nyári szezon bekövetkezik, már előtte legyen egy tervezet kidolgozva. Fiókunk tagjai résztvesznek más szervezetek gyermeknyaraltató bizottságainak ülésein és majd a közös megbeszélés segíteni fog a gyermekek nyaraltatásának megkönnyítésére.

Márkos István

Első karácsonyi vásárunk

— Toronto, Ont. —

NŐI CSOPORTUNK a torontói Kossuth-fiók részéről első ízben rendezett karácsonyi vásárt. És erről jobb képe is jelteni, mint soha.

Rendszeres szerdaesti összejöveteleink egyikén, még november elején, — már éppen hozzákezdünk téligi bazárunkra a kézimunkák és varrnivalók kiosztásához és készítéséhez, mikor egy asszonytársunk — aki új résztvevő a szerdaesti összejöveteleken — megkérdezte, hogy miért nem csinál-

unk karácsonyi vásárt?

Ezt az indítványt percekkel belül mindannyian elfogadtuk és a szorgos kezek munkájából jölsikerült karácsonyi vásárt rendeztünk. Asszonyaink ugyan csak kitétek magukért.

December 17-én volt bingóval egybekötve a vásár — kézimunkákból, szép kötényekből, törülközőkből, más hasznos és dísz tárgyakból állott, és sok aprósággal díszített asztalok várták a vásárolni kívánó kedves vendégeket. Természetesen a friss, illatos kávé sem ma-

AZ ÚJ PROGRAM és a nemzetiségi csoportok

AZ ÚJ Program tanulmányozása és alkalmazása ügyében a fasiszmus elleni népháború révén és folyamánként megváltozott nemzetközi erőviszonyokból, a haladás javára kialakult új világhelyzetből kell kiindulnunk. Kanarai és magyar-kanadai történelmünk ismerete, a hazafiság és nemzetköziség helyes értelmezése mellett (ehhez, a múlt számban közöltek mellé, még majd visszatérünk Sztálinnak a 19. pártkongresszuson mondott történelmi beszédére), a tanulmányozás nehézségei leküzdéséhez igen fontos felújítanunk és az északamerikai (amerikai és kanadai) imperializmusra alkalmaznunk Lenin tanítását az imperializmusról általában és különösen annak élősi, rothadó-rothasztó és halódó jellegéről.

2. Az élősi, rothadó-rothasztó jelleg

Osztályharcos és nemzeti, hazafias törekvéseinket gyengítheti és félre is vezetheti az északamerikai kapitalizmus jellegében az utóbbi évtizedekben, közvetlenebbül a második világháború alatt és óta beállott és kifejlődött változások fel nem ismerése.

Az amerikai imperializmus arra törtet, hogy a kapitalista világ zsandárává váljon, és a kanadai imperializmus ebben a »kisebbik társ« szerepét vállalta. De mi sokan, különösen a nemzetiségi csoportok tagjai közül, abban a régi világban élünk, amikor még »Anglia uralja a világot«. Ez a tényektől való elmaradottság úgy is megnyilvánul, hogy a legtöbb angolnyelvű kanadaira (olykor még szakszervezeti és másmezőnybeli harcostársaink között is) kissé úgy tekintünk, mint »az egyedüli fehér faj« tagjaira, a parókás lordok társaira, és megvetően vagy »forradalmi« atyáskodó lenézéssel »bágosok«-nak bélyegezzük őket.

Tény, hogy a brit imperializmus élősi, rothasztó hatása súlyos nyomokat hagyott a brit munkásosztály és mozgalom egyes részein (s elég baj ez nekik és világvo-natkozásban is), de ennek általánosított eltulzása és kanadai vonatkoztatása csak gyengítheti erőnket, a kiépítendő munkás- és nemzeti egységet — és szabadon hagyja a MAI FŐTÁMADÓT, a jenki főurakat!

Fel kell ismernünk, hogy a zsandárkodó jenki imperializmus olyan fejlődési fokra ért, ahol élősi és rothasztó jellege felülmulta mind azt a világrekordot, amit hanyatló brit társai-versenytársai- valaha is elértek — és ezt jórészt elmondhatjuk »saját« kanadai imperializmusunkról is. És ha a St. Laurent-kormány a USA-val való »integrálás« politikáját, a kanadai szakszervezetek nagyrészenek jenki »nemzetközi« központjaikkal való szerencsétlen feloldással házasságát figyelembe vesszük, akkor az elöbbségekkel felismerése nemcsak általában a kanadai függetlenségért, hanem a kanadai szakszervezetek függetlenségéért való harcban különösen is fontos.

Amikor leleplezzük a jenki imperialisták gonosz tervét és akcióját és a károkat, amit kanadai népünknek és országunknak gazdasági, politikai és kulturális téren okoztak és okoznak a maximális profitért velük társult kanadai imperialistákkal együtt, fel kell ismernünk azt is, hogy az amerikaihoz hasonlóan, az ügynökök siserahadával dolgozó kanadai kapitalizmus is — a háború alatti és utáni prosperitás szuperprofitjai segítségével — a »munkásarisztokrácia«-nak egy »vékony rétegét« fejlesztette tovább a politikai, szakszervezeti vezetők és üzemi hajcsárok között; emellett, az »éhes 30-as évek« utáni több és állandóbb munkaalkalmak és magasabb életszintek (amikért helyesen harcoltunk és helyesen harcolunk megvédésükért és továbbfejlesztésükért is a nagytőke támadásával, az USA-máde gazdasági válság veszélyével szemben) elkerülhetetlenül megalkuvó, rózsás illúziókban ringatózó magatartást loptak bele a jobbani fízett és kevésbé osztálytudatos munkások sorába, miközben a »lumpenproletáriátus« továbbfejlődése is »természetesen« előrehaladt.

Ezek a fejlemények a kapitalizmus objektív törvényeinek szüleményei, de ez korántsem jelenti azt, hogy teljesen tehetetlenek lennénk velük szemben: fel kell ismernünk, tudatosítanunk kell a munkásosztályban ezeket a tényeket; harcolnunk kell a tőke intellektuális bérencéinek hamis elméletét, a jobboldali CCF-vezetők, szakszervezeti bürokraták megalkuvásai ellen, hogy a felörlő, züllesztő, megalkuvó hatásokat csökkentjük; a párton belül és ahol alkalom és lehetőség van rá — harcolnunk kell a könnyelműség, felelőtlenség, elbizakodottság, önteltség ellen az ellenőrzés, a kritika és önkritika fokozatos bevezetésével, éber, de megértő alkalmazásával, a népi-haladó szellemiség, a kommunista erkölcsi felfogás benevelésével.

Menetközben (tanulás, munka, vita, harc) továbbtanulva mindent meg kell tennünk, hogy a dolgozók osztályöntudatának és hazafiságának teljes erejét kifejlesszük, mozgósítsuk és irányítsuk a jenki imperialisták és kanadai társai ellen, anélkül, hogy eltakarnánk a még mindig erőteljes brit és más imperialistákkal való szövetségüket és azon belül ellentéteiket. Ezt kell tennünk ahhoz, hogy a munkásosztály történelmi felszabadító elhivatottságának érzetét és tudatát ápoljuk, erősítsük és ezen át egy széles-demokratikus nemzeti front kialakításának elősegítésére és vezetésére képesítsük.

Torontó példát mutat: Talpra Kossuth-ifjak!

— Niagara Falls, Ont. —

A KOSSUTH Ifjuság vendégszerepelt nálunk Torontóból 22-én este, akik egy felejthetetlen estét hagytak maguk után, mert olyan műsorral jöttek, amelyre bátran mondhatjuk: egy »kész program«.

Elsőnek Müller központi titkár tagtárs köszönt jöését a megjelent vendégeknek és sajnálatát fejezte ki, hogy nem volt annyi közönség, mint amelyre számított. Viszont akik nem voltak ott, ezután sajnálhatják, hogy ilyen gyönyörű műsoros estét elmulasztottak. Majd rátért a béke kérdésre és kérte a közönséget, hogy foglaljon állást Németország újrafelfegyverzése ellen, aminek eredménye 37 egyéni távirat a helyi parlamenti képviselőhöz, hogy szavazzon Németország újra felfegyverzése ellen.

Következett a »Kossuth fia«, a bejelentő, egyik tagja a csoportnak, aki tele bátorsággal és az emberiség minden jóakarásával, kérte az idősebb közönséget, hogy ha már 25—30 évig fára-

doztunk azon, hogy Szövetségünk hosszú életű legyen, akkor itt az ideje, hogy utódokról is gondoskodjunk.

Majd megnyitotta a programot a többmint százéves Magyar Himnusszal, amit élénk felállással üdvözölt a közönség. Utána szinte művésziesen irányította az egész esti műsort, amelyen aztán előadtak szebbnél szebb nemzeti táncokat és énekszámokat. Volt angol, magyar, szlovák, német és francia dal vagy tánc.

Megjegyzendő, hogy a német nemzeti táncot pontosan úgy megtapsolta a közönség, mint a többi. És ez az, ami azt mutatja, hogy mi nem vagyunk haragban a német néppel, de soha se leszünk jóba a náci tábornokokkal; mutatják ezt a fentebb említett táviratok is.

Volt három helybeli programszámunk is. Egy szavalt, egy Toe Dance és egy harmonikaszólo, ami nagyszerűen beillt a programba.

Nem méltatom külön-külön a szereplőket, mert én azt láttam, hogy mind életképes. És amit előadtak, azt mindegyik tiszta szeretettel és hűséggel végezte; szinte kézzel nyújtották a közönség felé a jókedvet, amelyet itt, a fogadott hazánkban, csakis ilyen alkalomkor élvezhetünk. Minderre tanuskodtak a tapsviharok a közönségtől, mert minden egyes ének vagy tánc után úgy hangozott a taps, mintha azt mondaná: nagyon szívesen látunk benneteket, gyerekek. A programot az O. Canadával zártuk be.

Mindamellett, hogy nekem nehezebb az írás, mint a gyermeknek a sírás, nem tudom szó nélkül hagyni, amit tagtársainktól hallottam, t. i. hogy a vacsorának felszolgálását és az edény visszahordását, mosogatást, rendezkedést olyan szorgalmasan végezték a »vendégek«, mármint a szereplők, hogy nem látszott meg raj-

nak az asszonyok, azután kávét szolgálnak fel.

Azt mondotta Czeglédiné, hogy nemtagokat is szívesen látnak az összejöveteleikre, ami minden szerdán este 8 órakor kezdődik a fiók otthonában. Amikor benéztem hozzájuk, 35 asszony volt jelen az összejövetelen.

Fiókunk műkedvelő gárdája jan. 14-én adta elő »A tépett rózsá« című énekes népszínművet. Azzal mentem az előadásra, hogy erős »kritikát« is írok róla, de amikor a harmadik felvonásnak vége lett, az én kritikám ez lett: elismerés jár minden egyes szereplőnek a hozzáértő játékért; a szép közönségnek egy élvezetes szép estét nyújtottak — aki pedig nem volt ott, az csak sajnálhatja. Elismerés a rendezőnek, sugónak és mindenkinek, akinek csak egy szava is volt a darabban. Hiszem, hogy még számos élvezetes estét fognak adni torontói közönségünknek. **Láncz József**

TORONTÓI KOSSUTH-HÍREK

A KOSSUTH B. Egylet torontói fióka jan. 18-án tartotta havi taggyűlését, melyen már az új vezetőség szerepelt. Korúnyi János elnök előterjesztésére, a gyűlés széleskörű tervet fektetett le a folyó évre egy szervezeti, gazdasági, mint kulturális vonatkozásban. Fiókunk, női és ifjusági csoportjainkat is beleértve, meglepetés számba menő új dolgokkal jön a magyarság elé a kultúra fejlesztése, a gyermekkérdés, a másnemzetiségűekkel való együttműködés, stb. terén.

Fiókunk vezetősége késve kapta a hírt, hogy volt tagtársnőnk, Mrs. Horváth elhunyt. Így a szokásos végzettségételenben ugyan nem vehettünk részt, de jan. 18-i taggyűlésünk egyperces fennállással adózott elhunyt tagtársnőnk emlékének.

Engedjék meg, hogy néhány szót szóljak fiókunk Női Csoportjának a tevékenységéről, amit szerdán esténként folytatnak. A földszinti teremben, ahogy megfigyelem egy szerda este, észreveszem, hogy minden asztalnál szorgalmasan dolgoznak, s látom, hogy csigatészta készül. Kíváncsi lettem, azt hittem, talán lakodalomra készülnek.

A Női Csoport igazgatójától, Mrs. Czegléditől tudtam meg, hogy a csoport a szokásos tavaszi nagy bazarjára készül és arra készítik a különböző dolgokat, ide készül a csiga is.

A nők minden szerdán este összejönnek és mással is foglalkoznak, szép kézimunkák is készülnek, varrnak, himeznek és szórakoz-

AZ ÚJ PROGRAM és a nemzetiségi csoportok

A LABOR-Progresszív Párt új Programjának tanulmányozásával kapcsolatosan, két héttel ezelőtti közleményünkben mint I. számú nehézséget tárgyaltuk a Kommunista Kiáltvány »A munkásoknak nincs hazájuk« kitételét és elemeztük a Kiáltványból vett összefüggő idézetek segítségével a proletáriátus, azaz a munkásosztály történelmi felszabadító elhivatottságának osztály- és nemzeti: szocialista-HAZAFIAS jellegét, valamint a kommunisták hazafiasságát és nemzetköziségét.

Ehhez most hozzátehetjük kiegészítésül, valamint a Kiáltványt befejező »Világ proletárjai egyesüljetek!« felhívás helyes értelmezésére, Engelsnek később kelt, de nagyon idevágó magyarázó megállapítását: »Valamennyi nemzet függetlenségének és egységének visszaállítása nélkül úgy a proletáriátus nemzetközi egyesülése, mint a nemzetek békés és alkotó együttműködése egyetemes célok elérésére lehetetlen.«

A függetlenség, a hazafiság és a nemzetközi egyesülés így tisztázottabb fogalmak tartalmilag, hivatásbéli és formailag, nem pedig a levegőbe függő üres szavak.

3. A magyar történelemből

Érdekes és érdemes idézni, hogy a szektásan »kizárólag nemzetközi«-nek tekintett Marx és Engels lapja, a »Neue Rheinische Zeitung« az 1848/49-es magyar NEMZETI szabadságharcot a 48-as év »hősi utójátéká«-nak jelentve ki, 49-ben a bukás előtt így értékelte azt: »A magyarok még nincsenek legyőzve. De ha elesnek, akkor dicsőséggel csúsznak el, mint a 48-as forradalom utolsó hősei, és csak rövid időre.«

És a »csak hazafi«-nak kicsinyített, de Marxék által nagyra elismert Kossuth viszont a NEMZETKÖZI összefüggésekre így mutatott rá: »Napjainkban már egy nép sem különbözhet el magát a világtól. Minden lépés, amelyet egy nemzet előre tesz, egy lépés előre az emberiség előremenetelében. Minden hátralépés egyenlő — egy új gátja a haladásnak a többieknek.«

Viszont a kettőnek kitűnő összefüggésbe hozását találjuk Rákosi Mátyásnál, mikor 1941 július 10-én, két héttel a Szovjetunió elleni Horthy-hadüzenet után ezt írta: »A magyar népek semmi közössége nincs Horthyval. A magyar nép története szinte szakadatlan harc a német elnyomás ellen, a németek ama kísérlete ellen, hogy megsemmisítsék a magyarokat! A magyar nép legnagyobb tragédiája, hogy gazdáinak, akik 20 évvel ezelőtt a hatalmat magukhoz ragadták, sikerült most Magyarországot háborúba vinni . . . Nem a magyar nép harcolt most a Szovjetunió ellen, hanem a hivatalos Magyarország, a megvesztegethető, kapzsi mágnások, a német fasiszták kitarítottjai . . . A magyar nép a német fasiszták és magyar zsoldosaik kettős igájában nyög. A szovjet nép felszabadító harca egyben a magyar nép felszabadításáért is folyik. A szovjet nép ügye ezért egyben a magyar nép ügye is. A Szovjet-Szövetség győzelme hozza a magyar népek is a felszabadulást a német elnyomás alól, elhárítja felőle az elnémetesítés veszélyét, lehetővé teszi nemzeti és állami függetlenségének megmentését.« (A magyar jövőért, 7. és 10. oldal.)

S mielőtt Sztálin 19. pártkongresszusi beszédére térnénk (következő alkalommal), vessünk egy pillantást a sokat megrágalmazott 1919-es magyar proletárdiktatúrára. »Nemzetellenes politikát folytatott-e a Kommunista Párt 1919-ben? — veti fel a kérdést Dr. Andics Erzsébet 1946-ban kiadott »Hazafiak-e a kommunisták?« című röpiratában, s aztán így felel rá:

A magyar kommunisták az 1914—18-as világháború és az ország katonai összeomlása után arra szólították fel a munkásosztályt és általában a magyar dolgozókat, hogy a háború okozta romokból ne a régit, hanem egy új társadalmi és állami rendet építsenek fel: a szocialista társadalmat.

Az egyre sürűbb és mélyebb gazdasági válságok, az egyre gyakoribb és pusztítóbb háborúk bizonyították, hogy az emberiség zsákutcába került. Ezt egyre inkább kellett éreznie mindenkinek, ha az okait nem is tudta mindenki megmagyarázni. A magyar kommunistáknak az a törekvése, hogy társadalmunk nagy válságából a magyar nép minél előbb megtalálja a kiutat, lényegében a magyar nemzet érdekében való törekvés volt.

De a magyar kommunisták 1919-ben nemcsak nagy társadalmi átalakulást hajtottak végre, hanem a győztes antant imperialista követelései, a csehek és románok inváziójával szemben ők voltak a nemzeti ellenállás, az igazságos honvédelmi háború megszervezői.

A magyar Vörös Hadsereg volt az első önálló nemzeti hadsereg az 1848—49-es szabadságharc leverése óta. A magyar kommunisták mindenütt elől jártak a harcokban, ők tartották a lelket a kishitűekben és csüggedőkben. Ezt tették ugyanakkor, amikor a címeres hazafiak, a Horthyk, Bethlenek és Teleki Pálok a »törvényes rend helyreállítása« címén a cseheket és románokat ráusították az országra. Rákosi Mátyás 1935-ben — több mint 10 esztendővel ezelőtt — a Horthy-bíróság előtt büszkén hivatkozott arra, hogy 1919-ben fegyverrel a

1954 február 10.

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KULTURJEGYZETEK

Harc a kanadai TV és rádió körül

LETÉZÉSNEK rövid pár éve óta a TV valósággal részévé vált a tömegok életének. Befolyása, formáló hatása gyerekre, ifjura, felnőttekre egyaránt igen nagy. Semmi sem természetesebb, mint hogy az ilyen átható erővel rendelkező eszközök között az állami intézmények, amelyek között a tömegok társadalmában élünk. És ki is robbantotta. Történetesen nagy, hogy a televízió rohamos fejlődése folytán pénzügyi nehézségekbe került Kanada masszinovációja, köztudottan lévő rádió- és TV központja, a C.B.C.

Föl van hát vetve a kérdés: mit szolgáljon elsősorban a televízió?

Arra való-e, hogy a néplétszámok szellemi színvonalát emelje, jó zene, jó zenét, jó irodalmat terjesztessen, fiatal, tehetséges kanadai írónak és művészeknek nyissan lépést, Kanada népének megismertesse önmagát és a világot, elfoglaltak nélkül teret adjon minden társadalmi, politikai és gazdasági ügyeknek és ezek szabad vitáinak — egy szóval mondva, a kanadai nemzet eszméletét segítsen minden módon? Vagy pedig arra való, hogy egyéni üzleti érdekeket szolgáljon, olcsó masszívot találva a közönség elé (ami csúszólól be az Egyesült Államokból), és a hirdetéseknek (amik persze a fő bevételforrást teszik ki) eljuttatását nem ismerő népből kiadást adja a nézőknek, hallgatóknak. Magától értetődik, hogy a magunknak az állami állományok a közügyekbe is beleszólnak az érdekeiket tulajdonosok tömeges elgondolását, magatartását.

Nem kevesebb forog tehát köztük, mint a C.B.C. léte vagy nemléte. Királyi Bizottságot állítottak fel Ottawában, ami kivizsgálja a C.B.C. további működésének a lehetőségeit, meghallgatja az érdekeket felek és általában minden szervezet vagy egyén nézetét, aki a kérdéshez hozzá kíván szólni. Az elmúlt két hónap folyamán a Fowler-bizottság (az etnoke után nevezik) megjárta Kanada nagyobb városait és meghallgatta a tengennyi előterjesztéseket, az érdekeket felkérve a felekhez és hosszabb vitákba bocsátkozva velük. Összel a Bizottság még egyszer felveszi a meghallgatásokat, mielőtt megtenné a javaslatát.

A vita azonban már jóformán eldőlt. Kanada kiállt önmagára, és erőteljesen, nyíltfejjel foglalt állást a C.B.C. mellett, és a magánérdektől rádió- és televízió-állományok terjesztésére ellen. Előjáró szerepe volt ebben az új, egyetemesről szóló szervezeti tervnek, a Canadian Labor Congressnak. Több mint egy millió szervezett munkás nevében a CLC már május 4-én bejelentette az állását, amelyben tiltakozott az egyesületi kongresszuson elhangzott számos felhívás. Hevesen felszólalt, hogy a kulturális és a munkásság szervezkedési harcának az ügy egyenlőségétől elvá-

a CHEX munkási munkálati sztrájkba léptek. (A hetilapok 27 és 37 dollár között voltak; a hémódoké 40 és 57 dollár között). Az »Examiner« agyonhalgatta a mozgalmakat, sztrájkot nem tűzött.

A CLC jogtörvényekben lefektette, hogy a C.B.C. tartása meg az eddigi vezető és irányító szerepét, hogy a magánkézen lévő adóállományok kiárlás helyek legyenek, hogy a hirdetés monopóliumok három év letelével szűnjönnek be, hogy az importált »program-tervezés« befizetési váma alá esik, hogy a C.B.C. érdemes programjait külföldre is eladja, és végre, hogy több alkalommal adjanak Kanada tehetséges ifjúságnak.

Torontóban nagyon hasonló beadvényt adott, 119-000 tag nevében, a Toronto and District Trades and Labor Council, és a Toronto and Lake Shore Labor Council is.

Valóban szimulacriumból a sok különböző társadalmi, kulturális, egyházi, egészségügyi, tudományos szervezet és csoport felsorakozása a C.B.C. mellett. Sőt, nem egy-kétetől el a marasztalja, és jóval többet és jobbat kíván tőle, mint amit eddig nyújtott. A torontói egyetem több ezer közéleti egyetemi tanítvány számára; a torontói francia-kanadaiak is az egyetemen találják (Folytatás a 12. oldalon)

PICKERSGILL UJRA "vasfüggönyt" alkalmazott

OTTAWA — Pickersgill bevándorlási miniszter ügyosztálya megtagadta a beutazási vízumot két kulturális delegációtól: egy 9-tagú cseh-szlovákiai delegációtól, amely itteni cseh-szlovákok meghívására kérte belépését, és egy nagyobb ukrániai delegációtól, amely a kanadai ukrán szervezetek meghívására jött volna, hogy segítsen megünnepelni Ivan Franko ukrán író-költő születésének 100-éves évfordulóját.

Pickersgill miniszter előzőleg Paul Robeson amerikai néger énekes, valamint szovjet női kulturális delegáció belépését tagadta meg.

Az Allami Népi Együttes Londonban



A főtűccsel éles ellenében van a magyar Allami Népi Együttesnek londoni szereplése. Június 11-i Londonból érkezett jelentést adunk, mi volt a többi: látogatáson lévő A. N. Együttes szerepléséről a vélemény

egybe ottlétek után. A »Sunday Times«-ben, amelynek színházi kritikái a legtöbbet nyomnak a látni, Cyril Beaumont a következőket írja: »A táncosok csodálatos gyakorlattágról tesznek tanúságot, a színpadi elrendezés és a színelvétel gyönyörű és szabatos. A férfiak erőteljesek és ruganyosak, fellépésük lendülettel és életeréssel történik... A zenekarvezető egy ragyogó népi zenekar szolgáltatja. Az énekesek mélyhangú teljesítményt nyújtanak és Stobek Márta szopránéneklése hangja nagyon tetézet».

Az »Empire News« című hetilapban olvashatjuk: »A magyar népi együttes szimpompája és erőteljes előadást produkál.«

A »Pecpie« így ír: »Lendülettel, színpompával lépett láttunk, ragyogó népviseletekben, a népi zene szíves-félves hangjai mellett, egy tehetséges és akrobatikusnak mondható együttes bemutatásában.«

A »News of The World« azt írja, hogy az együttes 130 táncos, énekes és zenész elképesztő energiával tesz tanúságot. A »Sunday Dispatch« az Allami Népi Együttest »felsőlegesnek nevezte és nagy elismeréssel szól a hagyományos stílusnak megfelelő férfias táncos eleven zenészekről.«

A SZOVJETUNIO kormányából a célból, hogy kedvezőbb feltételeket teremtsen az országban az általános középfokú oktatás megvalósításához, továbbá abból a célból, hogy az ifjúság felsőfokú oktatásában részvételén 1966 szeptember 1-i hatállyal megszüntette a tandíjakat a középiskolák felső osztályában, a szakosított középiskolákban és a Szovjetunió főiskoláiban, egyetemében.

MEGSZÜNTETIK A TANDIJAT a Szovjetunióban

A SZOVJETUNIO kormányából a célból, hogy kedvezőbb feltételeket teremtsen az országban az általános középfokú oktatás megvalósításához, továbbá abból a célból, hogy az ifjúság felsőfokú oktatásában részvételén 1966 szeptember 1-i hatállyal megszüntette a tandíjakat a középiskolák felső osztályában, a szakosított középiskolákban és a Szovjetunió főiskoláiban, egyetemében.

1959-ben televíziós közvetítés -- a Holdról!

A MINAP már nem kellett a nagyközönség között valami nagy meglepetést az a szovjet nyilatkozat, hogy 1970-re szovjet tudósok megoldják a Marsba utazás kérdését. Ugyanis ezt megelőzőleg már világossá nagy feltűnést keltett Likoov szovjet professzorának az a bejelentése, hogy a Szovjetunióban folytatott űrhajózási kutatások eredményeivel lehetővé teszi, hogy körülbelül 1959-ben televíziós adóberendezést juttassanak el a — Holdra! Likoov professzor javasolta, hogy a fejlett rakéta-technikával rendelkező országok közös erőfeszítéssel segítsék elő az első televíziós közvetítés megvalósítását a Holdról.

A Szovjetunió Tudományos Akadémiáján több hónapig tartó vita során tárgyalták meg a szovjet tudósok a téren elért eredményeit és terveit. E tervek szerint 1959 közepén egy távolról irányítható televíziós közvetítő-berendezéssel felszerelt tanklaboratóriumot juttatnának el a Holdra, ahonnan az a berendezés televíziós adást sugározna a Földre. A televíziós adóval felszerelt tankot egy háromlépcsős rakéta vitt el a Holdra. Ez a rakéta három egymáshoz kapcsolódó rakétából áll. Indításánál a legelső rakéta — az U-VII — működik, amelynek tömegmánya a szovjet tervek szerint 35 kilométer magasságban fogja el. Az U-VII ezután önműködően lekapcsolódik, ugyanakkor a következő rakéta, az U-VI lépne működésbe. Ezzel a második rakétával az űrhajó a Föld gravitációja erőterének határáig haladna, s itt az U-VI is lekapcsolódik. A tankképpeni űrhajó, amelyik a tanklaboratóriumot viszi magával, csak azután kezdene működni. A rakétát a tervek szerint távirányító berendezéssel látták el, így bizonyos határokon belül kormányozni lehetne majd.

Milyen a televíziós tanklaboratórium? Kétszögletű közepes nagyságú hernyóalapszerű hárkoshoz hasonlít. A televíziós felvétel és leadó berendezések a tetején van-

nak. Belsőjében a távirányítást szolgáló elektronikus berendezések, a televíziós berendezés elektronikus részei, a hajtómotork és kutatási eszközök találhatók. A tanklaboratórium akkumulátorok segítségével körülbelül 300 kilométeres utat képes megtenni a Holdon. Hernyóalapszerű segélgépek könnyen leküzdik a Hold felszín kisebb akadályait. A Földről mikrohullámú adóberendezések segítségével kormányozható, megállítható, indítható.

A tudomány számára is hatalmas jelentősége lesz ennek a megvalósuló kísérletnek. A televíziós segítségével tanulmányozni lehet majd a Hold felszíni alakzatát és egyéb érdekességeit. A Hold felületi formáit, amelyek jelenleg csak szilagszerű felvételekkel tanulmányozhatók, láthatóvá válnak majd a földi televíziós vetők képernyőjén. A tanklaboratórium Földről való irányítása lehetővé teszi, hogy az a kívánt helyen a kutatásokhoz szükséges ideig tartózkodjon.

A tanklaboratórium a televíziós adásokon kívül még más fontos kutatásokat is folytat majd. Különböző műszerek segítségével adatokat gyűjt a Hold felszíni fizikai állapotáról, a közetek összetételéről, a kozmikus sugárzásról és szisztemikus mérésekkel tanulmányozza a Hold belsejének szerkezetét. Az adatokat rádiójelek segítségével közli a földi megfigyelő állomásokkal, ahol azokat feldolgozzák. A tanklaboratórium a távirányítás következtében szabaddon mozoghat a Holdon és így a megfigyelések tehetőseges helyen valósíthatók meg. Nagy előnye, hogy a kutatás eredményeit közli rádiójeleket a Föld különböző pontjain fel lehet fogni, így több ország laboratóriumában lehet azokat értelmezni. A Szovjetunióban folytat kutatások arra vonatkozóan is, hogy a tanklaboratóriumot működésbe hozásával rakétával visszahozhatják a Földre. Ezek a kutatások azonban még igen sok leendő szakembernek és a közeljövőben nemigen valósíthatók meg.

Örvözlünk a hetvenéves Kaposvárt, a legrégebb magyar települést!

Az alapító úttörők 1886 július 4-én verték le a sátorkarót

HETVEN éve lesz most június 4-én délután, Kaposváron, települők 1886-ban leverték július 4-én, hogy a mai Sas-Menyőháza tartományhoz és ideiglenes átkerült kerület a Kaposvári tartományban, az Egyesült Államokhoz is történelmi Qu'Appelle folyó az akkori Kanadai Kormányzat Te- közel, önkormányzat magyar (Folytatás a 10. oldalon)



(The Western Producer, Saskatoon, szeptember 1966)

AZ 1886-BAN elkezdődött délsaskatchewan Kaposvár első maradandó kanadai magyar településnek impozáns temploma 1907-ban egy belga pap és községek-tervezője vezetése alatt épült, az első fatemplom helyett. A magyar telepesek vagy 1600 szinkó-rakomány, faragás után vöröbe játszó terméskövet hoztak Szász a környékről az építéshez.

Notes from an Actor's Diary

LORNE GREENE

HOLLYWOOD—Next week, the new play, Edwin Booth goes into rehearsal for its pre-Broadway tour.

Although I will be enacting the role which I created for the summer try-out of the play which ended last Saturday, rehearsals will offer a brand-new experience all over again.

First of all, there will be a practically new cast, most of whom are flying in from New York this week end.

Jose Ferrer and I are the only original members, the rest having been replaced for various reasons.

Secondly, the script will be quite new.

Milton Geiger has been writing his fingers to the bone in the past two weeks, and I'm told that the changes are intensive and comprehensive which means long rehearsal periods ahead: long hours, for the tour starts in two weeks.

Since the play is based on the life of the great 19th century actor Edwin Booth, I have been reading volume upon volume of Theatre Americana.

One of Booth's great friends and business associates was Lawrence Barrett, a fine actor and gentleman who was, however, often the cause of mirth in those around him because of his liking for practical jokes.

On one occasion he figures as the victim. Barrett was well known for his characterization of Cassius in Julius Ceasar. Louis James, playing Brutus, had just been the subject of a Barrett practical joke. Toward the end of the first act of Ceasar, Brutus says: "Till then, my noble friend, chew upon this."

James, at the night performance, turned to Barrett as Cassius, delivered the line, grasped him firmly by the hand, and pressed into his palm a soggy piece of chewing tobacco, holding which Barrett had to play the rest of the act.

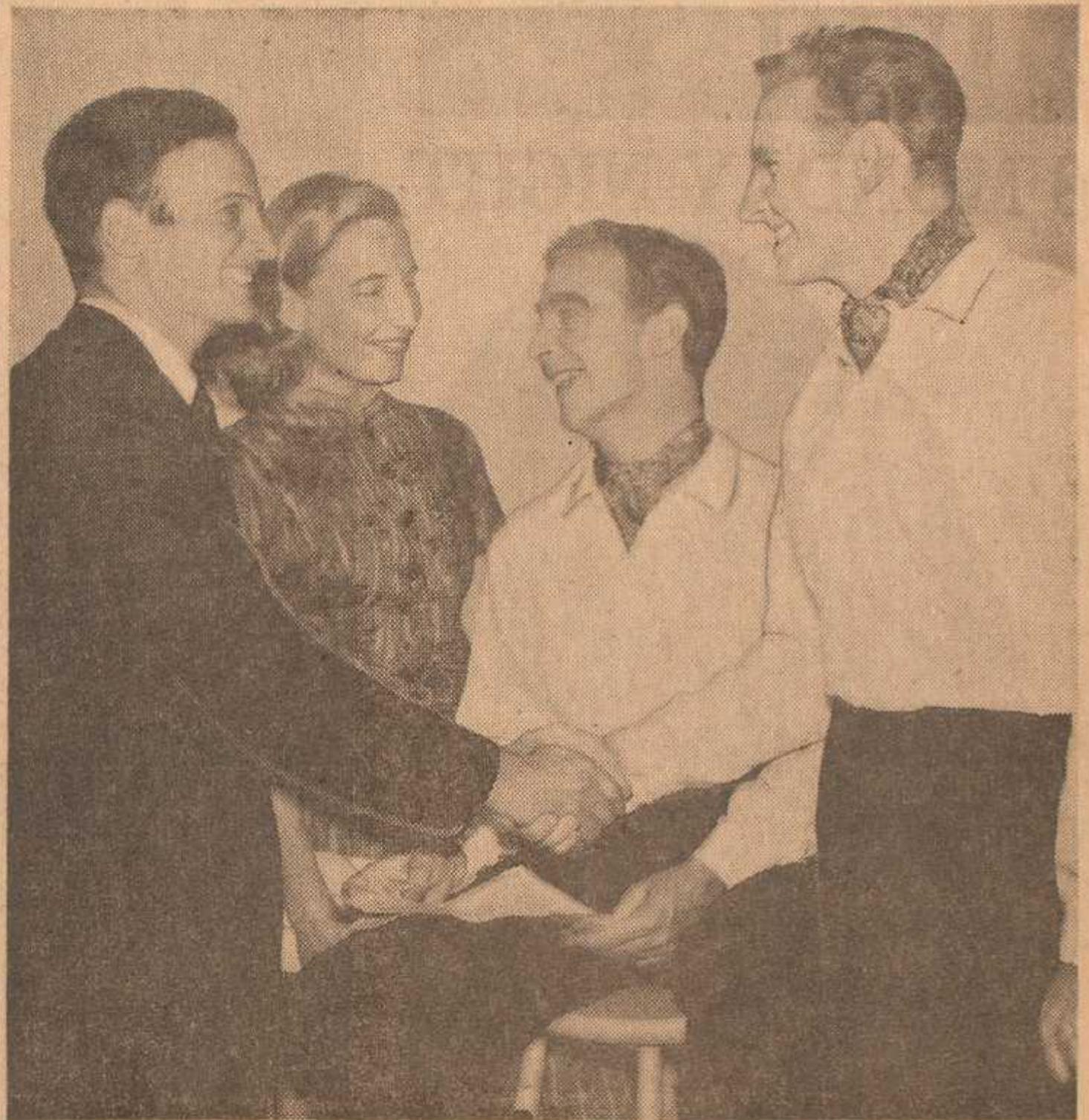


Booth started his acting career in California. The miners were pretty tough to play to. They talked back to Macbeth. They dared Richard to drop that sword and come outside and fight like a man.

They liked their Shakespeare tough and rare.

So often, the '49ers didn't know who Shakespeare was.

A HAND CLASP FOR 'CLAP HANDS'



Authors congratulate actors backstage at the current revue in Hart House, *CLAP HANDS*. John Polyani, a University of Toronto chemistry professor and his wife Sue, are among the two dozen contributors to the satirical sketches, and Eric House and Dave Broadfoot are among the six actors who perform them. Mr. House is also the director.

Old Maori Musical Instruments

As Clues To Racial Affinities

THE musical instruments of the Maori were made mainly from conch-shells, wood hollowed out and bound with vines or rootlets, rolled flax leaves and bones of enemies slain in battle. They were chiefly wind and percussion instruments. Here we consider some of the more primitive and lesser known, the origins of which lie far back in time.

To unearth something of their lost history we adopt the linguistic approach to the names they were given. For things are and were named from what they purported to do or were like. And this study takes us back to a time when Polynesian, Sanskrit and Hebrew were possibly one language. The existence of common roots has been demonstrated over the past century by such authorities as R. Taylor, a missionary, and Edward Tregear. With the aid of such affinities we may be able to throw a little light on some of these lesser known instruments.

THE KU

One of them, long forgotten, is the Ku. The only information we have on it is a single reference by Canon Stack. He records that the Ku "was a one-stringed instrument, made in the shape of a bow, about 10 inches long, out of a hard piece of matai. The string was made of Whitau, the dressed phormium-flax fibre, and it was held near the ear when played. The sound was produced by tapping with a rod."

Sir Peter Buck questions the existence of the Ku as an instrument for adults, but thinks it might have been a children's toy. He tells us, however, that the Hawaiians had a single-stringed instrument called Ukeke. He points out that this word might have lost its initial K, the gap being filled by a glottal stop. The sound shift between Hawaiian and Maori substitutes T for K. Hence the Hawaiian Ukeke would be pronounced in Maori as Kutete.

Therefore, Sir Peter Buck, argues, it is plausible that the Hawaiian instrument had also the first syllable Ku in its name. To which we might add that the best-known Hawaiian instrument, the Ukulele, also has this initial syllable. Thus it does seem possible that there was such an instrument as described by Canon Stack, that it was called Ku, and that it was a whirring bow-string.

Tribal memories of this instrument may have been weakened possibly because the Polynesians did not use the bow as a weapon of war, but only for hunting and sport, such as (in Hawaii) the shooting of rats. In New Zealand, only one bow has been found, north of Auckland. Weak as these proofs of the existence of the Ku may be, they can be strengthened by linguistic evidence.

Maori has only one guttural, the K. It corresponds to Sanskrit K, KH, G, GH and C. The same consonant appears in conjunction with different vowels in words derived from the same root (as in the English sing, sang, sung). Hence we can reasonably assume that the Maori K corresponds to the Sanskrit consonants enumerated, and that it combined in a similar order with U and other vowels. Thus in Sanskrit we have KU, KHU and KVAN, meaning "to sound." KVAN also means to sound like a musical instrument. KVANUTA is "twanged like a musical instrument."

The root "Ku" appears as "Go" in the Sanskrit "GoDa," a leather guard to protect the hand from injury by a bow-string. There is also "Goshu," the whirring of a bow-string, and "Goshavati," a lute. Another lute is "Khorusana." Here, as in Maori, the syllable "ku" stands as the initial syllable in the name of a string instrument. The knowledge of the bow is preserved in Maori in the word "Kowhaha"—bent or bowed.

Thus, from internal evidence discernible in both Maori and Sanskrit we may deduce that "Ku" was the bow with the string and its noise,

By Adele Schafer

and that its name was transferred to a string instrument.

To and Torehe

As well as the Ku Elsdon Best mentions To and Torehe as string instruments, though no description is given. From our linguistic approach we conclude that they were "to bow down." In Sanskrit we indeed find string instruments, and probably synonyms for the Ku.

For the root "To" is traceable in the Maori "Tuohu," to bend forward, and in "Tupoe," to bend the head downwards. In the Rarotongan dialect this word means "to bow down." In Sanskrit we observe the root "To" in "Taushtika," the zodiac sign of an archer, in "Tuna," a quiver, and in "Turya," a musical instrument.

"Torehe" may have originally meant the pastime of making music on a "To" (note the Maori word "Rehia" for amusement).

From such evidence we may conclude that "To" and "Torehe" then were string instruments.

THE PAHU

This was a gong. It existed in several forms. One was a flat beyn slab of heart of matai. Another was made from a block of sound heart wood hewn into the form of a canoe and hollowed out. Trees hollowed out were also used as Pahus. Such a tree gong, a fofara, stood on a hill in the Te Whaiti district. In 1869, during the Maori wars, it was picketed before the taking of Harema Pa to prevent the Maoris from using it to sound an alarm.

As indicated by this instance, the

Pahu was used to warn people. Sometimes it was erected on the look-out platform of a pa. The watchman struck the pahu occasionally to demonstrate the alertness of the people. The pahu was also used for signalling. Its use in such forms is suggested by the meaning of its name. In Maori, "Pahu" means alarm, in Hawaiian it is to strike or to pound. There is also a passive Maori form, "Pahua" which means to plunder.

We find corresponding words in Prakrit, a later Sanskrit dialect. Thus the Prakrit "Pahamsari" is "to strike." "Paharo" has an interesting double meaning. It means not only "to strike," but also a period of four hours. The Sanskrit root of these words is "Pa," meaning "to protect." In Maori, it has the same meaning.

In Hebrew "Pelkada" means a watch, a sentinel, or protection, while "Pachid" (the "ch" is pronounced as in the Gaelic "loch") means fear, terror, alarm. "Paga" is to strike upon. Consider also "Bachan," the watchtower. The biblical reference to "the hill with the watchtower on it" is reminiscent of the Maori hill-pa, with its look-out platform and "Pahu."

"Faku" in Polynesian also means to burst, explode, gush forth. A Hebrew equivalent is "Bakah," to cleave asunder, rend, break forth. The Maori "Pahua," to steal, rob, plunder, also has an equivalent in the Hebrew "Bagad"—rapine, a spoiling.

Thus consideration of just these few Maori instruments demonstrates what linguistic research could do to elucidate the forgotten meanings of words in not merely one, but three language groups. For not only can Maori words be explained by reference to Sanskrit or Hebrew, but Hebrew and Sanskrit words can be explained from Maori.

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Letters to the Editor

The Editor welcomes letters on broadcasting subjects or topics arising out of articles printed in THE LISTENER but reserves the right to shorten letters for reasons of space

Which Kind of War?

Sir, In the talk published in THE LISTENER of March 12 Mr. McLachlan discusses the question: Are we preparing for the wrong kind of war? As some of your readers may know, I have no doubt that the answer is 'Yes', and my distaste for our present strategy is increased when I read that, according to Mr. McLachlan, 'our Ministers are not always willing, even if they are able, to communicate [the intentions of our foreign and colonial policy] to their military advisers'.

I trust the Ministry of Supply is making sure that all senior naval, military, and air force officers are supplied with Mark II* crystal balls.
Yours, etc.,
London, S.W.1 STEPHEN KING-HALL

Sir,—Mr. Donald McLachlan, in his talk 'Which Kind of War?' asks: 'Are we preparing for the wrong kind of war?'

It will clear our minds to realize exactly where our real danger lies. It does not lie in an all-out nuclear attack out of the blue: no one in his senses is going to start an all-out nuclear war. Our real danger—and it is well to remember that it is a danger shared by all, East as well as West—is that such a war may grow out of some comparatively minor aggression started with conventional forces: the more so as these forces become themselves equipped with minor nuclear weapons.

Our problem is to provide the conventional forces to counter such minor aggressions before they spread too far.

In the last war we had two lines of defence against fire: the stirrup pumps to deal with incipient fires; the fire brigade for those which had spread too far. So now we have two lines of defence: conventional forces and all-out nuclear power. But while the conventional forces can fulfil the role of the stirrup pumps by suppressing minor aggressions before they become too dangerous, all-out nuclear power can only fulfil the role of the fire brigade at the cost of destroying that which it sets out to save: it is

as if the fire brigade poured oil upon the fire instead of water.

It is therefore our conventional forces that are our first line of defence: for we cannot hope to escape minor aggressions. The deterrent is no deterrent to them: rather, it provides a cover under which they can be carried out. Hungary is a standing example of this.

It is no argument to say that we cannot afford both nuclear power and conventional forces. What the East can afford the West can afford, if the countries concerned have the will to achieve the necessary co-operation and to make the necessary sacrifices.—Yours, etc.,
Farnham A. H. NORMAN

Soviet Foreign Trade

Sir,—Mr. Alec Nove's fine talk on Soviet foreign trade (THE LISTENER, February 19) stops short of indicating the grave dilemma for the West which 'genuine' (non-political) Russian trade may present.

Under the strains and stresses of the new and ambitious Russian seven-year plan, there may arise urgent requirements for certain Western goods which can be obtained primarily through the sale of Russian goods in order to secure foreign currency. These Russian sales may occur at prices well below those of the world market if the foreign currency requirement is sufficiently urgent. 'Dumping' complaints against these transactions lose their meaning when applied to a planned economy. 'Losses' which this organization may incur can be spread over the whole of the domestic Russian economy. Even in the absence of political objectives, and with the best of intentions, the Russian state trading organization may thus be forced to cause intermittent and unwitting havoc in Western economies in order to obtain the currency it needs.

The state trading organization has the further advantage of being able to offer long-term contracts at fixed prices to secure those raw materials in scarce supply.

A threat of this nature to Western markets and scarce raw material supplies might possibly result in large-scale unemployment and indeed

become a cause for war. At the least it carries gravely unsettling effects into the heart of Western economies. The crux of the matter for the West is that firms and individual traders are no match for a state trading organization that has all the resources, capital, credit and diplomatic support of a large state behind it.

But there is something even more surprising: suppose the Russians in their own interest wish to co-operate in the international economy—partition equitably scarce raw material supplies, organize joint investment projects or long-term stabilization agreements (for ten years or more if necessary)—to whom in the West might they turn? Individuals and firms are powerless to commit others (or even themselves) to such agreements.

Thus, in the international economy today, the West cannot compete effectively with the Soviet bloc, and moreover, cannot even co-operate to any significant extent. Under these general conditions, we must rate the prospects of economic coexistence as dubious indeed. We cannot be sanguine about the mollifying effects on the Cold War of increases in 'genuine' Russian trade.

No *modus vivendi* is possible that does not somehow neutralize these disruptive effects. Only if the West can develop her existing governmental foreign economic organs in association with private firms, to be an effective partner to the Russian state trading organization, and an effective competitor where required, can we be assured that economic coexistence is feasible. These organs have already been established to carry through the numerous foreign aid schemes and inter-governmental economic agreements.

It is by this type of buffer between our international economic activities and our domestic ones that we can preserve free markets against all the unpredictable political vagaries and economic stresses of the Soviet bloc.

Inhibiting an effective response to this problem is our extraordinary nostalgia for the old international economy—the self-balancing gold-standard system, refurbished in modern dress as 'full convertibility'. Once this ghost is

truly laid, we may find that unexpected avenues of co-operation in the international economy are open to us: new forms of trade, barrier, currency arrangements and business procedures may make their appearance.—Yours, etc.,
Montreal ABRAHAM ROTSTEIN

A Challenge to the Universities

Sir,—Having taught in both British and American universities, and being now involved with operational research in industry, I was intrigued by Dr. Malleon's talk (THE LISTENER, March 5). Of the many ideas which it has given me I can ask you to find space for only a few:

(i) There are interesting analogies between the 'operation' in question (the degree-by-examination system) and industrial processes where the crucial measure of efficiency is final yield after routine inspection of the product. A lot of research has already been done in this kind of context.

(ii) Are the tuition and maintenance costs of the proportion who fail the sole economic measure of the loss to the community? Surely, if we are committed to expanding university capacity in any case, the real cost includes capital charges on new capacity equivalent to that now being used by the 'rejects'.

(iii) Following from Dr. Malleon's references to objective testing (e.g., multiple-choice examination questions), what is the real effectiveness of the device of 'external' marking of papers? This question, like most of those on the subject, tends to be answered intuitively. Is there any statistical justification for having examination papers assessed by someone who does not know the examinee?

(iv) Dr. Malleon suggests some possibly significant correlations between academic performance and other variables. This sort of thing must surely have been studied by university psychology departments before now—particularly in America, where 'student counselling' is respectable. One would expect to hear of investigations into sexual behaviour as correlated with examination results. But has this been done for such 'academic' behaviour as lecture attendance or library usage?—an index for the latter could be evaluated fairly easily from existing clerical records.

In the end, however, operational research is worth doing only if the responsible 'executives' can define their ultimate objective and will listen to recommendations. I suspect that our universities may yet prefer their present failure rate to any imaginable proposals for lowering it. Then the idea of appraisal in terms of 'efficiency'—however neutral this word may be in operational research—will be unwelcome to most dons. Their natural tendency is to blame the failure rate on selection procedures rather than on the 'operations' producing the failures.

On the other hand, intuitive assumptions about what kinds of behaviour affect academic performance are implicit in many university regulations. Are the authorities willing to have these assumptions scientifically tested? I would offer them a challenge: will any university create a fellowship, with all facilities for investigation, specifically for this kind of research?
Yours, etc.,
Glasgow CHRISTOPHER BLAKE

Sir,—With reference to Mr. W. Couth's letter on the Training Colleges, I would like to say, as a member of one of the smaller colleges, that I agree with him entirely.

Here, because of the comparatively small numbers, it is possible for everyone to receive

individual treatment. This enables the more intelligent ones to be stretched to their full capacity, and the weaker ones are encouraged to do better. The success of this approach can be estimated by the number of successful candidates. Previous to the last two or three years—when there have been one or two failures—no candidate has been unsuccessful at the end of the course.—Yours, etc.,
Liverpool, 3 C. J. ROSE

Cambridge Concerns

Sir,—Your editorial 'Cambridge Concerns' (THE LISTENER, March 5) seems to be based on two misconceptions.

The first is that only in Oxford and Cambridge are university teachers concerned with administration, student welfare, research, and extra-mural activities in addition to lecturing, tutoring, and examining. In reality the first four tasks are part of university life everywhere. It is true that in the authoritarian hierarchy of the modern universities teachers who are not professors have fewer administrative responsibilities than members of the more free and more egalitarian ancient universities, yet even they have some administrative duties.

Teachers of all ranks do some 'social work' for students; indeed, the testimony of those of my colleagues who like myself have known both an ancient and a modern university confirms me in the belief that nowadays the average teacher in a modern university probably does no less than the average don at Oxford and Cambridge (which is not as much as many commentators think it is). The modern universities have admirable records of research by teachers and post-graduate students. Their teachers and administrators take part in public life as journalists, broadcasters, and members of official and voluntary bodies. Your discussion of the ancient universities applies also to the modern ones, for they are universities in reality and not only in name.

Your second misconception is that the dissatisfaction felt by some students in modern universities on account of the conditions and careers of Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates would be an important reason for converting the ancient universities into research institutions. It is true that some students and teachers in the modern universities envy excessively people at the ancient ones, but the emotions of this minority would not justify depriving what you rightly call 'the cream of the students from the schools' of the sort of education that Oxford and Cambridge are so admirably fitted to give them. To disperse among the modern universities the boys and girls who now go to the ancient ones might well cause more frustration in the nation's best students than the present system causes in the others, and would probably make it more difficult for the modern universities to develop courses and methods suitable for the students sent to them.—Yours, etc.,
Manchester, 14 PETER CAMPBELL

[It is surely the tutorial system that differentiates Oxford and Cambridge from the 'redbrick' universities, not to mention the historic charm of these two ancient institutions. These are what they have to offer, not administrative efficiency.—Editor, THE LISTENER]

The Macnabs and 'Wild MacGregors'

Sir,—In THE LISTENER of February 26 there is a reproduction of a broadcast talk on the Marquess of Montrose. In it the Macnabs

appear to be specified as an outlawed clan, and linked with 'the wild MacGregors'.

This is not strictly correct. The MacGregors were outlawed, thanks to the machinations of Black Duncan of the Cowl, the laird of Glenorchy, and John Baine Macnab was fined for 'resetting' MacGregors, and in the Rolls of Highland Clans of 1567 and 1594 the Macnabs were mentioned with other Highland Clans as being unruly; but they were never outlawed. Finlay Macnab used his influence in 1646 to curb the depredations of the Irish soldiery who accompanied Montrose, and though his eldest son, Smooth John Dow, followed Montrose when Montrose changed sides and joined King Charles, leaving the side of his uncle, Black Duncan's son, who did not change sides with Montrose, John Baine—my ancestor Finlay's third son, who had married Janet, a daughter of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, served as a Captain and held the fort of Garth Castle, at the foot of the pass over the brues of Schiehallion to prevent Montrose from taking the short cut south into Loch Tay side.

The Scots Parliament later resolved that Capt. John Baine Macnab had suffered a loss of £15,000 from Montrose's soldiery and voted a sum of £3,000 as compensation for him, though this was never paid. His son Archibald Macnab of Mullion, and Archibald's first cousin Alexander Macnab of Bovin, the Chief of the Clan, were both Ensigns in the Earl of Atholl's Regiment after the Restoration. It was not till long after this that the MacGregors became respectable again.

But of course I agree entirely with Miss C. V. Wedgwood about the Irish.

Yours, etc.,
Kilina, A. C. MACNAB OF MACNAB
Perthshire

Is Chess Worth Playing?

Sir,—Although chess players so far have had little influence in the world, is it not possible that the game may have much greater influence in the future? It is the one game that is universal, costs practically nothing, is remarkably free from any money taint, and can be played with enjoyment from childhood to old age. The Russians have adopted it as a national pastime. Could not every nation do the same and find in it an outlet for the pugnacity and cunning which beset us and an occasion for the friendly rivalry which we all desire? It can unite people individually and in groups the world over, and provide a common interest for the age of leisure which may lie ahead. Therefore not only should we play chess because we like it, as suggested by Mr. Broadbent (THE LISTENER, March 12), but we should also take it up as a duty towards the civilization in which we live.
Yours, etc.,
Chichester H. HARDING

J. A. Hobson

Sir,—I am engaged in a study of the life and work of the economist J. A. Hobson (1858–1940). I would be most grateful if any of your readers who have any personal recollections of him and of the impact of his ideas would communicate with me. Letters and papers would be copied and returned.

Yours, etc.,
Four Winds, GERALD WALTERS
Kniveton Park, Ilkerton, Derbyshire

Very good about—but taking the conclusion!—A

Die Industriegesellschaft und das politische Gespräch des Westens

Eine internationale Studienwoche in Rheinfelden

Am Ende September ist in Rheinfelden von mehr als dreißig Historikern, Ökonomen, Soziologen und politischen Wissenschaftlern das Problem der Industriegesellschaft des Westens, ihrer inneren Spannungen und ihrer Verhältnisse zu den kommunistischen Staaten und den Entwicklungsländern in einigen seiner vielen Aspekte betrachtet worden. Dieses Seminar wurde von Prof. Raymond Aron geleitet, der auch das den Diskussionen zugrunde liegende «papers» verfaßt hatte, und es folgte auf Studienwochen in Tokio (über die wirtschaftlichen Probleme der Entwicklungsländer), in Oxford (über die neuen Entwicklungstendenzen in der Sowjetunion) und in Rhodos (über die politischen Formen der neuen Staaten), die, wie die Begegnung von Rheinfelden, zu einem ganzen Zyklus von «Seminars» gehören, der unter dem Zeichen «Tradition und Wandel» steht und insgesamt vom Kongreß für die Freiheit der Kultur organisiert wird.

Eine Studienwoche war die Begegnung von Rheinfelden im konzentriertesten Sinn, und nicht nur die bedrückende Vielfalt der Probleme und Gebiete, sondern auch die schlechte Akustik des nicht hierfür angelegten Saales des Kurhotels, mit dem erholenden Blick auf Bäume und Büsche eines Parkes, stellten an die Konzentrationsfähigkeit der Teilnehmer und Gäste hohe Anforderungen. Die Universität Basel, die zu den Förderern dieser Zusammenkunft gehörte, und auch die Regierung von Baselstadt in einem Empfang bekundeten lebhaftes Interesse an dieser Tagung, von der die Weltpresse vor allem im Hinblick auf zwei Teilnehmer Notiz nahm: George F. Kennan und J. Robert Oppenheimer, die beide dem «Institute of Advanced Studies» in Princeton angehören, der letztgenannte als Direktor dieses Instituts und der erstere als Historiker, der dort sein dreibändiges Werk über die ersten Jahre der amerikanisch-sowjetrussischen Beziehungen fertigstellt. Eine der Sitzungen fand in der Universität Basel statt, und in deren Namen hat Edgar Salin, der einer der Teilnehmer war, mit seinen Kollegen Höflichkeit, aber auch mehr als Höflichkeit über die besonderen opportune Wahl von Basel (und Umgebung) als dem Ort eines internationalen Dialogs über Demokratie und Industrie getauscht. Es waren übrigens keineswegs nur Höflichkeiten, denn Edgar Salin stellte von Anfang an die Problematik der «Industriegesellschaft», die auf Grund technischer Entwicklungen demokratische und totalitäre Gemeinschaften gleichermaßen erfasse, nicht eine Frage der Temperaments und des Erbes, sondern eine Frage der Meinungen in allen brennenden Maße eine Frage des Temperaments und des Erbes, und so anregend dieser Teil der Debatte auch war, eignet er sich wohl am wenigsten zur Wiedergabe. Nur einmal dürfte man den Eindruck haben, über die Meinungen hinaus zu einem neuen Gesichtspunkt voranzufahren: das war bei den Ausführungen von Michael Polanyi, dem in Oxford tätigen Gelehrten von umfassender Bildung, dessen letztes großes Werk «Personal Philosophy» wohl erst am Beginn seiner Wirkung steht und der, von der organischen Chemie herkommend, zur Nationalökonomie übergewechselt hat. Polanyi entwickelte an Hand von russischen wie von ungarischen Untersuchungen die Theorie, daß es eine zentralisierte Planwirtschaft im eigentlichen Sinne nie in kommunistischen Staaten niemals gegeben habe und auch prinzipiell nicht geben könne. Für die Überstabilität individueller Entscheidungen und spontaner Anpassungen brauchte er das Beispiel vom Saak voll Kartoffeln, die sich durch keine Berechnung so zusammenfügen lassen, daß die Beiden für einen möglichst in die Lächer der andern passen, während durch ein Schütteln des Saaks eine solche Anpassung, die den beanspruchten Platz auf das Minimum herabsetzt, praktisch verwirklicht wird. Er sprach auch von der Planung einer Reihe von Zügen im Schachspiel, die nur dann möglich seien, wenn die Spielregeln so festgesetzt werden, daß es keine Verlierer gibt. Diese Beispiele, die in der Erinnerung haften bleiben, gewannen allerdings ihren ganzen Sinn nur im Zusammenhang seiner theoretisch strengen Darlegungen. Sie vielleicht zu komplex waren, um sich so leicht in die Diskussion am vierseitigen Tisch einzufügen. Aber es ist selten, wenn bei einer Begegnung dieser Art nicht nur schon bekannte Ideen aneinander abgeglichen werden, sondern in einem Denkprozeß unerwartete Kategorien auftauchen. In diesem Sinn war Polanyis Beitrag ein Höhepunkt dieser Tagung.

Das Seminar von Rheinfelden — wir wollen es wenig akademisch «Begegnung» nennen — ist ein offenes und das heißt auch in mehr als einem Sinn fragmentarisches Gespräch geblieben. Es nahm Probleme wieder auf, die in den erwähnten früheren Studienwochen zur Sprache kamen, und wird seinerseits Fortsetzungen finden, namentlich in der Zusammenkunft, die zum zehnten Jahrestag der Gründung des «Kongresses für die Freiheit der Kultur» im Juni 1960 in Berlin stattfinden wird.

Auf Rhodos hatten Raymond Aron und der indische Politiker Asoka Mehta, Führer der parlamentarischen Gruppe der Sozialisten, die Schlüsselwörter gesprochen*. Damals hatte Aron auf die vielfältigen Zwischenformen zwischen dem autoritären Staat und der Mehrparteiendemokratie hingewiesen. Mehta hingegen mit Besorgnis vom Aufstieg militärischer Führerschichten in indischen Nachbarländern gesprochen. Ein Jahr später, in Rheinfelden, war Asoka Mehta — seine Unbefangenheit und geistige Kraft hat auch diesmal die Teilnehmer tief beeindruckt — hoffnungsvoller und wies darauf hin, daß auch in der Krise des Parlamentarismus im freien Asien Rechtsicherheit und Meinungsfreiheit in relativ hohem Maße gewahrt blieben. Der Pessimismus war diesmal eher bei Raymond Aron zu finden, der die Ansicht vertritt, daß die westliche Gesellschaft heute ihre inneren Krisen und Spannungen zu bewältigen vermag und nicht mehr von extremen Ideologien bedroht ist, der aber an die «Entwicklungsländer» vor allem des überbevölkerten Asien mit einer gewissen Verzweiflung denkt. Raymond Aron wies in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem auf zwei beängstigende Kontraste hin: während die Kenntnis der asiatischen Massen von der Lebenshaltung im Westen immer genauer wird, ist zugleich der Abgrund zwischen der Lebenshaltung dieser Massen und der des Westens viel breiter geworden; zweitens gebe es manche Gebiete (Aron dachte hier auch an Nordafrika), in denen die Erziehung der politischen Unabhängigkeit durch wirtschaftlichen Zerfall und Niedergang erkaufte werde. Von diesen zwei schmerzlichen Widersprüchen, auf die Aron hinwies, lehnte Mehta den zweiten als ein «unmögliches Dilemma» ab, während in der Frage der Lebenshaltung darüber Einigkeit bestand, daß die Idee eines wirtschaftlichen Wachstums um jeden Preis und in jeder Richtung von derjenigen eines notwendigen Fortschritts getrennt werden müsse und daß die Anwendung wissenschaftlicher und überhaupt rationaler Methoden in der Landwirtschaft und die Verbreiterung der Erziehung zur Sicherung einer Ernährungsgrundlage den Vorrang haben müsse vor einer Industrialisierung um

juden Preis, in der gewisse Prestigeobjekte der Schwerindustrie allein leuchteten den Vorrang einnehmen. Asoka Mehta sprach auch von Zunahme mehrerer kommunistischer Regimes in Kerala und vertrat die Ansicht, daß keine totalitäre Partei Indien als Ganzes beherrschen könnte.

Doch war das Gespräch über das Verhältnis zu den Entwicklungsländern nur ein Randthema. Ein anderes, das unvermeidlich und wohl über den vorgesehenen Rahmen hinaus in den Mittelpunkt gelangte, war dasjenige des «Dialogs zwischen der demokratischen und der kommunistischen Industriegesellschaft». Hier wurde die Frage aufgeworfen, ob die Hebung des Lebensstandards in der Sowjetunion politische und geistige Veränderungen auslösen oder beschleunigen könnte, die durch eine gewisse Liberalisierung die Gemeinsamkeit dieser verschiedenen Welten fördern würden. George F. Kennan sprach in dieser Hinsicht zuversichtlich von den großen und nicht rückgängig zu machenden Fortschritten, die die Sowjetunion im Vergleich zum Stalinschen Totalitarismus zu verzeichnen habe, in Hinsicht auf die Rechtssicherheit, auf die Formen eines Parlamentarismus, der sich von der Spitze her langsam verbreiterte, auf die Verfestigung von Interessengruppen und auch auf den «stoppers» der Jugend und der Intelligenz. Die Professoren Rostow (Yale University), Postan (Cambridge) und Talmon (Jerusalem), die wohl alle drei ursprünglich aus russischen Gegenden stammten, äußerten sich zu diesem Thema sehr viel skeptischer, sowohl was das Absterben einer dogmatischen Ideologie als auch was den Schutz vor Rückfällen von einem gemäßigeren zu einem rasanten Totalitarismus betrifft. Es muß aber betont werden, daß Kennans Optimismus sich nicht auf die automatischen Folgen eines wirtschaftlichen Fortschritts als solchen stützte, sondern mehr auf sein Vertrauen in die noch nicht verschütteten Kulturtraditionen der russischen Intelligenz, aus denen der neuen Generation Kräfte des Widerstands gegen das totalitäre System zuströmen.

J. Robert Oppenheimer, der durch mehrere schriftliche Rapporte und verschiedene Interventionen sehr zuge in die Debatte eingriff, wies darauf hin, daß die Kontakte mit russischen Atomphysikern ihm das Gefühl von einer möglichen Gemeinschaft gegeben hätten; bei allem, auf langem Studium und persönlicher Erfahrung gegründeten Wissen der Teilnehmer über die Sowjetunion blieben hier die Meinungen in allem brennenden Maße eine Frage des Temperaments und des Erbes, und so anregend dieser Teil der Debatte auch war, eignet er sich wohl am wenigsten zur Wiedergabe. Nur einmal dürfte man den Eindruck haben, über die Meinungen hinaus zu einem neuen Gesichtspunkt voranzufahren: das war bei den Ausführungen von Michael Polanyi, dem in Oxford tätigen Gelehrten von umfassender Bildung, dessen letztes großes Werk «Personal Philosophy» wohl erst am Beginn seiner Wirkung steht und der, von der organischen Chemie herkommend, zur Nationalökonomie übergewechselt hat. Polanyi entwickelte an Hand von russischen wie von ungarischen Untersuchungen die Theorie, daß es eine zentralisierte Planwirtschaft im eigentlichen Sinne nie in kommunistischen Staaten niemals gegeben habe und auch prinzipiell nicht geben könne. Für die Überstabilität individueller Entscheidungen und spontaner Anpassungen brauchte er das Beispiel vom Saak voll Kartoffeln, die sich durch keine Berechnung so zusammenfügen lassen, daß die Beiden für einen möglichst in die Lächer der andern passen, während durch ein Schütteln des Saaks eine solche Anpassung, die den beanspruchten Platz auf das Minimum herabsetzt, praktisch verwirklicht wird. Er sprach auch von der Planung einer Reihe von Zügen im Schachspiel, die nur dann möglich seien, wenn die Spielregeln so festgesetzt werden, daß es keine Verlierer gibt. Diese Beispiele, die in der Erinnerung haften bleiben, gewannen allerdings ihren ganzen Sinn nur im Zusammenhang seiner theoretisch strengen Darlegungen. Sie vielleicht zu komplex waren, um sich so leicht in die Diskussion am vierseitigen Tisch einzufügen. Aber es ist selten, wenn bei einer Begegnung dieser Art nicht nur schon bekannte Ideen aneinander abgeglichen werden, sondern in einem Denkprozeß unerwartete Kategorien auftauchen. In diesem Sinn war Polanyis Beitrag ein Höhepunkt dieser Tagung.

Es ist an der Zeit, zu fragen, wie Raymond Aron selber als Initiator das Thema verstanden hat und was er von den Teilnehmern dieser Diskussion erwarten konnte. Aron geht davon aus, daß die von Wissenschaft, Technik und Rationalisierung bestimmte sogenannte «Industriegesellschaft» (er hat diesem Begriff und dieser Wirklichkeit ein neues, vor kurzem erschienen Werk gewidmet) das wesentliche neue Phänomen unserer Zeit sei. Für den Westen, wo diese «Industriegesellschaft» zur Reife gekommen ist, glaubt Aron, eine Wende feststellen zu können. Diese unsere Gesellschaften könnten in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte wahrscheinlich nicht mehr durch rasende politische Leidenschaften zerrissen werden und hätten Chance auf innere Befriedung, auf Ausgleich der heftigsten Spannungen und auf Dauer. Ihre wirklichen Spannungen, Gefahren und auch Entscheidungen lägen nicht mehr im Bereich ihrer Beziehungen zueinander, sondern in ihren Verhältnissen zur kommunistischen Staatenwelt und zu den uncommitted countries, die Aron, nach französischem Sprachgebrauch, «le tiers monde» nennt. Daß gerade seine eigene Heimat nicht ganz zu jenen westlichen Industrieländern gehört, die ihre

wirtschaftlichen und politischen Probleme im Rahmen einer gefestigten demokratischen Ordnung überwunden haben, das hat allerdings Raymond Aron so wenig verschwiegen wie sein französischer Kollege Morand.

Der Westen hat heute seine entscheidenden Spannungen nicht innerhalb der eigenen Gesellschaft, sondern in seiner Beziehung zu kommunistischen Staaten und zu den Entwicklungsländern. Hat die kommunistische Welt ein anderes Ziel als die kapitalistische? Verspricht sie überhaupt noch etwas anderes, als in der Befriedigung von Massenbedürfnissen den Westen einzuholen und zu überholen? Und wäre dieser Ehrgeiz noch brauchbar als die Rechtfertigung eines tiefen ideologischen Gegensatzes? Es bliebe ja in diesem Fall nur der Gegensatz zwischen den Mitteln zum gemeinsamen Ziel. Hier wurde auch die These berücksichtigt, daß die totalitäre Stalinsche Zwangsperiode den Treibhauseffekt einer forcierten Entwicklung hatte und in dieser Eigenschaft historisch verständlich, aber aus den gleichen Gründen auch historisch überholt ist. Gegen diese These, die ein politisches System geradezu fatalistisch aus unumkehrbaren wirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeiten ableitet, wandte sich aber besonders entschieden George Kennan, der bemerkte, daß Christliche Methoden der industriellen Entwicklung der Sowjetunion offensichtlich viel zuträglicher gewesen seien als diejenigen Stalins. Und Raymond Aron bemerkte zur prinzipiellen Seite dieser Frage: «Das Beispiel des Nationalsozialismus beweist, daß in jeder Gesellschaft und in jeder Phase ihres wirtschaftlichen Wachstums die Unterdrückung der Freiheit möglich ist.»

Erstaunlicherweise wurde die Frage, welche höhere Einheit sich in den westlichen Gemeinschaften durchsetzen muß, damit von einer westlichen Gemeinschaft im eigentlichen Sinne die Rede sein kann, in Rheinfelden fast durchweg beiseite gelassen (mit Ausnahme einiger Interventionen des englischen Professors Catlin). J. Robert Oppenheimer beglückwünschte in seinem Schlusswort die Konferenz dazu, daß die leidige Frage eines atomaren Krieges von ihren Debatte so gut wie ganz ausgeschlossen worden war. Es ist aber festzuhalten, daß im Zeichen der Unabsehbarkeit eines atomaren Krieges, der ein Selbstmord der Menschheit als Ganzes sein könnte, Probleme und Spannungen zwischen verschiedenen Staatsordnungen zur Sprache kamen, die zu anderen Zeiten höchst wahrscheinlich zu Kriegen geführt und durch den Ausgang eines Krieges auch in einem gewissen Sinn eine Lösung gefunden hätten. Mit der Unabsehbarkeit und Unmöglichkeit eines Krieges ist zugleich auch gesetzt, daß gewisse entscheidende Gemeinsamkeiten angeklagt und aufgelöst werden und die Probleme der Gesellschaft und der Staatenwelt, die an die traditionelle Ultimatio ratio der Aristotelischen Verzichtsmüssen, sind wesentlich andere als die Probleme der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der ganzen vergangenen Geschichte. Von hier aus erhielt Prof. E. Voegelin Sehnsucht nach einer modernen politischen Philosophie, die dem bisher erreichten politischen Denken des Abstrakts ebenbürtig sei, eine besondere Dringlichkeit.

Eine Note resignierter Weisheit kam diesmal von der temperamentvollen und dem gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt verschriebenen Genfer Philosophin Jeanne Hersch (sie hatte auch die eindringlichste Kritik an Raymond Arons Vorbericht schriftlich formuliert), die darauf hinwies, daß es neben löslichen Problemen in der Geschichte auch Nöte gibt, die man zu ertragen lernen muß. Eine leise Kritik an Raymond Arons soziologischen Kategorien hatte auch Karl Jaspers in einem Brief vorgebracht (er wurde während dieser Studienwoche nicht in Basel), indem er bei der vollendeten soziologischen Objektivität die Gefahr einer Richtungslosigkeit in den Fragen der Grundentscheidungen anletzte.

Was die verschiedenen Kritiken, denen Raymond Aron Art der Fragestellung ausgesetzt war, vielleicht vermissen ließen, das war eine Klarheit in der Antwort auf seine Frage, welches die Werte und die Ziele der Gemeinschaft, nach der Lösung der Existenzfrage im Zeichen der Modernisierung und Industrialisierung, sein könnten. Für Aron beginnt eine ganz neue philosophische Fragestellung, gerade auf Grund der Leistungen und Erfolge der demokratischen Industriegesellschaft, und nicht nur auf Grund ihrer Schwächen und ihrer Mißerfolge. Es sind nicht nur wirtschaftliche, sondern auch kulturelle und vor allem philosophische Gesichtspunkte, die bei Vertretern von Ländern wie Indien Zweifel ankommen lassen, ob diese moderne Gesellschaft für sie verbindlich, vorbildlich und nachahmenswert ist. Der «Dialog des Westens», von dem die Begegnung von Rheinfelden ein Teil sein wollte und auch gewesen ist, geht auch um diese Frage, welche Verwirklichungen des Westens übertragbar und vermittelbar sind.

In seinem sehr leise und nachdenklich gesprochenen Schlusswort in der letzten Sitzung des Seminars bemerkte J. Robert Oppenheimer, daß selbst eine so ausgewählte und kleine Gruppe wie jene der Teilnehmer dieser Begegnung keine Einigkeit über die Grundfragen der westlichen Industriegesellschaft erreicht hatten. «On many questions we have really been saying opposite things to each other and with a great deal of zest.»

Auf Arons Bekanntheit zur Notwendigkeit des wirtschaftlichen Wachstums, sowohl in den industriellen wie in den vorindustriellen Gesellschaften, antwortete Kennan mit einer ausführlichen Darstellung dessen, was er als die moralischen Schäden und Mängel der vollentwickelten (er würde wohl sagen: überentwickelten) amerikanischen, urbanisierten Massenkonsumgesellschaft empfindet. Im Gegensatz zu seinen Hypothesen über die Entwicklung der Sowjetunion, die im ganzen mit billiger Skepsis aufgenommen wurden, hat Kennans Kritik

am Ideal des «Wachstums» in jeder Richtung und um jeden Preis tiefen Eindruck gemacht, insbesondere soweit er über die Zerstörung des Kontakts zwischen Mensch und Tier, Mensch und Natur sprach und über die Verantwortungslosigkeit, mit der die gegenwärtig Lebenden die Abfallprodukte der Industrie (und zwar nicht nur der atomaren Industrie) so rückwärts abstoßen, daß wir unsere Nachkommen die uns anvertraute Erde besiedelt hinterlassen, weil wir uns nicht als die Hüter und Heger eines uns anvertrauten Stöck Kosmos fühlen. Es waren vor allem die beiden indischen Teilnehmer, die für Kennans Gedankenkreise aufgeschlossen waren; doch hat ihn von den anderen Teilnehmern niemand mit Bestimmtheit widersprochen. Vielleicht hat Kennan aber bei dieser Gelegenheit auch eine Antwort auf Raymond Arons Frage gegeben, welches Bild sich der Westen von sich selber machen kann und wie er von der übrigen Menschheit gesehen werden soll. Denn die radikale Selbstkritik, die Fähigkeit, zwischen Erfolgen und Wirkungen, zwischen Resultat und Wert zu unterscheiden — das, was irgend etwas, gehört zu jener westlichen Überlieferung, die mit gutem Gewissen allen Völkern, die heute in die vom Westen begonnene Wirtschaftsentwicklung gerissen werden, empfohlen werden kann. Gerade die Kritik an der «Massengesellschaft», die Raymond Aron in seinem Vorbericht als Steckbrief von Neokonvertiten und Ex-Marxisten abgetan hatte, war also Anlaß für eine Gewissensforschung, die durchaus zum Thema der Industriegesellschaft gehörte.

Ein jüngerer Amerikaner, der nicht im Geiste der Kulturkritik von Kennan und Oppenheimer sprach, war Prof. Charles L. Lindblom (Yale University), der statt dessen willkommenste Hinweise gab auf Übergangsformen zwischen demokratischer und vordemokratischer Gesellschaft, wie er sie namentlich in der indischen und der mexikanischen Verfassung sieht. Auch Asoka Mehta unterschied zwischen faktisch ohne Rivislen herrschenden Einheitsparteien, die sich durch eine gewisse Offenheit und Toleranz auszeichnen, und totalitären Einheitsparteien, und er wies noch mehrmals auf jene vom Menschen und nicht vom gesellschaftlichen und technischen Fortschritt bestimmten Umwandlungen hin, die ein Land wie Indien braucht, und für die es auch Traditionen und persönliche Beispiele besitzt. Raymond Aron verwies darauf, daß heute alle von einer Tradition getragenen Regime unter dem «impact» der wirtschaftlichen Revolution, wie sehr diese auch gelenkt und verlangsamt werden mag, tief erschüttert werden. Es kommt nicht so sehr darauf an, die Werte der Tradition gegen diesen Wandel anzuspüren, als über den winnenswerten Rhythmus und die Richtung dieses Wandels nachzudenken und über die Mittel, darauf Einfluß zu nehmen. Dies allerdings gehört nur noch von fern zu einem «Dialog des Westens», denn diese westliche evolutionäre Entwicklungen, deren Ausweg unsicher ist, vollziehen sich in Ländern, die der westlichen Macht und dem westlichen Einfluß nicht mehr unterstehen. Welche Solidarität der Westen dieser anderen Welt, jenseits des überholten Imperialismus, anbieten kann und welche gemeinsame Welt auf diese Art noch der Westen mit den «Entwicklungsländern» bilden wird — diese Frage konnte von der Begegnung in Rheinfelden zwar erwogen, aber nicht schlüssig beantwortet werden. Vielleicht darf man sagen, daß es sowohl der Wert wie die Grenze einer solchen Studienwoche war, keine Lösungen anzubieten, sondern mehr Klarheit darüber zu gewinnen, welches im Zeitalter der «Industriegesellschaft», ihrer inneren Spannungen und ihrer Auswirkungen auf die restliche Welt, die eigentlich sinnvollen Fragen sind.

Krankenwärterinnen beim Internationalen Roten Kreuz

40 Krankenwärterinnen, Leiterinnen von Krankenschwesternschulen von Mutterhäusern des Westdeutschen Roten Kreuzes, halten sich gegenwärtig zu einem einwöchigen Studienaufenthalt beim Internationalen Roten Kreuz in Genf auf. Der Besuch wurde von Internationalen Komitee vom Roten Kreuz und von der Liga der Rotkreuzgesellschaften organisiert. Die deutschen Gäste, die selbst für die Ausbildung von Krankenschwestern verantwortlich sind, sollen in Genf über die Geschichte, die Rolle und die gegenwärtigen Aufgaben der Rotkreuzbewegung informiert werden. An den Arbeiten, die von der Leiterin der Abteilung für Sanitätspersonal des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz, Fräulein A. Pfeiffer, sowie von der Leiterin des Büros der Krankenschwestern, Fräulein T. Hentsch, geleitet werden, beteiligt sich auch ein stellvertretende Generalsekretärin des Internationalen Krankenschwesternrates.

Die Krankenschwestern waren während zweier Tage Gäste des IKRK und wurden von der Liga der Rotkreuzgesellschaften empfangen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sprach die Leiterin der Schwesternabteilung des Schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes, Fräulein M. Comtesse (Bern), über die Tätigkeit des Schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes auf dem Gebiete der Krankenpflege.

Das Welt-Flüchtlingsjahr

Genf, 29. Okt. 47 Am Donnerstag verläßt ein Charterflugzeug mit 74 Flüchtlingen, die dem Hochkommissariat der Vereinten Nationen für das Flüchtlingswesen unterstehen, Hamburg mit Bestimmungsort Wagga-Wagga in Australien. Die Regierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland arbeitet nun mit dem Hochkommissariat zusammen, um die Flüchtlingslager abzubauen. In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland werden gegenwärtig noch 40 000 Flüchtlinge gezählt, von denen 12 000 in Lagern leben.

* Siehe den Bericht über das Seminar von Rhodos, «NZZ» Nr. 301 vom 2. November 1959.

Die nie versunkene geistige Welt der Antike unserer Zeit wieder gegenwärtig zu machen ist das Ziel dieser umfassenden Sammlung. Sie vereinigt in vier großen Gruppen, einer Orientalischen, einer Griechischen, einer Römischen Reihe und einer Reihe «Antike und Christentum», neu übertragen und eingeleitet von führenden Gelehrten, die Meisterwerke der antiken Dichtung, Philosophie, Geschichtsschreibung und Biographie. Der Sammlung angegliedert ist «Die Stimme der Alten Welt», mit Langspielplatten griechischer und lateinischer Dichtung, sowie die kleine Bücherei «Lebendige Antike». In Vorbereitung: «Bibliothek des Morgenlandes».

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