

24 November 1965

Dear Louis:

I find three Poles on our membership lists for 59-61, all three in 60-61.

M. W. J. Günther. I believe that he decided not to go back home, and the most recent address (July 31, 1961) we have is Boeing Scientific Research Laboratories, Seattle 24, Washington.

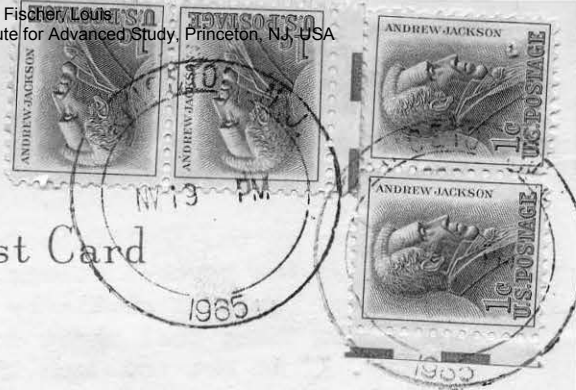
J. W. Jaworowski. He went back to Poland, but came to Cornell for this last year, 64-65. We do not know whether he is here permanently or not, but the most recent address is Department of Mathematics there.

W. Słowikowski, Zwirki-Wigury 55A, m. 14, Warsaw.

Best,

(Mrs. Wilder Hobson)  
Secretary to the Director

Mr. Louis Fischer  
42 South Stanworth Drive  
Princeton, New Jersey



Post Card

Mrs. Verna Hobson

Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton NJ

Nov. 19, 1965

Dear Verna,

When I was at the Institute from 1959 to 1961, I cultivated the several Poles~~m~~ who were~~x~~ there. Now that my Life of Lenin is available in paperback I would like to send it to them; that might do some good in their country. If it not too much trouble, could you send me their names and addresses?

JW Jaworowski  
W Slowikowski  
M.W.J. Günter

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'L. Fischer', written in a cursive style.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 19, 1961.

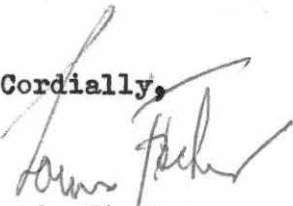
Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

Thanks for two happy, fruitful  
years at the Institute.

My best wishes to you, your  
family, your staff (especially Verna, Betty Horton,  
Mrs. Barnett, Mr. Morgan, Dorothy Hessman -- well,  
everybody has been friendly and helpful).

I have been appointed visiting  
research associate at the Center for International  
Studies in the Woodrow Wilson School. I will teach  
one seminar on Soviet foreign policy, and for the  
rest, continue working on my book on the same  
subject.

I expect to return to Princeton  
late in September and look forward to seeing you and  
Kitty again.

Cordially,  
  
Louis Fischer

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

*Pls circulate: Prof Kennan  
- Mr. Morgan  
✓ Mrs Barnett  
✓ Miss Horton  
+ return to D.C.*

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

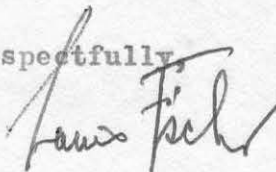
May 1, 1960.

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

I am glad to accept your offer to extend my appointment at the Institute through the 1960-61 academic year. It has been a pleasure to be here and to collaborate with George Kennan, and the prospect of remaining makes me happy. I thank you.

I wish you and your family a good summer.

Respectfully,



Louis Fischer.

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer

The Institute for Advanced Study

cc Professor Kennan  
Mr. Morgan  
Mrs. Barnett  
✓ Miss Horton

28 April 1960

Dear Mr. Fischer:

On the recommendation of Professor Kennan, I am pleased formally to offer you an extension of your appointment in the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, as Research Associate to Professor Kennan, through the academic year 1960-1961. We can make available to you a salary of \$6,500 for the year.

We have been informing members appointed in the last weeks that, because of previous commitments, there is no housing available, and should include that in this letter. You should feel free to consult Mrs. Barnett about it.

We all look forward with pleasure to having you with us for an extended visit.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Oppenheimer

Mr. Louis Fischer  
The Institute for Advanced Study

NOTE TO MR. MORGAN: Transfer \$1500 from Rockefeller Fund to Prof. Kennan's assistant fund.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

April 18, 1960

Dear Robert:

This note will formalize the request I recently made to you: that I might continue to have Louis Fischer in the capacity of a Research Associate during the next academic year.

During that time I shall not only be giving a seminar, weekly, at Yale University on the history of Soviet foreign policy but probably editing for publication the two series of lectures on the Lenin and Stalin periods of Soviet foreign policy which I delivered, respectively, at Oxford and Harvard. Fischer's knowledge of this subject is, I believe, unparalleled, perhaps (for curious reasons) even in the Soviet Union. I have found him, at this stage in his life, mellow, compassionate, and objective in his judgments. He has, I think, fitted in well with the Institute community and feels himself very happy within it.

The work he is doing independently, with such critical aid as I am able to give him, seems to me to be of a high scholarly order. It relates to the earlier days of the Russian revolutionary movement, and is in no sense of a journalistic nature.

For all these reasons, I think his presence at the Institute for another year would be warranted, and hope that it can be arranged.

Very sincerely,

*George Kennan*

George Kennan  
[Dictated in Cambridge,  
and signed in Mr. Kennan's  
absence.]

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer,  
Director,  
The Institute for Advanced Study.

31 March 1960

Memorandum to Mr. Morgan:

Please transfer \$2,000 from the Rockefeller Fund to Professor Kennan's assistant fund, to make a total of \$6,500 for the salary of Mr. Louis Fischer for the year 1959-1960.

Verna Hobson



# CCF

# NEWSLETTER

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM  
104, BOULEVARD HAUSSMANN, PARIS-8° FRANCE

NL/24

March 9th, 1960.


Dear Friend,

The Congress Rhodes Seminar of 1958 has led to continuing study of the problems facing newly independent states. At Rhodes itself, political leaders, scholars and specialists from 22 countries throughout the world gathered to discuss "Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States"; since then, regional meetings on these and related problems have been held in Africa and the Middle East, and particular attention has been given to such specific questions as education, law and public administration in the newly modernising societies.

The contacts and the exchange of views at Rhodes have also stimulated the thinking of many individuals who took part in the seminar. A new evidence of the impact of Rhodes is to be found in the recent book The Story of Indonesia by American journalist Louis Fischer, a Rhodes participant (published by Harper's in the U.S. and Hamish Hamilton in Britain). In the chapter on "The Future of Asia and Africa," Mr. Fischer briefly discusses the Rhodes Seminar and cites the experience reported by some of the Asian participants before stating his own views; this chapter, furthermore, is largely taken up with a discussion of the ideas of Indian leader Jayaprakash Narayan, an Honorary President of the Congress.

You will find attached the text of this chapter, which gives the views of one Rhodes participant on some of the problems raised at that and other Congress-sponsored meetings.

Yours sincerely,

  
Irving Jaffe,  
Editor, Congress News Services.

NL/24

NOT FOR  
PUBLICATION

THE FUTURE OF ASIA AND AFRICA

by Louis FISCHER

"Is Indonesia going Communist?" a United Press correspondent asked Sukarno in 1957. The President offered arguments to prove the negative. "But apart from that," he continued, "let me express a firm warning... that it would not be wise to ascribe every deviation from Western thought in Asia to Communism or Communist influence. ...All Asian problems cannot be solved by Western formulas."

Foreign ministries in Europe and America might hang this statement over their desks.

The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa--there are now some thirty--face grave problems. They get help from the Communist world and the West but not much light. Each side beckons. Neither holds up a beacon.

In October, 1958, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, with headquarters in Paris, convened a conference on the Greek island of Rhodes attended by about fifty men and women from Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. The topic of the eight-day seminar read: "Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States." The abused word "democracy" was avoided.

All these new states are non-Communist and, together with Franco Spain, Latin-American dictatorships, Syngman Rhee's South Korean democracy, Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa, and Turkey, which has arrested dozens of opposition editors, journalists, and members of Parliament, they therefore belong to what is called the Free World. But of the new states only India and Israel implement parliamentary democracy. In India this has been possible because one party, the Congress party dominated by Nehru, rules. In Israel it has been possible because one party, the moderate Socialist Mapai dominated by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, is the indispensable keystone of every coalition. The rest of the new Afro-Asian states run the gamut from avowed military dictatorships to disguised personal totalitarianisms to countries like Indonesia where, Sukarno said, "We suffer from over-democracy," and which is heading for a political-military oligarchy. With few exceptions, like Pakistan whose ruling general announced the temporary suspension of the constitution and its democratic devices, all the dictatorships, semi-dictatorships, twilight democracies, and dawn democracies have parties and parliaments, but these are not synonymous with representative government or public liberties. The definition of a democracy as a multi-party political system operating through an elected legislative assembly is ripe for the museum shelf.

.../...

At Rhodes, Prince Kukrit Pramoj, editor, publisher, novelist, and wit, described how the army dictatorship of his native Thailand won the assent of a puppet parliament by either buying or browbeating its members. Parliament there is an expensive fig leaf. An expert on Pakistan told how the parties and individual members of the national parliament, which had never been elected, moved from the progovernment side to the opposition and back depending on the material benefits deriving from these gyrations. When General Ayub Khan, in an effort to reduce food prices, warned hoarders to make public avowal of their hoards or be jailed, the former Prime Minister revealed that he was hoarding 3,000 tons of grain. Other high officials did likewise, and an ex-minister of defense got a prison sentence for making money from the purchase of military equipment. Did Ayub Khan, in disbanding Pakistan's parties and parliament, suppress democracy or a baleful burlesque of it?

Pakistan needs a land reform. Without it the country's economics and politics face a grim future. But can one expect a parliament, whose parties are financed and dominated by landlords, to pass a land reform act? General Ayub Khan erased the fiction of parliamentary government, and decreed a land reform. If this measure is not only initiated to propitiate the masses, as in other Afro-Asian countries, but carried to a successful conclusion, it could lay the foundation of a democracy in which a free peasant will vote according to his wishes, not according to the landlord's whip. General Ayub Khan declared on January 27, 1959, that it would take "a couple of years" to restore "representative government." The "ground" had to be prepared. When "representative government is returned," he added, "it should be headed by a de Gaulle-type presidency." Then significantly: "We need a nonpartisan president elected by sensible elements of the country. The President must have a free run for five years."

This solution has been adopted by Indonesia.

How real are parliamentary elections for the literate and illiterate Marhaens of Indonesia, the Mohans and Anands of India, and the Ibrahims and Abduls of Arab lands? Can one who has never been outside his village envisage the workings of parties and parliaments? An election campaign could be an education if the propaganda were honest. Where is it so? Often a dazed Indian peasant arrives at the polls and says, "I want to vote for Nehru," or, "Can I cast my ballot for Jayaprakash." Nehru is not a candidate in that constituency and Jayaprakash is not up for election anywhere.

"Jayaprakash is a future prime minister of India", Nehru once said to me. But now Jayaprakash Narayan has withdrawn from politics. He was the leader of the Socialist party. In 1946 I sat with him on the earth at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi when he justified his anti-British violence during the war while Gandhi preached nonviolence in all circumstances. J.P., as India calls him, remained unconvinced. Gandhi died in 1948. In 1952 Jayaprakash went on a three-week penance fast and while recuperating in Dr. Dinshah Mehta's Nature Clinic in Poona he said, "For years I worshiped at the shrine of the goddess of Dialectical Materialism; now I have discovered goodness." He became a Gandhian. "My regret is," he wrote, "that I did not reach this point in my life's journey while Gandhiji was still in our midst." But he did the next best thing and joined Gandhi's spiritual heir, Vinoba Bhave, who has been walking for ten years from village to village, ten miles every day under the broiling sun, collecting millions of acres from those who have land for distribution among those who haven't. This now is Jayaprakash's politics, although occasionally, as when he condemned Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the political world of India listens and reacts.

"Is Jayaprakash out of politics permanently?" the skeptics wonder.

The answer probably is, out of today's politics.

Here are the words of Vinoba Bhave, J.P.'s political mentor, perhaps after Nehru the most influential person in India: "Political parties, whether in our country or outside, which subscribe to narrow ideals and loyalties, are out of date in this Age of Science." Vinoba's reasoning stems from his philosophy of nonviolence and the political thesis that "that government governs best which governs least." But now, he complains, "People are taught to look to the state for every little thing. All this is being done in the name of democracy. Everyone says, 'You vote our party to power and we will do the rest.' People thus elect their representatives, but when the latter are unable to fulfill their promises, people become dissatisfied...Under these circumstances it becomes very easy for the army to step in and take power in its own hands."

Sometimes, one might add, the people's distress makes it a race between the army and the Communists. At the Rhodes conference, a Burmese, taunted by an Indian colleague because Burma had succumbed to an army dictatorship, exclaimed, "You are next." He is not the only one who has given this speculative reply to the difficult question, "After Nehru, what?"

Jayaprakash Narayan takes this analysis several steps further and propounds a cure for all Asia. He ascribes the Stalinist terror in Russia not merely to Stalin (that would be the cult of personality in reverse) but to the speed of industrialisation. "This incidentally," he writes, "has a great lesson for India and, indeed, for all the industrially backward countries of Asia...Russia and the other Communist countries warn us of what happens when the pace is forced too hard...It would be an illusion to think that the pace of industrialisation does not matter if the process were carried out under democratic aegis; beyond a certain limit the pace itself would give rise necessarily to conditions of dictatorship."

The tempo of planned industrial progress is not the main factor, but it is one factor in the Asian trend toward oligarchic or dictatorial rule. The dictatorships are an open, as the oligarchies are a concealed, disregard of the party system and parliament. Jayaprakash recognized the trend. "The party system as I saw it was emasculating the people," he declared. "It did not function so as to develop their strength and initiative, nor to help them establish self-rule and to manage their affairs themselves. All the parties were concerned with was to capture power." The people seemed destined to become political sheep "whose only function of sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare."

"It is a fact that the regime of parties has not solved, is not solving, and will not solve the enormous problems with which we are confronted," General de Gaulle said on May 19, 1958. Worlds apart in character and career, the general and the Gandhian agree on this basic question.

Jayaprakash proposes for India what Gandhi called village republics in which an agrarian community, pooling its land and labour voluntarily, will strive for the highest possible degree of economic and political self-sufficiency. The village, where everybody knows everybody else, will conduct direct elections for a governing council (the five-man Panchayat, as it is called in India). Votes will be cast not on the basis of unread party programs, or dishonest slogans, or propaganda promises, or remote international issues, or national-personality contests, but of known

ability and devotion to the community. At present, villages are often split into feuding factions by party-type elections which have no significance in their daily, difficult lives.

The Jayaprakash method would eminently suit Indonesia which, in contrast to some other Asian and African countries, is happy in her peaceful villages devoid of castes, outcastes, and landlords. More than 80 per cent of Indonesia's village land is owned by smallholders, and the rest as commons by the community. The ancient democratic tradition of mutual aid and rule by discussion and consensus also fits Jayaprakash's village republic.

Jayaprakash proposes that the village councils of an area elect the next highest authority—say a county council. The county council elect a state council, and the state councils a national parliament which would interfere as little as needed with the village republics. Ideally, Jayaprakash, in the Gandhian ethic, hopes to abolish the national state. As a student of politics, he realizes that this is now impossible.

If Jayaprakash ever becomes prime minister it will be of an India that has abandoned the present party system for nonpartisan village elections and indirect other elections. Meanwhile, he and, in particular, Vinoba Bhave have organised thousands of Bhoodan (Land Gift) and Gramdan (Village Gift) rural areas on the twin pillars of economic co-operation and social service to which Gandhi gave the name Sarvodaya, or Community Good.

As parliaments flounder and violence flares in Afro-Asia, and in the world, Gandhi gains in relevance to today's living. His economics of hand spinning, cottage industries, and antimechanisation have been misunderstood and laughed to scorn. He never rejected the machine. "Machinery has its place; it has come to stay," he said. He warned, however, against the rule of the machine over man. Stalin, like Hitler, was a psychopath, but that he could maintain his autocracy for two and a half decades may be ascribed to the Hegelian principle of State First, to the Leninist principle of Party Ueber Alles, and above all to the rapid industrialisation and mechanisation, the gods on whose altars he sacrificed millions of human beings. This has a moral for Indonesia, for Asia, for others. Progress yes, but eyes to the village first. On March 22, 1959, Colonel Nasser revealed that the United Arab Republic was manufacturing tens of thousand of submachine guns. What joy for the land-hungry, undernourished, trachoma-ridden, bilharzia-ridden Egyptian peasant!

The Gandhi-Bhave-Jayaprakash plan for moderate industrialisation balanced by maximum emphasis on village economy would avert lopsided urban development with all the city's social evils. Intensified industrialisation, in conditions of state capitalism, must enhance the power of the rulers and sow the seeds of one or another form of dictatorship, especially in countries with no deeply rooted, national system of representative government. In Indonesia, moreover, the fragmented nature of an archipelago is likely to make a further contribution to the power of the central government which, even if it wisely grants island autonomy, will hold the purse, make the plan, and control foreign trade.

Are the newly independent states to substitute their own dictatorship for the foreign dictatorship from which they so recently liberated themselves? This is the choice they face unless, as Jayaprakash suggests, they turn from urban-centered planning to "a decentralised village-centered society."

.../...

Gandhi's goal was more than the replacement of British rulers by native rulers. He wanted a free Indian as much as he wanted a free India. Vinoba Bhave too makes personal liberty the test of national independence, and since India, like Indonesia and all other Afro-Asian countries, is agrarian, he wants a free village. "Today our country is free," he wrote on February 11, 1959, "tomorrow this freedom must extend to the village." His aim is a village free from the domination of the government of free India. I find this the most creative thought coming out of the East. Freedom for the village is creative because it implies that nationalism is a means, not an end, that the individual's importance is higher than the state's, and that in this age of obsession with big-project super-structure industrialisation, village uplift is the best economics and village democracy the best politics. The rest is a poor imitation of the West. Sukarno's "All Asian problems cannot be solved by Western formulas" is being ignored by Asians.

The Western powers and Russia are running a military-economic race in which, Mr. Adlai Stevenson declares, the West might get "licked." In a hydrogen-atomic war both would get "licked." Mr. Khrushchev, the twentieth century's greatest butter-and-egg man, stirs his subjects to catch up with America in butter, milk, meat, oil, steel, and machine production, and Americans aim to put as many sputniks into the air and manufacture as many technicians as Russia. The Kremlin's ideal is America; America's ideal becomes Russia. Where will this militaristic-materialistic contest lead? Even if the Western democracies win it they lose. Free nations are allowing a dictatorship to dictate their standards and subvert their independence of action. What a victory for totalitarianism!

In any case, Asia and Africa must have no part of this. Here they should remain truly nonaligned and keep their own tempo, retain their own personality. Neither madman industrialisation nor the submergence of the village by the city should be their object. China is a lesson in what to avoid. Recently a prominent Indian sociologist, Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar, visited China, studied the communes, and described their life for Indian readers. "This is the commune," his report concluded, "where human beings are reduced to the level of inmates in a zoo. But there is a difference. The animals in a zoo do not have to work hard, and, what is more, they do not have to listen to the quasi-compulsory radio. The lack of peace and quiet in the countryside, where one can retire and reflect, and the lack of privacy and solitude are to me more terrifying than all the hells put together." Mao's communes are the inevitable concomitant of industrialisation. Stalin did it too. To industrialise he collectivised. No dictatorship can endure half-slave and half-free. All must be slaves. This was Stalin's last testament, written in October, 1952, for Mao.

Such are the pitfalls for countries in a hurry. They stumble. Asia and Africa need neither move like a snail nor zoom like a jet. The tropics can probably be more temperate than the nations of the Temperate Zone. Especially Indonesia, I believe, has the mental health to elude the push into Western civilisation.

Another major cause of the descent to dictatorship of young states is their insecurity. An army dictatorship offers security against inner and outer enemies. Communists offer security from Communist aggression by submitting to it in advance. Syria's merger with Egypt was due to the fear of a Communist coup against the weak army. Pakistan fears her divided geography and India. Burma fears her Communist insurgents. Indonesia fears her rebels. Iraq feared Nasser and Moscow and had to choose one. An unsettled world is not conducive to liberty. Two world wars and little wars between and after, and now armaments to prevent a third world war, do not make for human freedom.

Some new states, confronted with the complicated international situation, decide on neutrality, or noncommitment or noninvolvement. This noninvolvement, however, is a superficial thing and illusory; it merely enables the governments to avoid uncomfortable moral judgments but not to escape what is really dangerous: involvement in the modern race for state strength, heavy industries, armaments, and the threat, therefore, of dictatorship. The Western nations and some others are already involved. The new states are not yet fully committed. They still have a possibility of being themselves instead of photo-stats of this or that foreign system.

India still reacts to the spell of Gandhi and his disciples. Indonesia is uniquely qualified to go her own way. She is richly endowed by nature. Her peasants are industrious. Thousands of trained persons are graduating from her schools. The habit of co-operative labour and community discussion and decision runs deep. Her leaders harbour no illusions of national grandeur or glory or power. The Indonesians are a modest, sensible, lovable people without envy, sickly arrogance, or ambitions. The country has no troublesome neighbours. In freedom and peace, with science and work, this could indeed be a paradise. Racially homogeneous, being largely Malay and Polynesian, possessing a language which in a decade will be, if it is not already, the tongue of the entire nation, tolerant in religion, not yet spoiled by politics, the problems of government would not be insuperable if politics ceased to be an unprincipled joust between those in office and those out of office. At the least, the ins should enjoy a few years of surcease from combat during which they can attend to business.

Such administrative stability is essential but not sufficient. With it must come maximum economic development with minimum bureaucratic controls. This can be achieved by small irrigation schemes, small hydro-electric power stations, and small processing plants like sugar mills, rice mills, fish canneries built, where necessary, with central government loans but owned and managed locally in villages or counties. Size of enterprises should be determined by technological and financial considerations, not by the mania for bigness. A fertilizer plant may have to be big and operated by Jakarta. Likewise a tin smelter on Bangka Island. But tobacco curing can be left to the free co-operatives which Hatta has fostered. In avoiding the embrace of private capitalism Indonesia ought not rush into the arms of state capitalism whose squeeze smothers the personal freedom for which national freedom was won. The national government can prime the pump of industrialisation without retaining the power over industries. Wherever it is scientifically feasible it will always be politically and economically desirable to let the islands roll their own. Through taxation, the issuing of currency, and other legitimate devices, a veto remains in the hands of the federal government.

Indonesia's fight for independence was a volcanic explosion of popular energy and enthusiasm because it spelled hope and involved millions of people. The élan has vanished and the hope is dimmed not so much on account of civil strife as of the crushing of individual initiative. The Dutch were never fought in big pitched battles; the Indonesians waged a guerilla war in which the group commander and even the single soldier had to act on his own. That suited the Indonesian personality. It can be translated into economics and politics. The best industrial manager does least himself and allows others to do most. This is also the essence of national leadership. Government officials need not keep a finger in every pie. The important thing is that the pies be baked and that the people eat them when and as they wish. Indonesians, on the good earth of Indonesia, moreover, should not be asked to wait for pie in the sky or in the next generation. The living have paid heavily for the past. Must they pay for the unborn future too?

Asia and Africa will soon discover that nationalism is not enough and that no ism satisfies. The proper purpose of politics is man.

Fischer

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

REQUISITION FOR PAYMENT

Date..... 26 February 1960

Pay to ..... IAS .....

Address .....

Approved by (Signature) ..... *James Huberman* ..... Amount \$ 152.70

To be charged to ..... Rockefeller Fund .....

In payment of (Itemize)

Charges for visit of Boris Nikolayevsky,  
to confer with Professor Kennan and  
Mr. Fischer:

Consultant fee, 2 days at \$50. a day.....	\$100.
Reimbursement to Prof. Kennan for misc. travel charges.....	31.60
Hotel bill, Nassau Inn.....	<u>21.10</u>
	\$152.70

Check No. ....

Batch No. ....

Extensions Chkd .....

Entered By .....



PURCHASE ORDER CHKD BY		ACCOUNT # <del>1308</del> 710
GEORGE F. KENNAN 146 Hodge Road Princeton, New Jersey # 6245		CATCH # 1-3
Jan. 27, 1960. T WAINES CKD J.F.D.		ENTERED BY
APPROVED BY		

Mrs. Barnett.

Thanks for the check for Nikolayevsky.

I myself spent, out of my own pocket, for his visit, \$31.60 - Tavit:

Trip to N.Y.	{ Gas... \$1.50	
	{ Turnpikes 1.80	
	{ Tunnels 1.00	4.30
Tips at hotel	.....	1.00
Garage for car overnight in N.Y.	.....	2.75
Dinner at King's Court (believe it or not)	.....	21.50
R.R. ticket Princeton Junction - N.Y.		2.05
		<u>\$ 31.60</u>

The hotel will send its bill directly.

w. e. w. George Kennan

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 27, 1960.

Mrs. Barnett:

After consultation with the Director, and with his approval, I invited Mr. Boris Nikolayevsky to the Institute for two days, as a guest and academic consultant. I fetched him down here by car from New York yesterday and installed him in the Nassau Inn. Fischer and I spent most of yesterday with him and will do the same today.

We offered him \$50.00 a day as a consultant's fee, and that should be handed to him before he leaves today. There will be a bill from the Nassau Inn, and I have spent a certain amount for transportation and entertainment, for which I can present an account this afternoon.

*George Kennan*  
George Kennan.

FOR THE DIRECTOR CHRG BY	ACCOUNT # <del>1308710</del>
DATE # 5239	DATE # 1-3
POSTING CARD	ENTERED BY
0. F. B.	
APPROVED BY <i>R. Barnett</i>	

Bills to George Kennan

NASSAU TAVERN HOTEL  
 PRINCETON, N. J.

No B16580

Institute for Advanced  
 Study

M r. B.I. Nikolayavsky

ROOM NO. 313  
 DATE OF ARRIVAL 1/26/60  
 DATE OF DEPARTURE  
 RATE \$ 10.00 DAY \$

Telephone 417 W.120 th St.  
 Princeton 2040 New York, N.Y.

FROM BILL NO. TO BILL NO.

DATE	19						
Brought Forward	1/26		11-27				
Room	10	00					non \$100
Restaurant			1 40				
Beverages							
Telephone							
Tolls							
Transfer From							
TOTAL	10 -		11 40				
Payments			11 40				
Allowances							
Transfer To			11 40				c/c
Balance Forward	10 -						

*George Kennan*  
~~1001~~  
 \$8.30 food  
 1.40 tips  
 signed by GIK  
 total \$21.10

JAN 27 5 10 PM 1960

BILLS PAYABLE WHEN RENDERED

Card No. M 38924

MURRAY HILL 9-5200

LOUIS FISCHER  
303 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16

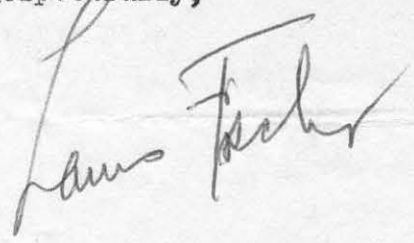
*to circulate:* Prof. Keenan ✓  
Mr. Morgan ✓  
Mrs Barnett ✓  
Miss Horton ✓  
and return to D.O.

Jan. 24, 1959

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

Thanks very much for your letter informing me of my appointment as Research Associate in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute. I regard this as an honor and an opportunity. I look forward, too, to meeting you.

Respectfully,



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

cc Mr. Morgan  
Mrs. Barnett  
✓ Miss Horton  
Professor Kennan

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

12 January 1959

Dear Mr. Fischer:

On the recommendation of Professor Kennan, and with the concurrence of the Faculty in the School of Historical Studies, I am pleased formally to offer you a position in the Institute for Advanced Study for the academic year 1959-1960, as Research Associate to Professor Kennan in the School of Historical Studies. We can make available to you a salary of \$6,500 for the year. We understand that you plan to arrive here in September, 1959.

We all look forward with pleasure to having you with us for a visit.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Oppenheimer

Mr. Louis Fischer  
303 Lexington Avenue  
New York 16, New York

NOTE TO MR. MORGAN: Mr. Fischer's salary is to be charged in part to Professor Kennan's assistant fund and in part to the Rockefeller funds, the exact amounts to be settled later.

January 12, 1959

Dear Louis:

I am sorry about the delay in replying to your letter of December 21; I wanted to be sure I was correct in what I told you, and there is nothing stirring here at the Institute during the Christmas recess.

I think you should by all means make your trip to the Soviet Union and India and then come here in September. Your stipend is intended to cover the academic year 1959-60 and it would be quite normal for you to start in September.

I believe your letter of appointment will be forthcoming shortly, and the other arrangements will follow in due course. I don't need to tell you how much I look forward to your presence here.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Mr. Louis Fischer,  
303 Lexington Avenue,  
New York 16, N. Y.

*Cy to Miss Horton ✓*

DMH

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Application for Membership

School of \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Year 1959 First or Second Term Only \_\_\_\_\_

Name in Full LOUIS FISCHER Date of Application Nov. 19, 1958

Permanent Address 303 Lexington ave. New York 16 Citizenship U.S.A.

Present Address " " Place of Birth Philadelphia, Pa.

Academic Degrees (Please give date and place received) Date of Birth Feb. 29, 1896

B.S./A.B. None unless it be Bachelor of Marital Status Married but separated

M. A. Education from the Philadelphia Number of Children 2

Ph.D. School of Pedagogy which was the Ages of Children 36 and 35.

equivalent of two years at the

University of Pennsylvania

Please indicate whether your wife and/or children will accompany you:  
 No] Wife;  No] Children

Former and Present Teaching Positions (Please give dates, place and rank)

Dates	Place	Rank
<u>I taught grammar school in Philadelphia in 1916 and 1917,</u>		
<u>and was visiting <del>professor</del> professor, for five weeks, at the School of</u>		
<u>Communications, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., in 1957.</u>		
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Intended Research: Please submit with this application, in duplicate, a brief outline of your intended research.

Grant-in-aid: Only a limited number of memberships are available each year with grants-in-aid. It would therefore be helpful to us to know: (please check)

- Whether you will require financial assistance;
- Whether you are able to accept membership without a grant; or
- Whether you plan to come to the Institute under a fellowship from another source: (please indicate source)

Please return this form in duplicate to: \_\_\_\_\_

The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

## Brief Outline on Intended Research

by Louis Fischer

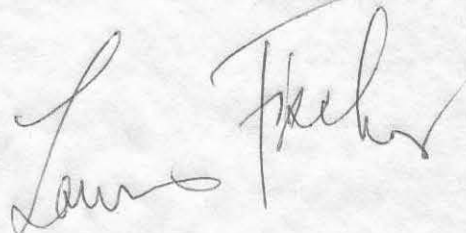
My book, *THE SOVIETS IN WORLD AFFAIRS*, published in 1931 in New York and London, and subsequently translated into French and Italian and republished, without change, by Princeton University Press, in 1951, is a two-volume work on Soviet foreign relations from 1917 to 1929 inclusive. It is based on much archive material and talks with the Soviet policy-makers of the time. I should now like to do a one-volume study on the entire period of Soviet foreign policy, from 1917 to date, say, 1959.

Soviet foreign policy has been my continuing interest, and I have written about it in books published from time to time; *MEV AND POLITICS*, (1941); *THE GREAT CHALLENGE*, (1947); etc.

I lived in the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1938, as an American journalist contributing to American and European periodicals and newspapers. I revisited Moscow in 1956. I read Russian without difficulty and speak the language fluently, if with some grammatical errors. I know German better and can do research, and if necessary take interviews, in French.

In recent years, since 1942, I have often visited Asian countries, particularly India. I am now writing a book on Indonesia. I knew Eastern Europe before the war, and have travelled in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia since the second world war. Both the Asian and African, and the "satellite" aspects of Soviet foreign policy, are therefore not new to me.

As far as I know, there is no one book on the whole problem of the new Russia's relations with the outside world. I should like to undertake it.





December 2, 1958

Dear EKa:

I enclose the application form from Louis Fischer, and also a copy of his biography as from Who's Who. In view of his age and distinction, I would like to be able to let him know at this time whether it will be possible for him to work at the Institute next year.

I have already mentioned this to the members of the School. His subject is essentially the same as mine. He is the only person in this country to have written a comprehensive history of the international relations of the Soviet Union from 1917-29; and there is no one whose presence here would be of greater use to me personally. I would hope, therefore, that we could agree to accept him.

George Kennan

Enclosures

GFK:dmh

LOUIS FISCHER [Who's Who 1954-55 (Vol. 28)]

Writer, lecturer. Born Philadelphia, Pa., February 29, 1896. Son, David and Shifrah (Kantzapolsky) Fischer. Graduated Philadelphia School of Pedagogy, 1916. Married Bertha Mark, November 22, 1922; children: George, Victor.

Teacher in public schools, Philadelphia, 1917-18; began as contributor to New York Evening Post from Berlin, 1921. Made first trip to Russia, 1922, since specializing on study of Soviet Republic and of European politics. Extensive travel and study in Spain since 1936.

Author: Oil Imperialism (1926)

Gandhi and Stalin (1947)

The Life and Death of Stalin (1952)

Editor: Thirteen Who Fled (1949)

Contributor: The God That Failed (1950)

The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (1950)

Contributor to Japanese, Indian, and European newspapers.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 6, 1959

Dr. Oppenheimer:

I should suggest saying to Fischer, "By all means make first your trip to the Soviet Union and India and come here in September. Your stipend is intended to cover the academic year 1959-60, and it would be quite normal for you to start in September."

*George Kennan*  
George Kennan

Attachment:  
Fischer's letter of  
December 21, 1958.



Shelburne

Lexington Ave. at 37th St., New York 16



MURRAY HILL  
9-5200

December 21, 1958

Mr. George Kennan  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear George,

I am very happy to have been appointed research associate in the School of Historical Studies. It is an honor and the opportunity I desired to write the book on Soviet foreign policy. It will be a great pleasure to be of assistance to you in your work.

The sum of \$6500 for the year will suffice, especially since I shall be getting some income from past books and from the book I am writing on Indonesia. I expect to finish this book late in March or early in April. Should I then come immediately to the School or should I go to Europe, and to the Soviet Union and India during the summer as I had planned, and take up the appointment in September? Above all I want to be at the Institute and do the foreign policy book and will let nothing interfere with that. But if I could go abroad first everything would be perfect. Please let me know.

My best wishes to you and your family for a Merry Christmas and a Happy 1959.

With many thanks

Cordially,



Louis Fischer

December 15, 1958

Dear Louis:

I have now had opportunity to consult with my associates on the faculty here and am happy to tell you that I believe it will be possible to find a place for you at the Institute next year, in the capacity of what would be called a "Research Associate" in the School of Historical Studies, if this would suit you. The position would enable you to work entirely independently on the project you have outlined; and I think no claims would be made on your time other than the fact that I myself would naturally want to consult you from time to time about my own work on Soviet-American relations in the period of the intervention and the Peace Conference.

The Institute will be able to make available to you a sum of \$6,500.00 for the year, and I believe that we will be able to help you to find housing in Princeton that will not be too expensive. If the arrangements outlined above are acceptable to you, the Administrative Officer of the Institute will be getting in touch with you at an early date about housing and similar matters.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Mr. Louis Fischer,  
303 Lexington Avenue,  
New York 16, N. Y.

*Copy to Betty Norton -  
Dr. Oppenheimer*

GFK:dmh

LOUIS FISCHER [Who's Who 1954-55 (Vol. 29)]

Writer, lecturer. Born Philadelphia, Pa., February 29, 1896. Son, David and Shifrah (Kantzapolsky) Fischer. Graduated Philadelphia School of Pedagogy, 1916. Married Bertha Mark, November 22, 1922; children: George, Victor.

Teacher in public schools, Philadelphia, 1917-18; began as contributor to New York Evening Post from Berlin, 1921. Made first trip to Russia, 1922, since specializing on study of Soviet Republic and of European politics. Extensive travel and study in Spain since 1936.

Author: Oil Imperialism (1926)

Gandhi and Stalin (1947)

The Life and Death of Stalin (1952)

Editor: Thirteen Who Fled (1949)

Contributor: The God That Failed (1950)

The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (1950)

Contributor to Japanese, Indian, and European newspapers.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

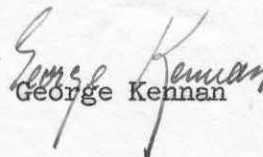
SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

December 2, 1958

Dear EKa:

I enclose the application form from Louis Fischer, and also a copy of his biography as from Who's Who. In view of his age and distinction, I would like to be able to let him know at this time whether it will be possible for him to work at the Institute next year.

I have already mentioned this to the members of the School. His subject is essentially the same as mine. He is the only person in this country to have written a comprehensive history of the international relations of the Soviet Union from 1917-29; and there is no one whose presence here would be of greater use to me personally. I would hope, therefore, that we could agree to accept him.

  
George Kennan

Enclosures

Copy to Director

December 2, 1958

Dear Louis:

Forgive me for not having replied sooner to your letter of the 19th. I have been away from Princeton.

I expect to be able to take this matter up with my associates here at a meeting on December 8, and will let you know at once of the final decision.

The matter of degrees is of no importance. I haven't got a doctor's degree either. We know your life and your work and that is enough for a judgment.

The amount of financial assistance the Institute is able to give in instances of this sort is, I must warn you, not large, and is usually designed to make up the difference between what scholars get in their sabbatical year (which is often half-pay) and what they need to live. But we will see what can be done.

Sincerely yours,

George Kennan

Mr. Louis Fischer,  
303 Lexington Avenue,  
New York 16, N. Y.

GFK:dmh



MURRAY HILL 9-5200

LOUIS FISCHER  
303 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16

Nov. 19, 1958

Dear George,

Thanks for your letter. I have the second volume you sent me and will read it. I know you have made no commitment, but I would like to work on the entire period of Soviet foreign relations (very ambitious, I agree) and see no better place than the Institute for Advanced Study. It has the right atmosphere and facilities and is near New York (for UN delegate interviews) and Washington for consultations with persons there. If, at the same time, I could be of any assistance to you in your work on the third volume I would be happy. I have some material on the civil war in The Soviets in World Affairs. It seems to me, the subject presents many problems and the one that has ~~also~~ bothered me and needs to be cleared up is, the extent of foreign intervention. Soviet sources make it look massive, and perhaps, given their limited strength, it was, as they saw it. But was it massive in absolute terms.? And much else.

You will note I have no degrees. This may be a hindrance. My family was very poor, my father peddled fish and fruit in the streets of Philadelphia, so I could only take two years at the School of Pedagogy to train for a job. But I should think that The Soviets in World Affairs is ~~at~~ the equivalent of a Ph. D. thesis.

I did not fill in the first line of the application

because I did not know what was meant by school and by the  
first and second term only. The academic year would be 1959.  
Could you insert the answers to the two questions? I would need  
at least two terms.

I would like, in any case, to see you some time when  
you are in New York.

Best wishes  
*Louis*

P.S. My son George is spending a month in Moscow and writes  
long entrancing letters every day.

Washington for consultations with persons there. It is at the same  
time, I could be of any assistance to you in your work on the

third volume I would be happy. I have some material on the  
civil war in the Soviet Union in World Affairs. It seems to me, the  
subject presents many problems and the one that has been bothered by

and needs to be cleared up is, the extent of foreign intervention.  
Soviet sources make it look massive, and perhaps, given their  
limited strength, it was, as they saw it. But was it massive in  
absolute terms? And much else.

You will note I have no degree. This may be a hindrance. My  
family was very poor, my father peddled fish and fruit in the  
streets of Philadelphia, so I could only take two years at the  
School of Pedagogy to train for a job. But I should think that the  
Soviet World Affairs is the equivalent of a Ph. D. thesis.  
I did not fill in the right line of the application

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Application for Membership

School of \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Year 1959 First or Second Term Only \_\_\_\_\_

Name in Full LOUIS FISCHER Date of Application Nov. 19, 1958

Permanent Address 303 Lexington ave. New York 16 Citizenship U.S.A.

Present Address " " Place of Birth Philadelphia, Pa.

Academic Degrees (Please give date and place received) Date of Birth Feb. 29, 1896

B.S./A.B. None unless it be Bachelor of Marital Status Married but separated

M. A. Education from the Philadelphia Number of Children 2

Ph.D. School of Pedagogy which was the Ages of Children 36 and 35

equivalent of two years at the

University of Pennsylvania

Please indicate whether your wife and/or children will accompany you:  
 Wife;  Children

Former and Present Teaching Positions (Please give dates, place and rank)

Dates	Place	Rank
<u>I taught grammar school in Philadelphia in 1916 and 1917,</u>		
<u>and was visiting <del>professor</del> professor, for five weeks, at the School of</u>		
<u>Communications, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., in 1957.</u>		
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Intended Research: Please submit with this application, in duplicate, a brief outline of your intended research.

Grant-in-aid:

Only a limited number of memberships are available each year with grants-in-aid.

It would therefore be helpful to us to know: (please check)

Whether you will require financial assistance;

Whether you are able to accept membership without a grant; or

Whether you plan to come to the Institute under a fellowship from another source: (please indicate source)

Please return this form in duplicate to: \_\_\_\_\_

The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

## Brief Outline on Intended Research

by Louis Fischer

My book, THE SOVIETS IN WORLD AFFAIRS, published in 1931 in New York and London, and subsequently translated into French and Italian and republished, without change, by Princeton University Press, in 1951, is a two-volume work on Soviet foreign relations from 1917 to 1929 inclusive. It is based on much archive material and talks with the Soviet policy-makers of the time. I should now like to do a one-volume study on the entire period of Soviet foreign policy, from 1917 to date, say, 1959.

Soviet foreign policy has been my continuing interest, and I have written about it in books published from time to time; MEN AND POLITICS, (1941); THE GREAT CHALLENGE, (1947); etc.

I lived in the Soviet Union from 1922 to 1938, as an American journalist contributing to American and European periodicals and Newspapers. I revisited Moscow in 1956. I read Russian without difficulty and speak the language fluently, if with some grammatical errors. I know German better, and can do research, and if necessary take interviews, in French.

In recent years, since 1942, I have often visited Asian countries, particularly India. I am now writing a book on Indonesia. I knew Eastern Europe before the war, and have travelled in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia since the second world war. Both the Asian and African, and the "satellite" aspects of Soviet foreign policy, are therefore not new to me.

As far as I know, there is no one book on the whole problem of the new Russia's relations with the outside world. I should like to undertake it.



November 13, 1958

Dear Louis:

I have your letter of November 3, and was glad to learn of your plans.

You may, of course, know of other academic communities that would suit you better from the standpoint of the work you have in mind; but I would be glad personally to have you here and will, if you really wish to explore the possibility, take it up with my faculty colleagues.

In this case, I hope you won't mind completing, as a starter, the attached form, which commits you to nothing but gives us some information we need for the record. I cannot, of course, assure you in advance that arrangements satisfactory both to you and to the Institute can be worked out; but I am quite hopeful and will be glad to see what I can do.

A copy of my second volume will go forward to you at once.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Enclosure

Mr. Louis Fischer,  
303 Lexington Avenue,  
New York 16, N. Y.

GFK:dmh

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

November 5, 1958

Professor Kantorowicz:

Attached -- a letter from Louis Fischer.

The project he outlines is ambitious, but it is one for which he has special qualifications, and I know of no reason why he should not be able to complete it within the twelve to eighteen months which he indicates, if his powers are what they used to be. I have not seen him in recent years enough to tell what is the present state of his health and his energies. He is now sixty-two years old.

You will see that he does not specifically ask to come here. I should prefer, personally, either not to encourage him at all, or to invite him outright, rather than to press him to submit an application. In view of his peculiar status he would, I think, have to come on the Director's fund, or in the technical capacity of an assistant.

As I said at the meeting, he is an interesting man and of some distinction as a writer. It would be very useful to me to have him at hand.

I would appreciate your suggestion and those of Dr. Oppenheimer and any of the other colleagues who are interested. Should I try to find out a bit more about him personally, through indirect channels, or shall we take a chance?

*George Kennan*  
George Kennan

Attachments )

*returned to  
GFK 11/12/58*

MURRAY HILL 9-5200

LOUIS FISCHER  
303 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 16

Nov. 3, 1958

Dear George,

Hutchins has sent me a copy of his letter to you about me and of your reply to him. It happened this way: we were on the warm, sunny beach at Rhodes one morning before a session of the seminar on the problems of representative government and public liberties in the new Afro-Asian states, and he asked me about the book I am writing on Indonesia. I said I had done a few books of which I was proud and wanted this one to meet their standard. In this connection I mentioned *The Soviets in World Affairs* which, published in 1931, was republished by Princeton U. Press in 1950, and translated by an Italian publisher in 1958. (The French translation appeared in the 1930's.)

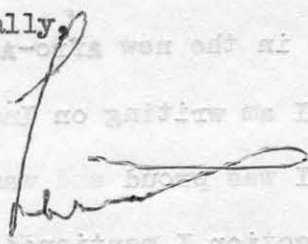
That afternoon I told Bob Hutchins that <sup>what</sup> I would like to do was to spend a year at a university writing a one-volume book on Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to date. It would not, and could not, of course, be the detailed study which *The Soviets in World Affairs* is. Bob thereupon promised to write you.

I'm glad he did and I appreciate your response. My book on Indonesia should be finished in March, 1959. I would then be ready to devote a year or 18 months to the Soviet-policy book. The treatment would be factual as well as interpretative and scholarly rather than vituperative.

It would be a pleasure, of course, to help even in the  
slightest in your work on the third volume. (Incidentally, you  
never sent me the second; but I was away most of 1958, first in  
India and Indonesia, then two months in the Hague, then two  
months at Cornell which has an excellent Dept. of Foreign  
Eastern Studies, so maybe it came in my absence and was not  
forwarded.)

With best wishes to you and your family,

Cordially,



appeared in the 1930's.)  
That afternoon I told Bob Hutchins that I would like to do  
was to spend a year at a university writing a one-volume book  
on Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to date. It would not, and could  
no, of course, be the detailed study which the Soviets in World  
Affairs in Bob's program promised to write you.  
I'm glad he did and I appreciate your response. If you ex  
Indonesia should be finished in March, 1959. I would then be ready  
to devote a year or 18 months to the Soviet-policy book. The treatment  
would be factual as well as interpretative and scholarly rather than  
interpretative.



The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

*Noted*  
*gfk*

October 30, 1958

Mr. George Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear George:

Thank you many times for  
your prompt reply to my inquiry  
about Louis Fischer. I am passing  
the word on to him. He will,  
doubtless, communicate with you.

As ever yours,

*Joe*

Robert M. Hutchins  
President

October 29, 1958

Dear Bob:

I have your letter of October 24 and was much interested to hear of Louis Fischer's situation. As you probably know, membership here has to be given general faculty approval and the decisions are not normally made until later in the year. Louis Fischer's case would be a special one, somewhat out of line with the general pattern of background of people coming to the Institute; but I have highest respect for him and for the contribution he has made to a study of Soviet foreign policy. If he would be seriously interested in coming here for a year to do further work on this subject, I would be glad to take the matter up more formally with my associates on the faculty here and to see what could be done.

It would, of course, be a great privilege for me to have Fischer on hand here during the writing of my own third volume, on which I hope to begin next spring.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins,  
President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.,  
60 East 42nd Street,  
New York, 17, N. Y.

GFK:dmh

HUTCHINS, ROBERT M.

# The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 24, 1958

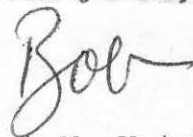
Mr. George F. Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear George:

I have just come back from a meeting at Rhodes on Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States at which I thought some of the best contributions were made by Louis Fischer. He told me that he would like to be able to settle down in some academic community for a year and bring his book on Russian foreign policy up to date. I believe that this means he would have to cover the last 25 years.

I have no idea what you think of him and his work. My acquaintance began at the Rhodes meeting. My purpose is to inquire whether you think there would be any chance of him coming to the Institute for a year. Or perhaps you will have a better idea.

As ever yours,



Robert M. Hutchins  
President

# Imperial Russia

RUSSIA, AMERICA, AND THE  
WORLD. By Louis Fischer. 244 pp.  
New York: Harper & Bros. \$4.50.

By LOUIS J. HALLE

WHEN the Bolsheviks in Petrograd and Moscow seized power in 1917, they proceeded to abolish at one stroke the ancient state and empire called "Russia." What the government they set up claimed to represent, instead, was "the workers of the world," a social class that knew no country. According to their ideology, the old national distinctions between "Russia," "Germany," "Hungary," etc., represented a bourgeois imposition, the only real division of mankind being between the workers and their capitalist exploiters everywhere, without regard for nationality.

In 1922, when representatives of the four Soviet republics met to choose a name for their association, they chose "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" because, having no national character, it was ready for application to the whole world just as soon as the proletarian revolution had been completed.

The program of world revolution by the uprising of the proletariat failed. The Soviet Communists, finding themselves held within the boundaries of the traditional Russian empire, erected the defensive wall of the iron curtain and proceeded to make shift with "socialism in one country." This led to that separation between official Communist cant and reality which is a feature of the movement to this day—since the dogma, still sacred though discredited by events, had to be maintained by lip-service at least. It led to double-talk, that trick of using words in direct contradiction to the truth. So it is that conquest becomes "liberation" and the liberation of colonies becomes "imperialism."

TWO score years have passed, however, since the original failure of world proletarian revolution, and today we have increasing evidence that the gap between cant and reality has become too great for the growing sophistication of the men in the Kremlin, who privately know what the facts are. (This, indeed, is one basis of the misunderstanding between them and the ideologists in Peiping, who are still isolated within their doctrinal walls from those same facts.)

Today, then, the old Russian empire exists once more, or exists still, the nineteenth-century authoritarianism of the czars having been replaced by the invigorated twentieth-century authoritarianism of those who appear ever more clearly as their successors. One can

Mr. Halle is an ex-State Department man who wrote "Civilization and Foreign Policy."



Cartoon by Behrendt for "Echte Waarheid," The Hague, the Netherlands.

read this repeatedly between the lines of Premier Khrushchev's outpourings.

For example, in an address to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on Oct. 31, 1959, referring to relations between the U. S. S. R. and France, he said: "We were allies in both World Wars." Now, it happens that France's ally in the first war was not the U. S. S. R. but the Russian Empire of Czar Nicholas II. No one has reported whether Lenin turned over in his glass casket above Moscow's Red Square when Mr. Khrushchev made that remark. What is clear, however, is that it wrote off the Russian Revolution by identifying Khrushchev's Russia with France's ancient ally, the historic Russia of Nicholas II.

That is where matters stand today, although we have been as slow as the Russian rulers themselves to recognize it. The menace we face is not that of Karl Marx or Lenin, both of whom are dead. It is that of Imperial Russia—insecure, secretive and hostile—bent on extending its sway.

If there are still among us those who think that every time Mr. Khrushchev sneezes it is in accordance with a "master plan" left by Lenin, Louis Fischer, author of "Russia, America, and the World," is not one of them. Mr. Fischer, as a roving observer, performs one of the prime functions of journalism in our day. He mediates between the abstruseness of world affairs and the average man. He simplifies what is complex, he presents what is uncertain in the language of certainty, and he tells how the problems of the world are to be solved. Writing a primer for grown-ups, he explains all. Indeed, this reviewer is reminded of a lady who, having just read such a book as this, professed herself unable to understand why the people in Washington should ever be perplexed in dealing with world affairs.

Mr. Fischer makes a number of points that strike this reviewer as altogether shrewd and sound. One is the point that the antagonists in the cold war are, in the first instance, rival states rather than rival ideologies. Another is that the United States ought to prefer a noncommitted Pakistan, associated with India in a common defense against China, to a Pakistan joined with it in military alliance.

IT would be possible to go on listing such points, but there are other things to be said about the book as well. One is that it represents a maximum of discredibility with a minimum of organization. Mr. Fischer is like an inexhaustible talker who keeps running on about whatever happens to come to mind at the moment. There are, it is true, subject-headings for the thirteen chapters, but they are not narrowly confining. A chapter called The Future of Communism, for example, is largely devoted to the problems of the movement represented by Britain's Labor party and Germany's Social Democratic party. The final chapter, A Foreign Policy for America, is a catalogue of commonplaces that, one surmises, would be of no help at all to President Kennedy or Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

What is wrong here?

What is wrong is to transfer to enduring print the superficiality that one associates with a conversationalist, however brilliant, talking off the top of his head. The book reads like one of those breathless type-written letters that bear the notation, "dictated but not read." Any reviewer could embarrass its author by quoting sentences that he would surely have deleted or revised if he had taken a moment to ponder them. Mr. Fischer, a highly intelligent man with a wealth of experience that few could match, does not do himself justice here.



# THE HITTITE

by Noel B. Gerson

author of  
*The Yankee from Tennessee*

— Full-blooded historical fiction that re-creates the fascinating era of Joshua, hero of the battle of Jericho. A young Hittite warrior, forced into exile through the scheming of a beautiful but unfaithful wife, eventually vindicates himself with a brilliant victory over the powerful Egyptian army. **\$3.95**

# THE ROOTS OF FURY

by Irving Shulman  
and Peggy Bristol

— The most incredible psychiatric drama since *The Snake Pit* and *The Three Faces of Eve* — a brutally realistic, moving account of a young girl trapped in a degenerate society. Peggy Bristol hit bottom when she attempted to kill a man she had solicited; she was arrested and woke up in a strait-jacket. How she fought her way to sanity through violent psychiatric sessions, shock treatments and torturing drugs, is now told in this shocking, unforgettable book by the author of *The Amboy Dukes*. **\$4.95**



# MUSIC AT YOUR FINGERTIPS

by Ruth Stenzynska

with the collaboration of  
Ann M. Lingg

— An internationally famous concert pianist, whose grueling career as a child prodigy was described in *Forbidden Childhood*, shares her fascinating experiences on and off the concert stage; reminisces about her great teachers (among them Rachmaninoff and Schnabel); and gives every pianist a wealth of useful advice on practicing and performing. Anecdotes and suggestions for the musical artist and amateur. **Illustrated, \$2.95**



# THE PRIME MINISTER'S WIFE

by Doris Leslie

— An enchanting biographical novel about the plucky provincial milliner who became the wife of Disraeli. With true charm and a lively style, Doris Leslie follows an unforgettable character — the endearing, unconventional, intelligent, and beautiful Mary Anne Evans — through the vital and romantic currents of Victorian London. **\$3.95**



# RETURN OF THE TIGER

by Brian Connell

— The story of the wildest commando raid in World War II — how 14 daring Englishmen sailed a Chinese junk into Singapore harbor a year and a half after its fall and — incredibly — sank 38,000 tons of Japanese shipping. The same dramatic suspense of *The Bridge on the River Kwai* — but true! **Illustrated, \$4.50**

