

The newspapers of 1886 came in for as much criticism as does the press in our own day. We find FORUM contributors deploring the influence of advertisers and publishers and speculating on the possible success of a paper without advertising. Mr. Julius H. Ward in "The Future of Sunday Journalism," however, holds out great hope for the moral effect of the Sunday paper.

At the present moment journalism, too, is passing through a similar phase, during which the mere business side of the profession has obtained an enormous and ill-regulated importance. Formerly, the proprietors held a somewhat deferential attitude toward the editors, and any interference on their part with the conduct of the paper was regarded as an impertinence, as if Mr. Booth's manager should presume to say how a certain passage of Hamlet should be spoken. At the present time and in many newspaper offices, the writers are nothing, the proprietors are everything.

.... The huge mass of paper issued on Sunday morning by way of a newspaper is on many accounts an interesting and important study. A stranger might easily mistake the nature and purpose of this new product of human exertion. He might very naturally, upon a first glance, call to the retreating carrier and say 'We want the morning paper; you have left us the Dry-goods Reporter or the Jones and Robinson Gazette.'

.... In a land where dry goods are known to be the foremost interest of human nature, it was to be expected that the men who are so happy as to deal in them should magnify their vocation. But we find in glancing over these sheets that all other interests of man and

woman are effaced before them... No matter how important the news, no matter what wars are raging, no matter whose nomination is rejected, or how Miss Cleveland has changed the dressing of her hair, nothing is so manifest to the view as that Jones and Robinson are out with a new slaughter in black silks.

.... When I venture to suggest to a veteran journalist that the next great movement in the evolution of his noble art will be to cut loose from advertising altogether, he bestows upon me a smile of more or less polite derision. He denies the possibility of such a thing, and time may prove him right.

.... It is as unfair to judge the Sunday press by its worst examples as to judge of Christianity by its imperfect forms. The true way to study it is in the light of what it may be made. Granting its earthly origin, its interference with the traditional Sunday, its possible holding people from church services, its secular spirit and atmosphere, it occupies such a position that no wise man can ignore it. It holds the key to the secular and the religious education of the masses, and perhaps the most interesting and important question before the American Churches is whether it cannot be so related to the institutions of religion that it shall strengthen rather than destroy the reverent influences that ought to obtain in daily life. . . . The Sunday press is a part of the movement for making the American Sunday of the future. It is the world's university, in which the people at large are educated once a week, and what controls the Sunday controls what lies between the Sundays. It is that kind of influence that controls the lives of men.

## Marshall vs. Molotov

Although foreign policy is traditionally plotted in the executive secrecy of world cabinets, the United States and the Soviet Union have increasingly tended to define their aims, to defend and explain their policies before a world forum. Beginning with Mr. Marshall's opening address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 17, 1947 (see FORUM, November, 1947), this exchange has assumed the form of a running public debate between the two great powers, Mr. Vishinsky replying for the Soviet Union.

On November 6, 1947, the thirty-first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, and three weeks before the opening of the foreign ministers' conference in London, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov restated the Soviet position. While maintaining that countries with differing economic systems could collaborate in peace-time if they so desired, Mr. Molotov repeated Mr. Vishinsky's predictions of economic collapse in the United States and his charges of capitalist imperialism and warmongering. He accused the United States and Great Britain of collaborating with former Nazis to gain control of the Ruhr and to use this control to dominate Europe. He called upon the "anti-imperialist and democratic" forces in Europe to rally against the open imperialism of Great Britain and the United States.

In Chicago, on November 18, 1947, Secretary of State Marshall reviewed and reaffirmed the policy of the United States. Our basic aim he stated as "the promotion of the right of people to govern themselves and the rule of impartial law as against arbitrary power." The United States, whose civilization stems from Europe, fought two wars to preserve its integrity because it believes Europe's stability and prosperity are prerequisite for a peaceful world and because it believes that Europe has made and can make great contributions to world civilization. The basic question becomes: will Europe be restored to a position of stability so it can work out its own problems or is it to be kept in a state of permanent dependency resulting in "eventual absorption into a system alien to its traditions and civilization?"

Mr. Marshall vigorously denied Soviet allegations of our desire to dominate Europe; he called a halt to further Soviet propaganda as it was endangering world peace, and asked for the restoration of the Ruhr as a necessary step in the restoration of European economy. He pledged himself to pursue the course thus laid down regardless of the "alarms and excursions intended to distract us."

FORUM takes pleasure in presenting excerpts from these two speeches.

## MR. MOLOTOV

All real friends of peace—and they constitute the majority of people of any country—can rely on the fact that the Soviet Union will defend to the end the interests of universal peace.

In accordance with that peaceful policy, the Soviet Union stands for the all-embracing development of international cooperation.

Comrade Stalin profoundly elucidated our foreign policy in his talk with the well-known American, Harold Stassen. They (the Soviet Union and the United States) can, of course, cooperate with each other, said Stalin. The difference between them was not important

as far as collaboration was concerned. The economic systems in Germany and the United States were alike, nevertheless war broke out between them.

The economic systems of the United States and the Soviet Union were different, said Stalin, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war. If two different systems could collaborate during the war why could they not collaborate in peacetime? Naturally, it should be understood that, provided there was the desire to collaborate, collaboration was perfectly possible with different economic systems. But if there was no desire