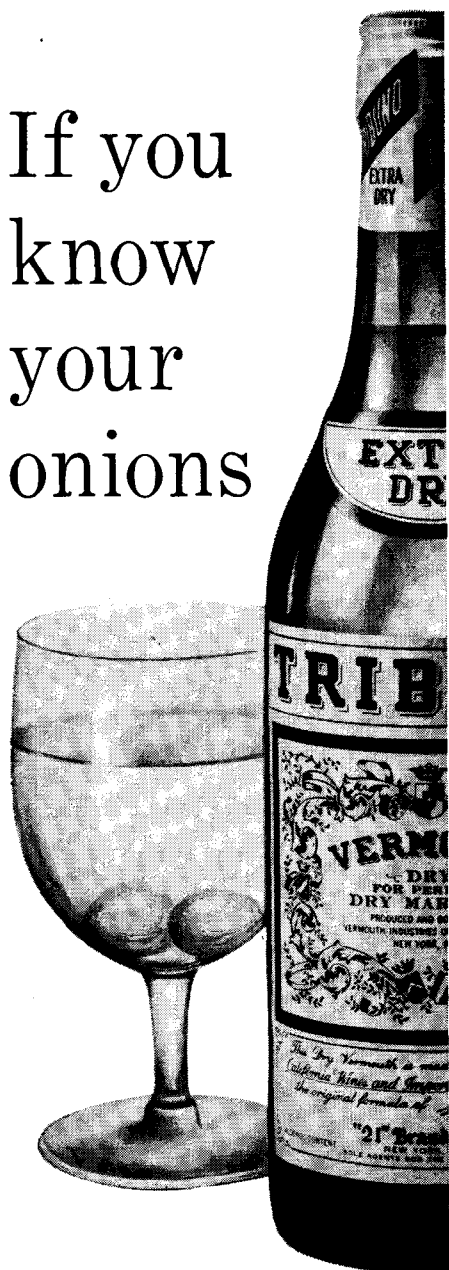


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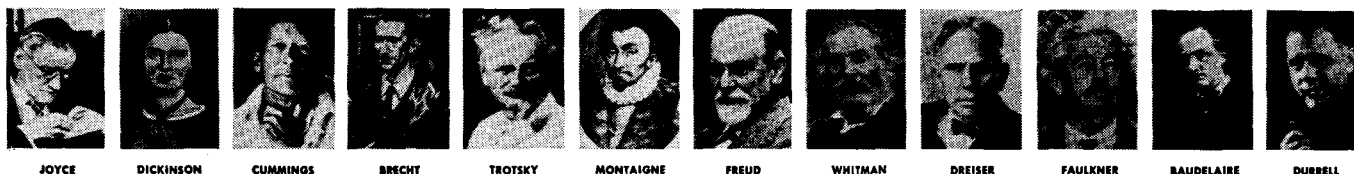
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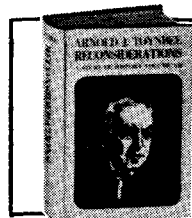
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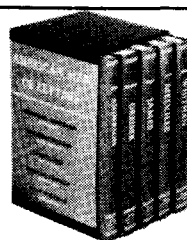
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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IN HIS EDITORIAL **Max Ascoli** takes issue with a man whom he greatly respects but who he believes has allowed his well-meaning desire for negotiation to make him forget the nature and the arms of the enemy we have to negotiate with. As **Max Ascoli** has said in a previous editorial, upon which we publish comments from readers in this issue, there are certain demands of that enemy about which no negotiation is possible.

Alastair Buchan brings us on the whole welcome news. The strategic thinking of the Russians has been following our own rather closely. We are accustomed to hearing much talk about gaps in which we are almost invariably behind, but there may well be a gap in strategic thinking in which, fortunately, we are ahead, since we have made our mistakes ahead of the Russians. Certainly they came rather belatedly to believe in the big-bang-for-a-buck theory of unlimited reliance on strategic bombing carried out by missiles or planes, and more recently they have begun to give increasing attention to the means of conventional warfare. . . . They are still playing the brinkmanship game, however, as **General Thomas R. Phillips** realized when he went to Berlin. But even there he found a number of things that support the main thesis of Mr. Buchan's article. The Russian means of warfare in Europe, both nuclear and conventional, are not so fantastically superior to ours as many of us had been led to believe.

THE KATANGA AFFAIR has been a heart-breaking one, first because of the death of Dag Hammarskjöld, but also because of the fact that the multinational army of the world organization had to face a task of gigantic difficulty. A number of military miscalculations were made, but this should in no way make us forget the extraordinarily good and unprecedented job the U.N. has done in the Congo. **Dan Kurzman** is the author of a forthcoming study of Communist infiltration in the underdeveloped world. . . . The Indian Communist Party has been losing adherents by the thousands of late.

B. Shiva Rao reports from New Delhi, however, that the "defectors," far from being converted to democracy, are engaged in a large-scale Communist plan to infiltrate and control Prime Minister Nehru's Congress Party. Mr. Rao is a journalist and former member of the Indian parliament. . . . In the spring Richard Nixon returns to the political fray to do battle with former Governor Goodwin Knight in California's Republican gubernatorial primary. Governor Brown awaits the victor's pleasure in the fall. If Nixon fails to defeat both—and handily—it seems that a long winter must lie ahead for him. **Bruce Bliven** discusses Nixon's reasons for taking this stern gamble and his chances of getting away with it. Mr. Bliven was for many years editor of the *New Republic*. . . . **Blaine Littell**, who reports on the dubious personality and politics of Kwame Nkrumah, the "Liberator of Ghana," is with CBS News in Accra. . . . **Douglass Cater**, our Washington editor, relates the sad tale of a gentleman who was indiscreet enough to defeat (or appear to defeat) a member of the Byrd machine in a recent electoral contest in the fine old democratic state of Virginia. . . . As British Guiana approaches independence, there has been a rather legitimate apprehension among Americans about what to expect from Dr. Cheddi Jagan, who has been elected as his country's first prime minister. **Edward De Graff**, a free-lance writer, analyzes Dr. Jagan's past record and his present problems.

ROBERT M. COATES's impressions of Italian hill towns are from his new book *Beyond the Alps*, which will soon be published by Sloane. . . . **Hilton Kramer** wrote the introduction to a book devoted to the paintings of Milton Avery from 1930 to 1960, recently published by Yose-loff. . . . **Roland Gelatt** is editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . **Alfred Kazin** writes about Sinclair Lewis. . . . **Michael Harrington** is co-editor of *Labor in a Free Society: Arden House Symposium of Trade Unionism* (University of California Press).

Our cover is by **Don Higgins**.



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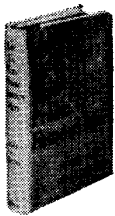
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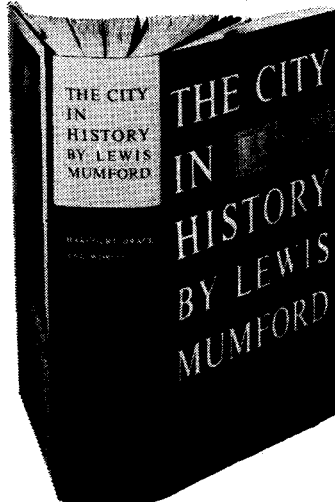
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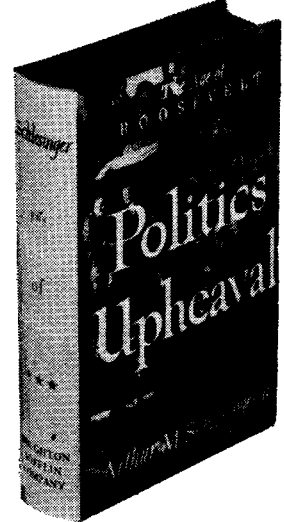
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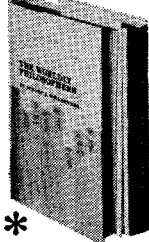


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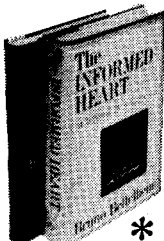
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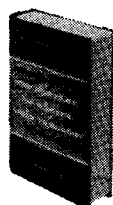
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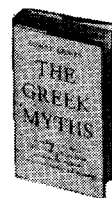
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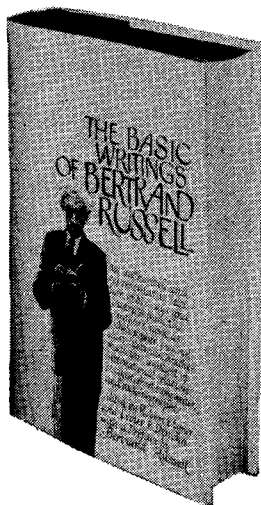
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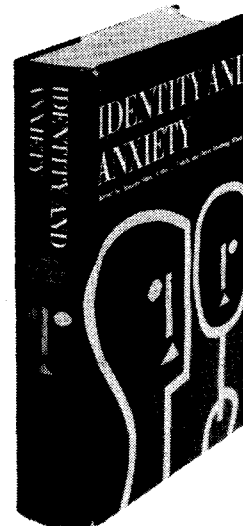
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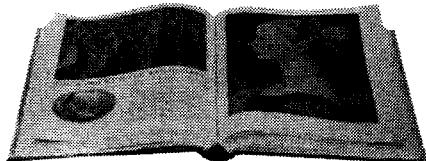
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'RED OR DEAD'

To the Editor: I wish that all the pseudo-liberals who tend vaguely to agree with Bertrand Russell could read your magnificent editorial ("This Red-or-Dead Nonsense," *The Reporter*, October 27).

EMERSON JACOB
Baldwin-Wallace College
Berea, Ohio

To the Editor: I simply cannot take any more of the bellicose and belligerent "tear down the Berlin wall" stuff you have been putting out. I do not believe in heating up or escalating the present crisis. As Bertrand Russell says, too much is at stake. To destroy civilization over the question of which conqueror should get which part of defeated Germany is just too too senseless. All right, the Russians built a wall on their side—so what?

Bertrand Russell is quite right in urging the necessity for peace. If the world could somehow hang on for another generation without another war, perhaps civilization can yet be saved.

DAVID S. TILLSON
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

To the Editor: The comments about my address that you make in your editorial entitled "This Red-or-Dead Nonsense" are most fair, objective, and deeply intelligent. I am of the impression that on the broader aspects of the answer to the question, we are in fairly close agreement. But this is not what pleases me so much about your editorial. Instead it is your ability to disagree agreeably and to criticize constructively—a knack that is far too rare in these troubled times.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

To the Editor: It is alarming to observe that many citizens are coming, little by little, to accept the idea that we may have to initiate the use of nuclear weapons to fulfill our "moral commitments." There is no "moral commitment" to commit such an atrocity. A nuclear war would destroy the most basic of all human rights—the right to exist—not only for Americans and Russians but for millions of people in other countries, who would be involved without any regard to "self-determination."

Let us remember, as Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary recently wrote in a letter to the *New York Times*, "some restraint in the relating of means to ends is still in order."

MARION HYMAN
Buffalo, New York

To the Editor: Your editorial strictures on Bertrand Russell neither do justice to his arguments nor to your own liberal reputation. If you wish to condemn his

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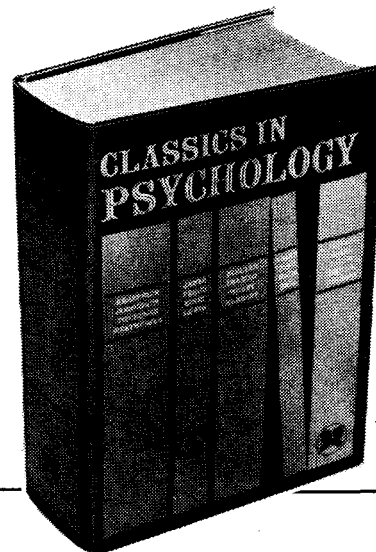
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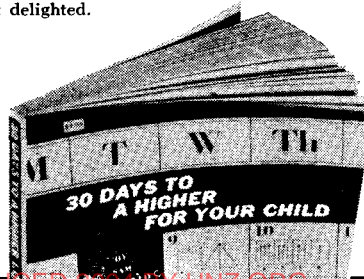


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"Red-or-dead" statement, then in all fairness you should first consider the theory that underlies it, i.e., the theory of British unilateral nuclear disarmament. We believe that Britain is in a unique position to demonstrate her sincerity—and that of the western alliance—by renouncing all nuclear weapons. Britain's "deterrent" has no significant strategic value. In fact, reliance on it has only reduced the efficiency of her conventional forces. Britain's example should create a climate of world opinion in which the Soviet Union and the United States would be forced to take disarmament seriously. It should put a brake on the plans of other nations for nuclear status. Furthermore, Britain would offer her territory to the U.N. as a testing ground for systems of inspection and control.

We do not say that *any* resistance to Communism will inevitably lead to universal death. We do say that excessive reliance on nuclear weapons as instruments of political policy will. We do not say that America should give up the bomb. But we believe that Britain's renunciation could be the first step towards general disarmament.

JOHN GITTINGS
Cambridge, Massachusetts

To the Editor: There are several common traits among the proprietors of totalitarian states, whether the proprietor sits in the patio of a Spanish villa or behind the brick ramparts of the Kremlin. One of the common traits is to prosecute a vested cause as far as circumstances permit. Hitler took Austria because he could. Khrushchev, to please his own appetite and secure his role in the shifting politics of world Communism, will take Berlin, South Vietnam, or any acre outside the Iron Curtain—but again, only if he can.

It is not warmongering doctrine to suggest, as you did most handsomely, that the only path to peace is bold decisions endorsed by appropriate military strength, negotiating but not relying upon mere negotiations as a sort of philosophical Maginot Line. It is simply the truth. A harsh truth for the weary human family. But unless we learn this truth and draw policy from it, and confide in ourselves that man's spirit can survive this nuclear poker game, assuredly we either shall be Red or dead.

WILLIAM C. BAGGS, Editor
The Miami News
Miami, Florida

To the Editor: You have succeeded in expressing the feelings and frustrations of many who watch with concern the good-natured impotence of the western powers faced with the uninhibited bullying of Mr. Khrushchev.

If there is anything more aggravating than the Berlin crisis itself, it is the way some western intellectuals reacted to it. Maybe the time has come to ask the crucial and not merely academic question: what would these people have said about resisting or not resisting

What's a book club good for anyhow?

If bookstores were as plentiful as grocers and druggists there would be no need for book clubs. The fact that only a few large cities can maintain bookstores of a size to carry a fair assortment of books means that the great majority of the people find their reading matter with difficulty and by chance. The book club is one answer to this problem.

Moreover, the bookstore prices of good books have been going up and up. In our economy, consumers are increasingly differentiating between the list and market prices of most items. The book club, by providing wide distribution — plus the convenience of mail delivery — enables readers to obtain books at substantial discounts. If you buy your books through The Mid-Century Book Society, you can save 50% or more through low member's prices and free bonus books of your own choice.

Today's book clubs cater to different publics and have different working principles, from mere general merchandising to highly specialized selections, such as books on science or sports. The Mid-Century Book Society was formed two years ago to offer its members Literature in the traditional sense, new books that are most likely to endure, and the less-than-new of the same quality that may have been overlooked in the hurly-burly of publishing and advertising.

Have you noticed that even though most books are reviewed favorably, many prove to be disappointing once you read them? To preclude such disappointments, The Mid-Century Book Society offers only those books that pass what we believe to be the toughest test: Each is read and approved by a distinguished editorial board — Lionel Trilling, America's most influential literary critic; Jacques Barzun, Provost of Columbia University, whose widely-celebrated best seller, *The House of Intellect*, has aroused the enthusiasm of tens of thousands; and W. H. Auden, one of the great poets of the English language. No book is chosen solely because of its availability or timeliness or popularity — and no book is rejected because it is timely or popular. In short, the editors act as if they were choosing for themselves, in the unaffected manner of a person trying to suit his real intellectual, moral, and artistic interests.

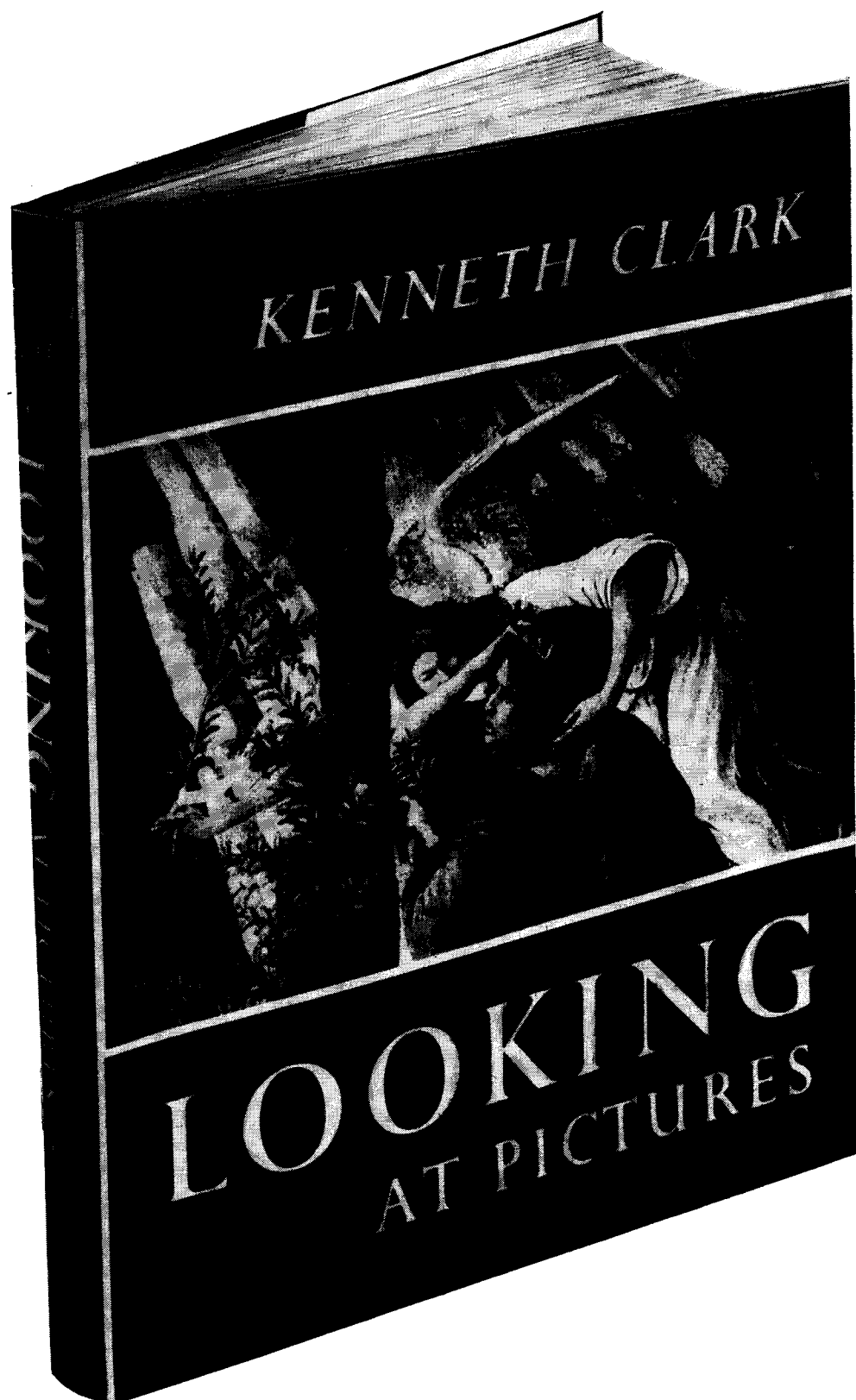
No three editors could be found who differed more in background, national origins, temperament, and professional specialization. They read the large numbers of "possible" books that the presses of Europe and America produce — biography, history, superior fiction, drama, belles lettres, and current events — and choose only those few they value enough to put on their shelves and recommend to their fellow Mid-Centurions.

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By **THEODORE H. WHITE**

Hitler or Franco if atomic weapons had been invented in the 1930's? Is it not possible that present-day reluctance on their part to admit the necessity of resisting the Soviet more forcefully is rooted not so much in the fear of nuclear holocaust as in the amazing tenacious (and possibly unconscious) survival of the ideals and hopes of the 1930's? Is it not possible that the guise of objectivity (expressed in the well-known airy equation of the "two big powers" and their respective shortcomings) feeds on the old intellectual hopes in the possibility of the Soviet representing an avenue of desirable social transformation?

One is tempted to say that some of these intellectuals seem to exhibit, if not the desire for self-destruction, at least a craving or indifference toward a type of slavery they have no real conception of. It is the depressing irony of the situation that when more intimate experiences will make them reconsider their position, it will be of little value. Having spent twenty-four years of my life in Hungary (which I left in 1956), I particularly appreciated your insights which are given to so few—and strangely enough, to even fewer intellectuals—who never had the bad fortune to base their views and generalizations on solid and immediate experience of the nature of Soviet totalitarianism.

PAUL HOLLANDER
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

To the Editor: You have ably put into perspective the dangers that are inherent in our seemingly uncontrollable propensity to negotiate every time the Soviets take one more step in the direction of their announced aim of world domination.

JOHN J. WILLIAMS
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

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Puzzle #42

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