



Mid East Arab-Jew War Hot

By MICHAEL S. PERLMAN, '61

Our civilization had its birth in the Middle East. Will its death be due to occurrences in the same area? Some people thought so in 1956. The forces shaping that area could determine the future of the world as we know it.

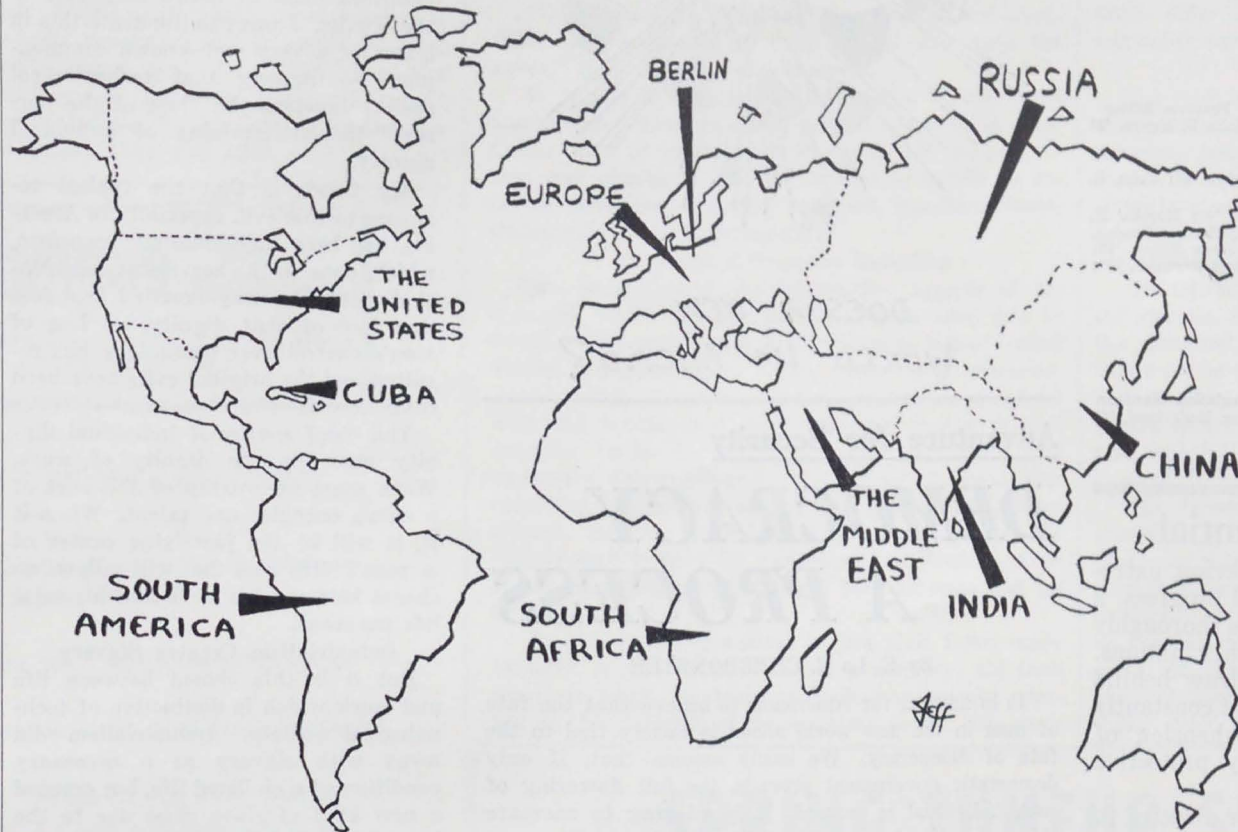
No consideration of the present and future status of the peoples of the Middle East can fail to include that unique entity termed "Arab Nationalism." This force, considered so vitally important in the determination of Western policy, especially that of the British Foreign Office for the past four decades, has now shown us what it is and what it is not, what it can do, and what it can never be made to do. Ever since T. E. Lawrence led his "revolt in the desert" in 1917-1925 the policy-makers of England have envisaged a network of Arab states strung across the Middle East, its leaders patronized by England and its people united by a common language, a common culture, and a common religion.

Failure of Arab Nationalism

The true face of "Arab Nationalism" has been all too apparent, however, in the past decade. Having driven out the Western imperialists, it has failed to follow through and contribute to the well-being of the Arab masses. It has not improved their standard of life. It has not brought them democratic government. It has not brought them peace. It has not brought them unity. Few of the profits of billions of oil royalties has seeped down to the lower classes.

In Egypt and Syria, and to a lesser extent in Iraq, the movement has

TROUBLESPOTS OF THE SIXTIES



ceased to lay major emphasis on revolutionary social aims and has been concentrating on substantial military build-ups. The tribal warfare of 50 years ago has been replaced by the friction of new Arab nations. It is as true today as it was in 1918 when Lawrence wrote: "The greatest obstacle . . . to any Arab movement [was] the lack of solidarity between the various Arab movements."

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been, at least in the newspaper headlines, the center of attention of the Middle East problems. Crucial to this unrest are the Arab refugees, former residents of Palestine now living in camps supported by the U.N. in Gaza (Egypt) and Jordan for the most part. That these wretched people, (Continued on page 6)

Retirement or Partnership; The White's Future in Africa

By VERNON FERWERDA

Although it is the African who is bearing the brunt of the oppression now being carried out by the Union of South Africa, even here the big question is not the future place of the black man in Africa. Instead, the real question is the future of the white man in South Africa, and in Central and East Africa as well.

The African has accepted one of the basic principles of western society, and has thrown it back at those white men who would rule him. Equal rights — political, economic, and social — for all, regardless of color, is the principle behind the "One man, one vote" slogan now heard in every African political movement.

Wave of Nationalism

It is too late to talk of the need for experience in self-government under white supervision, and the need for a responsible party system promising stable government, as conditions to be met before the white man turns over

control to the African. The wave of nationalism (or more accurately, Africanism, since this is a feeling not directly related to political boundaries within the continent) has progressed so rapidly that the African is now saying to his white ruler, "Here we come, ready or not." This may seem irrational by our standards, but it becomes more understandable in the light of another slogan heard increasingly, "Good government is no substitute for self government." Like all men, the African would rather be less well governed by people of his own choice than to be more efficiently governed by white men imposed by some distant colonial office. Who wouldn't?

White Control Impossible

So, for the white man there remains really only two choices: remain as a partner, or get out. It is idle to pretend, as do the white supremacies of South Africa, that there is a third alternative. (Continued on page 7)

'Nuts' To World Of Commies

By PAUL W. MEYER

"Communism is the Wave of the Future" — so say the communists.

"Nuts," in effect, said the late Mr. Dulles. "Communism is not the wave of the future."

Whether you agree with the communists or with Mr. Dulles there is little doubt that the future role of communism will be decided in the next few decades. It is quite possible that the outcome will be largely determined by events and developments in Asia.

Paris via Peking

Lenin always maintained that the road to Paris lay through Peking. Now that they are in Peking and are on the move, the communists must be stopped in Asia if their advance is to be halted before they strike the rest of the free world.

China itself is the key to communism in Asia. Red China is threateningly strong because of its alliance with the Soviet Union, its organization and central control which have united the vast Chinese people in purpose and methods, and its immense reservoir of manpower.

Under Mao Tse-tung, the Red Chinese have also extended their influence by assuming responsibilities of leadership in North Korea and North



Red China's Mao Tse-tung

Vietnam. China's increasing population and power present a formidable threat to the non-communist nations of Asia.

Because of this force, the Asian countries are frankly frightened by the prospect of what the future would hold for them under the communist domination. To Japan, the Philippines, and other Southeast Asian countries, the role of the United States in dealing with communism in Asia is a vital issue.

What the United States will do (Continued on page 8)

A Similar Rebellion



Castro vs. The U.S.: Strains of Mexico

By ROBERT C. BLACK, III

Less than one hundred miles of warm blue water separate North American Key West from Latin American Havana, and this is one of the reasons we are worried. Less than a lifetime ago, a half-organized expedition of American young men were insuring, at some little risk to their personal lives, that an obviously inept colonial regime should depart forthwith from the island, and this is another reason why we are upset. Less than a week has gone by since the carefully unbarbered Dr. Castro has decreed yet another sequestration — without noticeable prospect of payment — of honestly nurtured American property; this too is disconcerting.

Hints of Rupture

Already the planes are disgorging the refugees at Miami — American refugees. Already there have been hints of a rupture of diplomatic relations.

To many United States citizens, the

situation seems not only incredible, but unprecedented. On the other hand, to those with little knowledge of the Latin American past, the widespread assumption that the Castro menace is something new under the tropic sun must appear a little odd. For this country has had to face a similar phenomenon before — a phenomenon equally close at hand, equally worrisome, and more than equally devoid of apparent logic.

I am thinking of Mexico, the Mexico which in 1911 divested itself of a dictator named Porfirio Diaz. Senor Diaz was no ordinary caudillo. He had become widely and favorably known in the capitalist world as the man who had transformed his country to a land fit for honest enterprise. His carefully organized police insured order, and order meant an inflow of foreign investments, the development of mines, the expansion of haciendas, the proliferation of railroads. There was only one significant difficulty:

Though the Diaz boom somewhat increased the physical well-being of the average Mexican, it developed still more his appreciation of what he didn't have.

Mexican Revolution

For this reason, it was probably inevitable that the "revolution," when it came, should rationalize the existing dislike of Diaz and what he stood for into a rigidly specific political and social crusade. To be sure, it was all incorporated in suitably North American fashion into a written constitution, but the constitution hardly was calculated to appeal to the North American taste. Nor was North American good will further stimulated when the Mexicans made it clear that they would take its provisions seriously.

Consider the features of this Mexican Revolution. It first of all endorsed a sweeping agrarian reform, in favor of the rural peon and at the ex-

(Continued on page 3)

SATURDAY'S CONVOCATION

"This seems a fitting time for Trinity College to consider an interpretation and prophecy of the new world ahead. To explore this vast landscape and acquire new perspectives and insights, the College and The Trinity College Associates have engaged a distinguished group of speakers."

This statement, contained in the information booklet for Saturday's Convocation, sums up the reasons behind the first such meeting here in five years. Seven distinguished political and journalistic figures will discuss society and man in the new world ahead in three sessions to be held in Trinity's Fieldhouse.

Denis W. Brogan, McGeorge Bundy and Walt Whitman Rostow will participate in the 10 a.m. morning session, while the 2:30 meeting will feature Johannes Lilje, Charles Malik, and Filmer Northrop.

The 8:15 p.m. Discussion and Summary will be presided over by James Reston and will include the morning and afternoon speakers.

The Convocation, Presided over by History Professor George Cooper, is expected to draw a large local crowd, in addition to wide-spread student support.

Dean Lacy reminds students that all Saturday classes are called off.

Trinity Tripod

Published weekly throughout the academic year by the students of Trinity College. Student subscriptions included in tuition fee; others, \$6.00 per year, effective September 1960. Entered at Hartford, Connecticut, as second class matter February 14, 1947, under the act of March 3, 1879. The columns of THE TRINITY TRIPOD are at all times open to undergraduates, alumni, faculty, and others for the discussion of matters of interest to Trinity students.

Notice of change of address for mail subscriptions must be received two weeks in advance.

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World News Essential

Inseparable from a world achieving extraordinary nuclear and technological progress, a nation must, for its own security, be thoroughly informed on the affairs of all other nations. Its people cannot prudently withdraw behind historical geographic limits but must constantly seek mature, open-minded comprehension of vital issues transcending formerly protective shores and mountain ranges.

A news organ, therefore, whether directed to a campus, town, city, or nation, must include ample, accurate, and enlightened coverage of international affairs as a paramount responsibility to its subscribers. By surveying seemingly remote but potentially disastrous areas, journalists and commentators can thwart the inevitable frustration and horror of misunderstanding and war.

The *Tripod*, WRTC, and the college itself are, and we hope will continue, fulfilling this facet of their roles as information sources — the *Tripod* and WRTC by consistently reporting and analyzing world news; the college by promoting courses and programs directed toward essential and timely issues.

This week Trinity students are witnessing the news organs' responsibility in microcosm with the *Tripod's* special issue, WRTC's convocation previews, and the college's truly progressive and highly organized convocation program for Saturday.

Faculty Contributors

This week's *Tripod*, published in conjunction with the upcoming convocation event and devoted to the world issues relevant to a consideration of "the new world ahead," is a cooperative effort on the part of the *Tripod* staff, students, and faculty members. Among those members of the faculty who contributed are the following:

Dr. Robert C. Black, assistant professor of history, recently returned from a Sabbatical Leave in London. His activities include attendance at the meetings of the American Historical Association in 1958 and the Canadian Historical Association in 1959.

Dr. Edmond Cherbonnier, professor and head of the religion department, has given numerous lectures throughout the New England area, recently received a degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, from the University of Vermont, and has written articles for the *Hastings Encyclopedia*.

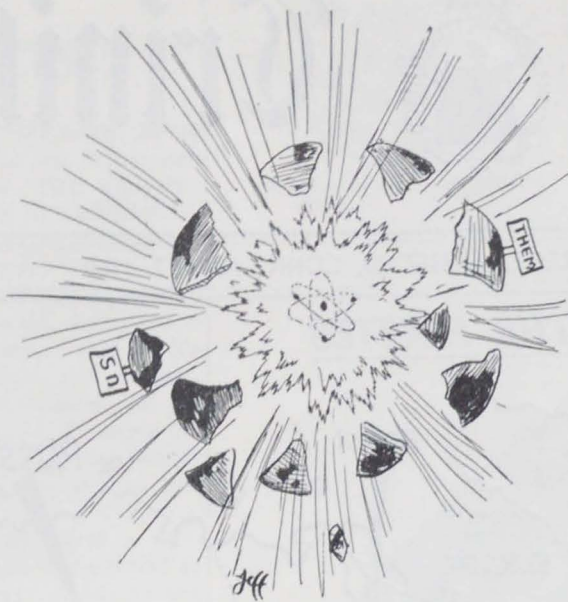
Associate Professor Vernon Ferweda of the Government department, has appeared several times on radio and television, is presently Secretary-Treasurer of the New England Political Science Association, and has written articles on the United Nations for the *Hartford Times*.

Paul W. Meyer, has spent a career in the foreign service, holding posts in Dublin, Guayaquil, Buenos Aires, and Taipei, Formosa.

Dr. Rex C. Neaverson, assistant professor of government, has lived abroad for many years, attended meetings of the New England Chapter of the American Political Science Association, and is a member of the Executive Board of the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union.

Nathaniel S. Preston, a new member of the faculty this year, is obtaining his Doctorate degree from Princeton University, and is presently an instructor of government.

Frederick M. Stoutland received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1959 and attended meetings of the American Philosophical Association. In 1959, his work "Abstracts" was published in the *Bibliography of Philosophy*.



DOES A NEW
WORLD LIE AHEAD?

Adventure for Security

DEMOCRACY A PROCESS

By E. La B. CHERBONNIER

It is natural for Americans to believe that the fate of man in the new world ahead is closely tied to the fate of democracy. We easily assume that, if only democratic government prevails, the full flowering of each individual is assured. It is sobering to compare this sanguine hope with the conclusions of recent studies of American culture, such as *Escape from Freedom*, *The Lonely Crowd*, or *The Organization Man*. As their titles indicate, these studies present a picture, not of personalities enriched and deepened by opportunities that kings would once have envied, but rather of an anonymous citizenry who would gladly trade adventure for security, would rather conform than create, and are more at home with tedium than with wit.

These facts suggest that we have been expecting too much of democracy. It is, after all, only a process, a set of ground rules for reaching group decisions. To expect salvation from it is to mistake the means for the end. This happens whenever the democratic process is invoked with quasi-religious inflection, or is invested with the sanctity of a "way of life." Instead of enhancing personality, defied democracy then gives rise to a set of illusions which stultify it.

Truth and the Minority

One such illusion is the popular notion that the majority is always right. Our founding fathers, in the *Federalist* papers, show a strong suspicion of majorities. New truth must almost always be championed by minorities in the teeth of righteous opposition. The purpose of democracy, as originally conceived, was to protect and nurture truth until it found time to commend itself to the considered judgment, indeed the hindsight, of the people as a whole. Yet in our day the reverence for majorities has acquired an aura of scientific authority, as, for example, in the sociological doctrine that truth and falsity are necessarily relative to particular cultures. Such a view implicitly places a premium on conformity at the expense of originality. It could scarcely be better adapted to the destruction of personality.

A second illusion is the notion that, since "all men are created equal," distinctions based on merit are undemocratic. Until recently, at least, this was official doctrine in some of our public schools, where the dull were never allowed to fail, and the supervisors were throttled down to the pace of the lowest common denominator. Conversely, a sense of discrimination became an academic liability, and personal excellence an unamerican activity.

A third illusion is the view that, since every man has a right to his own opinion in the polling booth, his private convictions are therefore beyond correction.

Fear of Democracy

This conceit underlies our fear of becoming involved in anything "controversial." Since the time of Socrates, controversy has supplied both the spice of conversation and the impetus to truth. If every man's opinion is sacrosanct, however, to disagree with him is to violate his democratic rights. Conflicting opinions must consequently be kept in close quarantine, cut off from the possibility of enlightening interchange. Thus endowed with a flattering sense of infallibility, the individual is deprived of the indispensable prerequisite to maturity: self-criticism. Without self-criticism, human raw material is certain to remain raw.

"Make the world safe for democracy" was the battle cry of the First World War. Today, in the aftermath of World War II, it is clear that democracy alone, though indispensable, is not enough. Left to itself, it will deliver us over to mediocrity. As we face the new world ahead, our problem is not merely to make the world safe for democracy, but to make democracy safe for the cultivation of personal style and the pursuit of excellence.

Technology's Reward: Dignity or Slavery?

By FREDERICK M. STOUTLAND

There are commonplaces without number about the realized and potential evils of the technological societies men have created, and most of them are true. A desire to escape has characterized most of man's responses to these evils. I want to illustrate this in terms of a very well-known commonplace — namely that technological society involves the "loss of the person," the undermining of individual dignity.

My thesis is that the typical response to this evil, especially in America, has been individualistic escapism, which, done in the service of individual dignity, has only resulted in a further loss of that dignity. A loss of man's control over technology has resulted and the original evils have been compounded.

The chief source of individual dignity must be the dignity of work. Work must be worthy of the best of a man's energies and talent. When it is, it will be the justifying center of a man's life and he will allow no chasm between his work and his total life purposes.

Industrialism Creates Slavery

But it is this chasm between life and work which is distinctive of technological society. Industrialism did away with slavery as a necessary condition of a civilized life, but created a new kind of slave class due to the impossibility of the individual's finding dignity and purpose in his work.

"Slavery" takes its meaning by contrast with "freedom," and the latter has as many meanings as one cares to give it, but I like the Greek concept of "free work" as work which is its own justification, which, whatever ends it may serve, is nevertheless worthwhile doing for its own sake.

Money, Not Dignity

It is in terms of this concept of

free work that scholarship and science have always been justified, and it is this concept which distinguishes the true craftsman from the assembly line worker. It is almost impossible for the assembly line worker to find intrinsic satisfaction in what he is doing. Through no fault of his own he has lost the sense of craftsmanship — he turns screws, he doesn't build cars; he works not because that is the source of his dignity, but because he needs the money.

The assembly line worker is not unique. He is joined by advertising men, salesmen, even present day craftsmen and professors; by anyone who regards his work not as intrinsically worthwhile but as a means to life instead of what gives it dignity and purpose.

The typical response to this situation has been an attempt to escape from work into life, to escape from work under technological conditions to life in a paradise removed from technological society. The attempt has been futile, of course. The chasm between life and work has been deepened with the resulting loss of spiritual dignity, and there has been no escape from technological society.

The Result, Escape

Take, for example, the case of the automobile. The loss of the dignity of work meant the loss of the dignity of cities and the automobile made it possible for people to escape them. The spiritual separation of life from work received a physical counterpart in absurd commuting distances. But the automobile is a technological product par excellence — ingenious and mass-produced — and it breeds evils distinctive to technological societies. It means smog, overcrowding, it means the ubiquitous defacing blots that cars

(Continued on page 8)

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CUBA - MEXICO

(Continued from page 1)

pense of the land owning hacendado. It called for an enormous industrial adjustment, with a clear discrimination against private investment capital. It stimulated a hot-eyed nationalism that not only sought to rid Mexico of the gringo foreigner but made certain that he left without his money. It was a program established upon the broadest possible base; the latest tools and techniques for the stimulation of popular enthusiasm were lavishly utilized, and though the old-fashioned adobe wall methods were retained, both urban avenida and country camino became choked, for the first time, with well-organized

"demonstrations" of the modern sort. It was, finally, a program that for a long period got out of control,

U.S. Intervention Proved Poor

In a situation of this character, it was quite inevitable that North American property should be confiscated, that North American lives should be lost and that North American feelings should be hurt. That North American intervention was certain is a little questionable, but it did take place, and with melancholy results for all concerned.

History, of course, never repeats itself precisely, and it would be risky to assert that the Cuban story that began in January, 1959, will exactly reproduce the Mexican adventure between 1911 and 1941.

Down With Little Men, Says Kirtz

By BILL KIRTZ, '61

"Who am I? Where am I? What is truth?" are questions Saturday afternoon's Convocation panel will attempt to answer as Messrs Lilje, Malik, and Northrop survey the status of "Man in The New World Ahead."

The answer to the question of "who" an American is, according to prevalent thought, a citizen no better and no worse than any other. To the query "what is truth?" America responds "what most of the people think."

"Democracy is a device for strengthening and heartening the have-nots in their eternal war upon the haves," H. L. Mencken once observed.

In a recent Saturday Review article, Claude Fuess has asserted that we are at present encouraging a national "cult of mediocrity." Proceeding on the premise that one citizen is fully as valuable to society as another, America, according to Fuess, has been "anesthetized by material prosperity."

Presidential Primaries Revealing

Two examples of the unattractive aspects of democracy which Mencken and Fuess have noted may be found in the year's most vivid glimpse to date of United States self-government — the Presidential primaries. Senator Humphrey's repeated allusions to his sympathy with the problems of the "little man" confirm what I consider to be the hub of Mencken's argument: that twentieth century democracy is not as concerned with inspiring better work as it is with protecting mediocre efforts. Senator Kennedy's attempts to play down his background reflects his awareness that Americans, as Fuess has commented, distrust both affluence and intellectual ability.

In presenting themselves as just plain folks, ready to fight to the death to ensure government aid from womb to tomb, our temporal leaders are merely catering to the demands of the American people. The same

union regulations which make it nearly impossible to dismiss an incompetent employee have produced a dilemma which many cannot, or will not, recognize: a situation in which the above-average worker is not permitted to exercise his potential ability. The stricture forbidding a man to lay more than a certain number of bricks an hour is but one example of the noose which our democratic way of life has slipped around the neck of the superior. Our desire for security has therefore degenerated into a mass fear of ideas or achievements which differ from the norm; a stultifying lack of original thought is the result.

Get Rid Of "Little Men"

The most important task of a democracy is that of equipping citizens competent to lead it. I submit that America, instead of assuming that every person's opinion is equally valid, instead of assuming that the majority view is by definition the correct view, should provide instead an impetus, not an impediment, to independent thought.

Capitalism has produced many items without which our complex society could not exist. The automobile, the split-level, and the washing machine, to mention only a few of the means by which Americans can flaunt their equality to the Joneses, are all results of capitalistic efforts — results of the labor of undemocratic men who believed that their ideas were better than those of their compatriots.

The "creeping depersonalization" noted by many observers of the American scene is nowhere better illustrated than in its "cult of mediocrity." If capitalism were realistically recognized as the result of the natural inclination to be on top of the heap, and the citizenry as a whole impelled to similar aspirations by the removal of government aid preserving the inalienable right of mediocrity, the "same level" so many seek today would be a much higher one tomorrow.

**On Campus** with Max Shulman

(Author of "I Was a Teen-age Dwarf", "The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis", etc.)

WHO WENT TO THE PROM—AND WHY

"Hello," said the voice on the telephone. "This is Werther Sigafoos. I sit next to you in psych. I'm kind of dumpy and I always wear a sweat shirt."

"I'm afraid I don't remember you," said Anna Livia Plurabelle.

"I'm the one whose lecture notes you've been borrowing for two years," said Werther.

"Oh, yes!" said Anna Livia. "What do you wish, Walter?"

"Werther," said Werther. "What I wish is to take you to the Junior Prom next April."

"But this is November 27, Westnor," said Anna Livia.

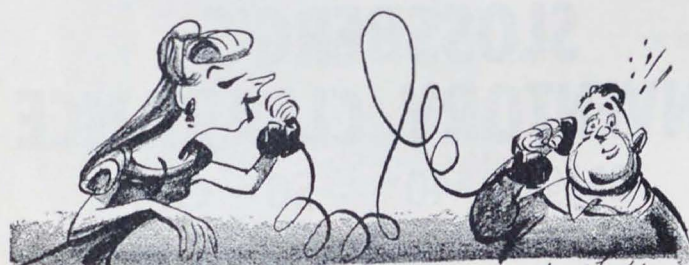
"Werther," said Werther. "Yes, I know, but you are so round and beautiful that I was afraid you might have a date already."

"As a matter of fact I do, Wingate," said Anna Livia.

"Werther," said Werther. "Oh, drat!"

Anna Livia did not really have a date, but she was expecting to be asked by Stewart Stalwart, athletic and BMOC, handsome as Apollo, smooth as ivory, wearer of faultless tweeds, smoker of Marlboro cigarettes which even without his other achievements would stamp him as a man with know-how, with a pleasure-oriented palate. If you think flavor went out when filters came in, try a Marlboro. This one brims with zest and zip and the good, mild taste so dear to those who smoke for the pure joy of it. Get yourself a pack of Marlboros and listen to your friends say, "There, by George, goes a smoker who knows a hawk from a handsaw."

But I digress. Anna Livia waited and waited for Stewart Stalwart to ask her, but two days before the Prom, to everybody's amazement, he asked Rose-of-Sharon Schwartz, a nondescript girl with pavement-colored hair and a briefcase.



"I have decided to accept your invitation..."

Anna Livia immediately phoned Werther Sigafoos. "My Prom date has come down with a dread virus," she said, "and I have decided to accept your invitation, Waldrop."

"Werther," said Werther. "Oh, goody ganders!"

The next day Anna Livia received a phone call from Stewart Stalwart. "My Prom date has come down with a dread virus," he said. "Will you go with me?"

"Certainly," she said and promptly phoned Werther and said, "I have come down with a dread virus and cannot go to the Prom with you, Whipstitch."

"Werther," said Werther. "Oh, mice and rats!"

So Anna Livia went to the Prom with Stewart and who do you think they ran into? Rose-of-Sharon with Werther, that's who!

Stewart had felt obliged to ask Rose-of-Sharon because she always did his homework, but she had weaseled out because she really wanted to go with Werther with whom she felt a great oneness because they were both so dumpy. He fell wildly in love with her at the Prom, and today they are married and run a very successful five-minute auto wash in New Bern, N. C.

Anna Livia and Stewart are happy, too. They are still juniors and have not missed a prom in sixteen years. © 1960 Max Shulman

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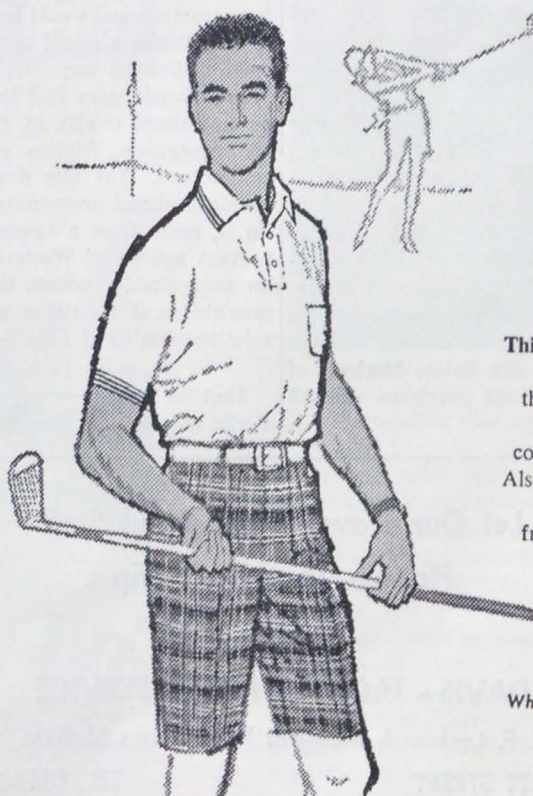
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False Appraisal of Russia, Diplomatic Bunglings Leave Legacy of War Threat in Berlin Stalemate

By GEORGE F. WILL, '62

An incredible series of diplomatic miscalculations nearly two decades ago created the monster that has become today's bastardized Berlin, the impassé in East-West relations most apt to ignite the Cold War into a world conflagration. The creation, evolution, and contemporary implications of this city, at once a useful tool and intolerable burden to both sides, is a classic example of international power politics.

The weapon that Russia has continually used to bring pressure to bear on the Western nations concerns their right of access to this city, an ideological misfit existing as a European Quemoy, 110 miles east of the "mainland" of freedom. It was one of the Allies' greatest mistakes of World War Two to fail to formally insure a means of supplying their sectors of Berlin.

Planning Begun

In 1943, a full year before D-Day, a British-American group first began planning post-war Germany. Expanded to include Russia (France was not included until the end of the war), this European Advisory Commission took up the problem of partitioning.

Berlin's location indicated that it

would probably be placed in the Soviet zone, yet all the conquerors wanted a slice of this prize. It was hoped that the resultant plan for cooperative government by all the Allies would present a show of harmonious solidarity.

Diplomatic Bungling

The first plan to assure access to Berlin was a proposed travel corridor which was to be an integral part of the western zones of occupation. This plan, emanating from the State Department, never left Washington. It was vetoed on the grounds that the solution should come through military channels.

In 1944 it was suggested that the boundary of the Western zones should extend east as far as the Berlin border. Again, this plan was never presented. John G. Winant, U. S. Ambassador to Britain and our leader in the negotiations, felt that occupation of Berlin assumed the right of access. To insist on a formal agreement, with or without an extension of the Western zones, would arouse Soviet suspicion and ruin harmony at the outset.

Churchill Unheeded

1945 provided the final missed chance by the West. American troops pushed through Germany faster than expected, and passed the previously

proposed boundaries between Russian and Western zones of occupation. It is likely that we could have reached Berlin before the Russians, thus gaining a stronger bargaining position in the final cementing of previous proposals. Only Churchill saw the advisability of marching on. His pleas to Roosevelt and, after April 12, to Truman went for naught, however, and the U. S. forces waited at the Elbe River for the Russians to catch up. Berlin was captured by the Red army.

Today's problem was not caused by a plot or a mistaken decision, but just the lack of any enlightened and coordinated diplomacy, an approach so innocuous as to be insipid. There was a total failure of American statesmen to examine the problem in the light of post war politics rather than war time alliances.

Blockade and Curtain

The administrative squabbling that led to the breakdown of four-power cooperation and the dramatic Berlin Blockade of 1948 brought the "Iron Curtain" down with awesome finality and created, in effect if not legal fact, two cities. The effect of this in promoting the "collective security" thinking that spawned NATO should not be overlooked. The disturbing point is that there has been no change, save a heightening of tension, in the status of Berlin in more than a decade. In this twelve year period only Khrushchev's recent "Free City" proposal is important, and that only because it illustrates the insolubility of the problem.

In essence, this plan would have the Western forces withdraw from their sectors; in turn Khrushchev would turn over the Eastern sector to the German Communist regime now in power. He is obviously proposing a free West Berlin.

Deceptive Freedom

There are five broad points of objection that make this plan impossible to even negotiate. This creation would signify the final dismemberment of Germany by making Berlin a third German state, a compromise of the entire Western position that holds German reunification as the only solution. It would eliminate Berlin as the last remaining escape route from behind the "iron curtain" which has been the path to freedom for 6,000 refugees per month for the last decade. Human rights would soon disappear under the guise of the Soviet right to "prevent espionage." Also, large para-military units would remain in East Berlin (e.g., the People's Police and Workers' Militia) and the monstrous force of 22 Soviet divisions now surrounding the city would stay put.

Western policy leaders recognize that the Berlin situation can only be "solved" by the total reunification of Germany. Within this limitation, any proposal that would alter the existing structure and would be acceptable to the Russians would necessarily involve unilateral acquiescence by the West. Russia does find Berlin useful as an irritant to stir up, for the sake of propaganda, friction and summit conferences. Yet this dazzlingly reconstructed and prosperous West Berlin is, aside from a strategically important sphere of Western influence, an unspeakable irritant to the Communists as it flourishes next to the relative squalor of East Berlin.

Pressure To Come

That the West views, correctly, that Berlin as a symbol is vastly more im-



The East German military might is the result of a decision for "guns rather than butter" that the captive citizens of that sector never voiced.

portant than Berlin as a political pawn further negates any possibility of compromise without capitulation. Yet it is likely that a Soviet move of considerable significance may be forthcoming. Khrushchev has long been publicly threatening to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. This would be a dashing pre-summit move. It would seem the "elevation" of East Germany to the legal rank of satellite. The West would then be forced into at least *de facto* dealings with the East German officials, who even now control the routes to West Berlin. This would be a large step toward gaining recognition of his satellite.

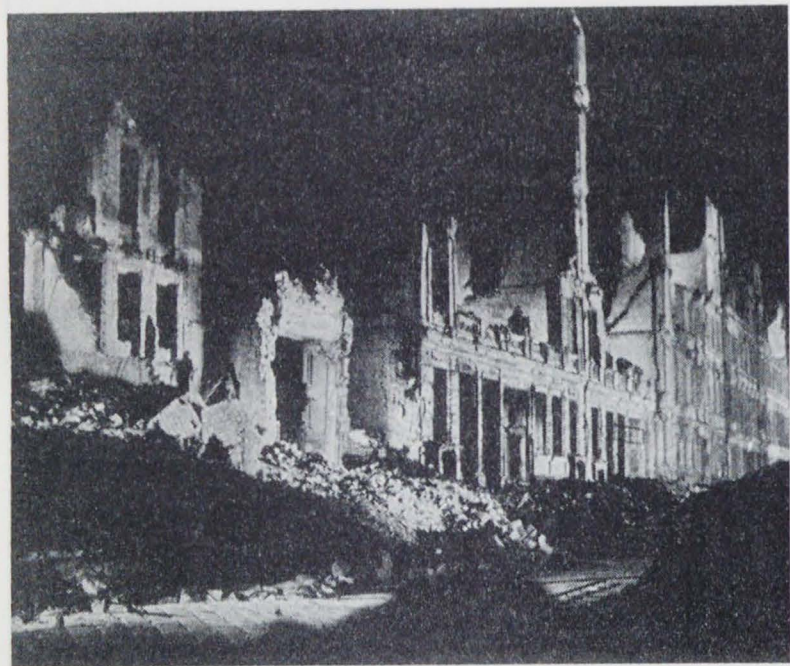
The three Western governments are in complete accord on two principles that must determine the advisability of top level discussions and the legality of the agenda. Negotiations cannot be conducted under the threat of an ultimatum which prejudices both the agenda and the eventual resolu-

tions to be endorsed. It is also recognized that the very act of negotiating with the Soviets for a treaty that will insure access to Berlin will be conceding that it is the right of Soviet Russia to restrict Western communication with West Berlin.

No Stone Unturned

Thus the future will see an endless march to the summit by plotting and perplexed statesmen whose optimistic plans must inevitably be tabled before the pressure of the dreary reality, the dictate of which is a maintenance of the embarrassing and explosive *status quo*. New York Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger, in considering the possibility of new solutions arising from the summit, concludes, like the preacher in Ecclesiastes, "there is no new thing under the sun."

By preventing an eruption of total war the maintenance of the *status quo* may in effect become a diplomatic coup.



600,000 dwellings were destroyed in Berlin by wartime bombing and street-to-street fighting. In 1945, it was estimated that it would take 40 years and untold billions to rebuild the city.



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INFLATION RULES S. A.

By HENRY WHITNEY, '63

"Revolution," "Inflation," "armed forces," and "labor troubles" appear frequently in headlines dealing with South America's Southern Six—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

Inflation, a particularly severe problem, is increasing in all the nations. In Argentina alone the cost-of-living index rose 2.7 per cent in January. Why? 1) Many of the nations are issuing fiat money to pay debts left by recently deposed governments, often dictatorships. 2) Others inflate their currencies to meet their day-to-day expenses; while, 3) a few are employing worthless funds to buy their future; Brazil is financing its fantastic new capital, Brasilia, that way.

Most of the Southern Six are taking active steps to combat the inflation. Argentina's Frondizi has enforced an apparently successful austerity program as the favorable 1959 balance of trade indicates.

Labor Problems due to Inflation

Spiraling prices have caused worthless wages and consequent working class discontent. Austerity programs practised in various countries have augmented the discontent. Workers have expressed their feelings in a series of strikes frequently ending in violence, as Chile indicated with 308 strikes—247 of them illegal—in 1954.

Though labor has been seeking higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, and the like, many of the strikes have been of a political nature. Political elements often control labor as in Argentina where the unions are dominated by Communists and Peronists.

Army Power due to Labor, Political Unrest

Because of the insecurity brought on by the labor situation, and because



Argentina's Frondizi

of the prevalent political attitude, the governments of the Southern Six have always put excessive reliance on their armed forces, with the result that the military plays an important political role and receives a disproportionate slice of the national budgets. The power of the armed forces is vividly seen in Paraguay where the present dictator-president, Stroessner, is a general depending on the army for his position.

Yet the Southern Six have made considerable progress in the past ten years. In 1948 Brazil's automobile production was negligible, but in 1958 she produced 61,000 units; Argentina's oil production increased by 33 per cent last year. Even in landlocked Paraguay, areas recently known only to the Indians are now being exploited.

Chile is becoming a steel producing

country and is encouraging all other industries so as to break their reliance on copper and nitrates for foreign exchange.

Bolivia's economy also has been traditionally based on mining, especially of tin, though 85 per cent of the population is connected with agriculture. A 1953 land reform program was inaugurated to liberate the small farmer from his inherited semi-feudal status. Even hemmed-in Uruguay is progressing as government-encouraged industrial expansion programs take hold.

Foreign Capital a Factor

All the Southern Six, notably Uruguay and Argentina, are inviting in foreign capital in a way they never did before. Foreign interests in Chile and Bolivia have traditionally played an important role in the government. In Brazil, however, outside investments are not a political factor because aliens have not dominated any important industry.

New types of foreign loans have recently been initiated. They are the loans made to the governments proper by such agencies as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Brazil alone has borrowed \$267,000,000 from this group. Since such endeavors cannot be tied to a particular country, the highly nationalistic peoples of the Southern Six do not mind them as much as they would loans from individual governments.

Bright Future

All the Southern Six are approaching a great era. The outlook for resource-rich Argentina and Brazil seems especially bright. Chile's and Bolivia's heavily lopsided economies will continue until they develop new industries. Chances are that Paraguay will remain lost up the river unless some product of value is discovered there. Uruguay, even with her good position, will remain an agrarian nation but a rich one.

Marxism 'Modified' To Suit Occasion

By REX C. NEAVERSON

Many people are unable to understand why Communism, or Marxist-Leninism as it is frequently called, has proved attractive to many people in those countries which until recently were colonial possessions.

A good part of the answer lies in the judicious modifications of Marxist doctrine to suit the needs of the underdeveloped countries. Constantly evolving and highly eclectic, this new doctrine often contradicts Marx on many fundamental points. Many accept it uncritically as an article of faith and regard attempts to dissect it for analysis as heresy despite its claim to scientific validity. The true believer, in fact, sees no incongruity between the double claims of scientific and ethical validity.

Inevitable, Justifiable Revolution

Marxist theory explains why revolution is inevitable and why the exploited proletariat shall and must inherit the earth. According to it, the nature of capitalism makes revolution morally justifiable and objectively inevitable—justifiable because it sees in capitalism an institution which transforms man into a piece of equipment and cripples him intellectually and emotionally; inevitable because capitalism is rent by inner economic contradictions which will assuredly tear it asunder.

To Marx, the industrial proletariat embodies all the evils and potentialities of capitalism. The total dehumanization of man, or "alienation" as Marx called it, turns the proletariat into an entirely new class quite without precedent.

This new class spontaneously acquires "socialist self-consciousness"—the ability to observe the evils of capitalism with complete detachment. No vested interest binds the proletariat to the capitalist system. Unaffected by loyalties, ideologies, even by human ties, the new class attains the ultimate in dispassionate, disinterested observation. The proletariat alone can and will rise to the occasion once the economic contradictions of capitalism have prepared the way and it will overthrow the system. Then man the commodity disappears for ever, and his natural dignity emerges in a world for the first time and forever more free of toil and coercion.

But Something Went Wrong

By the end of the nineteenth century even the most convinced Marxist could see that something had gone radically wrong. The law of the concentration of capital, the law of diminishing profits, the tendency to increasing misery, all the contradictions by which capitalism would dig its own grave, failed to materialize or at best remained undeveloped. The proletariat did not seem to recognize itself in its true role, or if it did, didn't know what to do about it. Industrial society looked quite unlike the society Marx had predicted. Worst of all, fifty years after the appearance of *The Communist Manifesto* no genuinely proletarian revolution had occurred or seemed likely to do so.

New Explanation of Errors

It fell to Lenin to explain these "errors" of history and the following theory of imperialism, borrowed from an English socialist critic, John A. Hobson, resulted: The inner contradictions of capitalism had not developed to the point of revolution because capitalism had found a temporary way out. The solution was expansion on a world-wide basis for cheap raw materials and wider markets. The export of surplus capital and the exploitation of cheap labor in backward countries proved so successful that the capitalists were able to raise living standards and grant many political concessions. This gave the industrial proletariat a stake in society and turned the proletariat itself into an instrument of exploitation of backward peoples. Since now both worker and capitalist shared in the benefits of society they could jointly use the state machinery to further their common

interests abroad.

Capitalism thus becomes state capitalism, competition between firms in one country is replaced by competition between countries and the struggles for economic domination abroad result in ever more costly and destructive wars and in the further exploitation of the colonies. This development again accentuates the difference between the potentiality of capitalist technology and the reality of the capitalist system of property relationships. It also provides the basis for the Leninist theory of modern nationalism which runs somewhat as follows.

Western Imperialism

To nations drawn into the orbit of Western capitalism for the first time, imperialism poses a profound problem. Whatever their indigenous culture they are all compelled to adjust to Western imperialism. The West, meaning primarily the industrialized countries of Western Europe, forces its way of life onto foreign cultures even where there is no direct political domination. Since imperialism was by definition the export of capital this cultural domination meant the domination of capitalist values. The solution for the backward countries is to adopt the techniques of capitalism, to build up the industrial base in order to preserve integrity but not to adopt capitalist values. According to Lenin, capitalism was necessary for the development of modern industry in the nineteenth century but not in the twentieth. In short, the capitalist phase can be skipped.

There are thus two types of industrial society: one technologically advanced and politically conservative which is too much to preserve; one technologically backward and politically radical with nothing to lose. In other words, technological efficiency and political radicalism develop in inverse proportion to each other and not, as Marx believed, in direct proportion.

Preserve Indigenous Cultures

The attempts of backward countries to preserve an indigenous culture and to emancipate themselves from colonial domination by industrialization identifies socialism with nationalism in backward countries and at the same time gives them an ambivalent position towards the West: envy of its productivity; hatred of its imperialism. Thus in espousing Leninism politically conscious men in backward countries can advocate Westernization without in any way abandoning their fear of the West. The advocacy of Westernization is in fact a policy of rebellion against the West. This of course is not Marxism at all. The aim is not the abolition of toil and the withering away of the state but on the contrary the revolution is the prelude to a new state whose job is capital accumulation, the role originally bestowed by Marx on the capitalist state. The Marxist pre-conditions for economic and social revolution have been precisely reversed. This theory appears plausible because Soviet Russia and Communist China are held up as shining examples of backward countries that successfully shook off the yoke of capitalist domination while the advanced countries, England and Germany, which were supposed to start the revolution, did not.

That Marxist-Leninism as a philosophical system fails even by its own standards of evaluation, that it is shot through with inconsistencies and contradictions, and that many of its valid insights can be and have been arrived at quite independently of the system is no obstacle to its utility as a faith. Marxist-Leninism has the function of a religion. It guarantees salvation for the true believer and damnation for the capitalist not beyond but on this earth and in the very near future. It combines radical politics with a nineteenth century optimistic belief in progress and for good measure claims scientific objectivity and ethical validity.

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International Cooperation

ISOLATION DIES WITH NEW ORGANIZATIONS

J. B. HENRY, '61

Time was when each nation of the world had to fend for itself in its struggle for survival. Not so today; statesmen have fashioned an imposing array of regional and universal associations based international cooperation and interdependence.

Such organizations have developed only during the last 15 years. Lest World War II be repeated, it was necessary for nations to work out their problems — military, economic, and foreign policy — together. As a result, since 1945, the following groups have made their debuts: In the economic field, the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Common Market, and the European Payments Union. In the military and foreign policy spheres, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and the United Nations.

Record European Property

Wherever varying degrees of economic union have come into being, record-high productivity and prosperity have usually followed. In western Europe, for example, where the greatest economic cooperation has taken place the combined gross national products have skyrocketed from 140 billion dollars in 1950 to 300 billion dollars in 1959.

The defense and political associations, however, have not been such unqualified successes. Undoubtedly, United Nations arbitration has managed to temper the head of the cold war, but it was powerless to avert or terminate either the Korean or Indochinese Wars. Likewise, the record of the regional groups seems spotty. Thanks to NATO, the Russians have not gained an inch of European ground for over a decade. But NATO members have yet to reach a common stand on the vitally important Berlin situation, or on cessation of nuclear testing.

More Economic Cooperation

When all is said and done, the good effects to date of these supra-nation developments considerably outweigh the bad ones. It is obviously safe to say that great efforts will be made in the '60s to extend the progress towards international cooperation made in the '50s. Already, steps are afoot for a joint foreign aid program under the auspices of some of the Atlantic community nations. Also a common market for some South American countries may be in the offing if present negotiations continue.



THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Inherent in the creation of economic communities, of course, is the danger of political communities with identical membership. Europe's new trade associations are a case in point. France in the Common Market and Britain in the Free Trade Association are watching their carefully cultivated intimacy dissolve. Unless this trend is reversed these two powers could be working increasingly at cross purposes.

Perils of Alliances

There are perils too in regional military groups. In collective security, if one nation is attacked, all her allies must declare war on the aggressor. Thus, a brush-fire war between two nations could easily expand through a system of alliances into a major conflagration.

According to the most knowledgeable economists, the economy of the '60s will go nowhere but up. There is, however, always the outside chance that a depression on the scale of 1929 could descend on the world. Should this become a reality the whole complex of communities would come crashing down. Disastrous protectionism, as the Great Depression shows, goes hand in hand with economic reversal. Few things divide nations more effectively than insurmountable tariff walls.

Campus Notes

Attention Freshmen: The I.F.C. has announced that the first session of Mason Plan will be held Tuesday, April 12 from seven to nine. The final two sessions will take place on the following successive Tuesdays, the last running until 9:40. Freshmen are advised to visit three houses each evening, spending 40 minutes at each.

The Convocation Committee asks that all students remove their cars from the parking lot near the Engineering lot on this coming Saturday morning so that the lot can be used for guest parking. It is suggested that the students use the Broad-Vernon Street Lot instead.

Alumni and Tuttle Composition Prizes: Students interested in competing for the Alumni Prizes in English Composition should have their subjects approved by Professor Gwynn by April 15 and should submit their essays by May 1. Essays prepared in any regular course of study are eligible for the three prizes of \$100, \$65, and \$35.

Junior English majors interested in the Ruel Crompton Tuttle Prizes of \$335 and \$165 should confer with Professor Gwynn by May 1. These awards go to the students adjudged "the best and second best English scholars from the Junior Class . . ."

Who Will Dominate the Middle East?

(Continued from page 1)



Mid East's Nasser

now living in such abject poverty, were driven from their homes in 1948 by the Israelis has long been the claim of Arab spokesmen. Ben-Gurion, then and now the leader of Israel, contends that the majority of the Israelis did nothing to drive the Arabs from their homes. But there is no doubt that terrorist groups, some of which now contribute to the membership of the opposition Herut party in Israel were instrumental in the exodus of the Arabs. There is other evidence however, that the Arab population was encouraged by the Arab leaders to leave Palestine and join the invading armies.

But the determination of guilt in the question is almost the most peaceful point at this time. Any peaceful settlement between the Arabs and Israel must involve, on the Arabs' part, a formal recognition of the existence and apparent permanence of the state of Israel, and on the Israel's part, a just compensation to the Arab refugees for land and property seized in 1948. Any resettlement of a great number of Arabs in Israel appears at this point to be impossible because of the security threat that would present.

Economic Picture

The economic picture of the Middle East offers innumerable contrasts. On the one hand we see the wealth and oil producing states such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and on the other those countries dependent on outside aid for the maintenance of an artificial economy. Israel and Jordan are among the major countries in this latter category.

The Jordan River project as proposed by the U.S. special representative Eric Johnston five years ago would have been of enormous benefit to the peoples in the Middle East. All the Arab states rejected the proposals because they would have involved a measure of co-operation with Israel.

The Aswan Dam projects should greatly aid the U.A.R. but something will have to be done about Egypt's too rapidly expanding population. The low standards of living throughout the Middle East (even in the oil-rich lands) have, of course, been ready targets for the Soviet.

Russian Penetration

The objects of Russian penetration

and its yet-unseen consequences are not easy to pinpoint with certainty. The Russian Bear holds an ever-deepening grip on Egypt's armed forces and on her industry, and especially after the development of the Aswan Dam project, on the very heart of her irrigation complex.

Russian influence in Iraq is of a different sort. Both the genuine Iraqi nationalists and the communists were anxious to establish an Iraqi government which would not be a Nasserite satellite. In this they succeeded despite repeated attempts at subversion initiated by the Cairo regime. In this conflict, the communists and the Russians were completely with Nasser.

Iraq and Iran

But what will follow? It appears that Russia has ordered a slow down on Iraqi militarism which might threaten her neighbors. For the Soviet interest is no longer mainly in Nasser and Kassem, but in the Shah of Iran. Khrushchev now seems content to consolidate his economic and military penetration of the U.A.R. (Continued on page 7)

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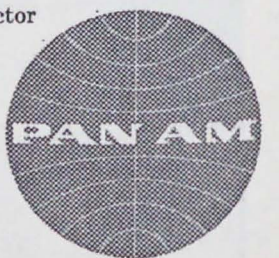
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By NATHANIEL S. PRESTON

One of the most severe tests which our country will face in the coming decade will be the ability of our separation of powers form of government to rise to the demands made on it by the American people and by the conditions of modern world diplomacy.

As originally established, and as it functioned for the first hundred years of its existence, our government was one in which the national legislature, the Congress, was intended to debate and determine policies the country should pursue, and the national executive, the Presidency, was to assure their execution. With the increase in governmental functions which has accompanied our acceptance of the welfare state concept, however, and with our irrevocable involvement in the affairs of nations all over the world, signalled by the adoption of Greek-Turkish aid and the Marshall Plan in 1948, the issues with which our governmental agencies must deal have become incredibly complex, and often highly technical.

Leadership Shift

As would be expected, policy leadership in national affairs has shifted more and more to the Presidency, for the executive branch, with its vast

array of agencies and technical staffs dealing daily with problems the government must meet, has at its disposal the knowledge and the skills necessary to intelligent decision-making. Yet our form of government requires the President to seek acceptance for his policies from the Congress, while interposing serious obstacles to any attempt by him to dominate that body in order to assure that acceptance.

So the burden has fallen on Congress to fit itself properly to pass judgment upon issues presented to it. Historically, it has done this through its elaborate committee system, in which members have learned to specialize in particular fields. Each committee has been given the duty of reviewing in the light of its members accumulated experience proposals falling within its particular area of specialization. As a result of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, each committee is now furnished with a staff of professional researchers, and each is charged, not only with studying particular projects of legislation presented to it, but also with continuing oversight of the execution of those projects in the Executive Branch.

New Obstacles

But this very development — strengthening the committee system within the context of the separation of powers — has brought in its train new obstacles to effective government. Based as they are on particular group attitudes and customs of the Houses of Congress, the committees have established themselves as centers of power and as sponsors of policies which may openly conflict with the President's policies.

The seniority rule, the basis for determining both committee chairmanships and membership on the more important committees, brings to the control of congressional committees men who have achieved their seniority by virtue of election from districts or states where the electorate is relatively insensitive to shifts of public opinion in the nation as a whole. These men face a President who conceives his election to carry a mandate to pursue policies consistent with pre-

vailing public opinion.

Although greatly strengthened by the 1946 legislative act, their resources for information are less than his, and they tend to resent that fact. Through ties built up over years of association with the party leaderships in their respective houses, and through their own influence as experts among their colleagues, the committeemen have considerable ability to block or to change Presidential proposals, and many do not hesitate to use it.

Vigorous Action Blocked

Our separation of powers, then, even though a result of efforts to create an effective legislative branch, still performs its historic function of blocking or hampering vigorous action. It is doing this in a world where vigorous action has been recognized as a necessity by nations whose responsibilities are far smaller than ours.

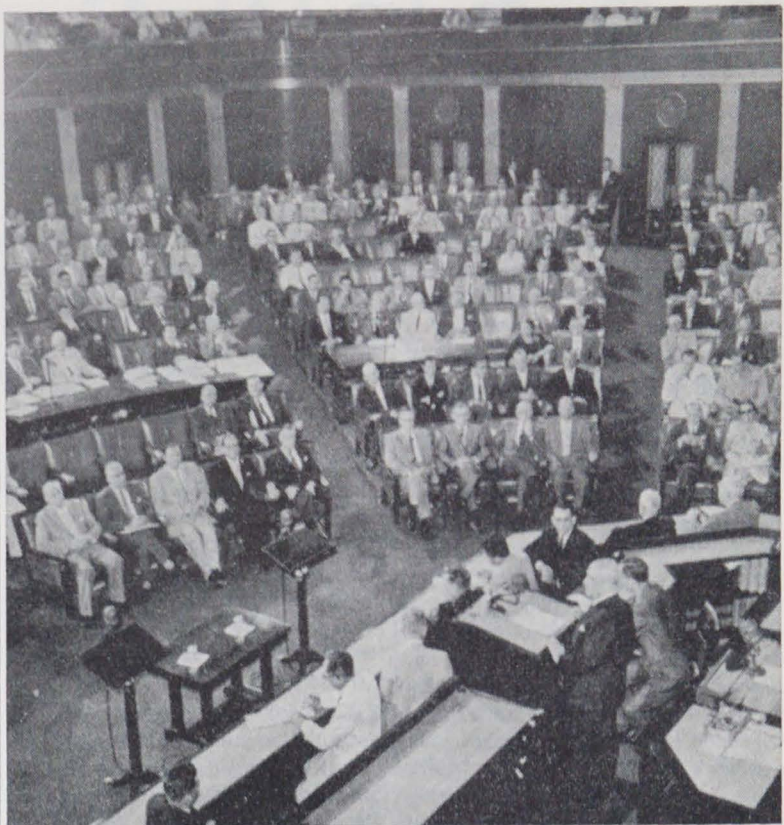
In Great Britain, for example, the House of Commons has been gradually reduced to the position of a sounding-board for government policies and to opposition of them or, at most, to an ultimate check on serious abuse of power. It neither initiates nor proposes alternatives to policy.

French Executive Overpowering

In France, where devotion to the ideals of representative government has been, at times, more extreme than ours has ever been, the executive now looms as the overpowering figure. The National Assembly, recently shorn of a committee system which, incidentally, greatly resembled our own, has taken on the role of ratifier of his acts.

What is the prospect for the United States? The recent years, when a President of one party faced a Congress dominated by the other, have demonstrated that whatever leadership we are to have must come from the executive branch. Despite his bold assertion at the opening of the 86th Congress that his party would lead, the Senate Majority Leader has still had his greatest success when siding with, and not against, the President.

But if the leadership does come from the White House, what remains for the Capitol? The present system does not permit the President to force his way with Congress, and it does not lend itself to producing an identity of views between the two. Yet is it seriously questionable that the particular sort of disparity of views which the system fosters — that between a President who is responsive to national opinion and committee chairmen who are not — is useful to the wise selection and effective implementation of our Nation's policies. The 1960s will present many challenges to our leadership, but they will present equally a challenge to the system in which it operates.



SEPARATION OF POWER — THE HOUSE

Nationalism Is Multiracial

(Continued from page 1)

ternative, control by the white man. This can be at most temporary, reserved for those who would hold on for a while longer by using brutal oppression and bloodshed to delay the inevitable. One can look for more bloodshed in South Africa before the final capitulation comes this year or next. But come it will — for the African holds the key to white prosperity — his labor. The moderate African leaders who preach non-violent resistance after the Gandhi example are still resisting, and one can expect to see this resistance succeed — just as it did in India. When the Africans refuse to go down into the mines, and to do the other menial jobs on which the South African economy is built, the white man's day of domination is finished.

Whites Need Not Migrate

This does not necessarily mean mass migration of the white man. Africa has been his home, and that of his ancestors, in many cases. He has not yet come to think of himself as an African, even though some of the more enlightened black political leaders are beginning to suggest that this new meaning of the old term is possible, even in our lifetime. Tom Mboya, the able politician from the British colony of Kenya, makes this point, even when he is struggling for freedom from a British rule exercised by whites who have lived in Kenya for generations. Julius Nyerere, who will soon be prime minister of the new state of Tanganyika, makes the same point even more effectively. He heads a political movement in which Europeans and Asians work side by side with Africans. Here a new nationalism is developing, one that is multiracial in character. Persons of all colors, religions, and origins are coming to think of themselves as Tanganyikans. This is the shape of the future.

Near-Dictatorship Expected

Although the Nyerere rule in Tanganyika is likely to be an exception in that it conforms to the practice of British parliamentary government, Americans and Europeans may not like some of the political systems being developed in Africa. Most African states will more closely approximate the presidential form of government, such as is found today in France under DeGaulle. As the representative assembly declines in importance under strong African leaders, we are likely to see a repetition of the near-dictatorship now found in Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah. Opposition parties will eventually develop, just as they are developing in India with the disintegration of the Congress Party that brought independence.

Responsible political leadership, on a multiracial basis, is needed here, if democracy is to develop in some parts of Africa. Here is a job that a white man, willing to be a partner, can do. If he does it well, his stature among Africans will increase, and a new Africa will be on the way.

K's Use for IRAQ

(Continued from page 6)

and Iraq. In his attempts to mitigate Persia's leaning toward the West, the Soviet leader has been using Iraq as a spring board for undermining the Shah's regime. Already, a number of striking developments point in this direction. The Soviet-supervised extension of the Iraqi railway system to the Persian border at no less than three points is one. The appearance of a leading Iraqi communist in Azerbaijan, the northern province of Persia that was under Soviet military rule in 1945, is another. The growing interest in the reactivation of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party is a third.

Thus we see that the Russians are pursuing their aims in the Middle East with characteristic vigor. The West appears to be much less dynamic in the area and appears at present to sit back and hope for a Russian bungle.

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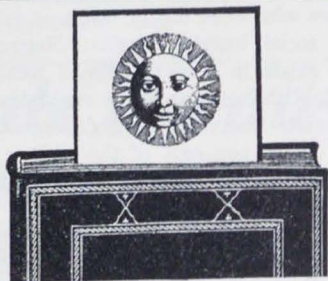
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Paean To Progress Viewed Inadequate

By DAVID SIFTON, '62

World Civilization, faced with an international vitamin deficiency, a distinct over-abundance of restless little yellow people, and the possibility of nuclear hari-kari, is at present running on sheer faith. Faith in God? Certainly not. Faith, rather, in that magic, sure-fire, rather nebulous commodity: Progress.

What else is there to believe in? Science has quite effectively destroyed the work of every theologian, metaphysician, evangelist, witch-doctor, and professional magician who has ever lived, no matter what the Christian Church may wishfully think; and replaced them with its own highly specialized group of visionaries. The technologists, biologists, psychologists, and sociologists are the new priesthood of the West, and the Gospel they are vending is the positive power of progress.

Faith in Progress

Progress, it is rapturously asserted, will ultimately end all our woes, provided, of course, that we have complete faith in it. Give the technologists free reign to purpitate their witty little schemes and even Hell will have air-conditioning. Is there any justification for such a claim? Let us see. . . .

To date, science has given the world everything from safety steering wheels to nuclear power, everything from tranquillizers to contraceptives. It has also, however, given the world traffic jams, polluted air, Strontium 90 fallout, the same population problem it has promised to solve, and the rather disturbing ability to destroy the world. It has, in short, given the world more knowledge and more power than the human race can sensibly cope with.

No Human Progress

It can not be denied that we in the West live in more comfort than the

aborigines of a few milleniums past, but neither can it be denied that we, and the rest of humanity as well, live in more danger. Science, true to its word, has progressed; but humanity, unfortunately, has not. The result is not quite as rosy as the priesthood preaches.

Blow Up, Start Again

The shiny new tools science has given us have not come with directions, and we are constantly grabbing these tools by the blade instead of the handle, thus cutting our little fingers. We are using eugenics on gardenias instead of ourselves and contraceptives on cafe society instead of Asians.

What we can expect, of course, is more of the same. Unless a Philosopher King suddenly appears at the Summit, which is highly unlikely, there is no conceivable solution — unless, naturally, we decide to blow ourselves up and start over.

Suburbia's Choice: Individualism or Slavery

(Continued from page 2)

make on city and country landscape.

The car is the symbol of the individualistic escapist approach to the evils of technological society. Unlike the train, it gives scope to the individual to go where he wants when he wants. But what it has done is to disintegrate the American community and to extend the evil without the good of technological society far beyond the boundary of the city. Within a few years the whole Eastern seaboard from Maine to Virginia will be one continuous city. This will be the result of the suburban movement, which is the embodiment of individualistic escapism. Instead of non-technological paradises, suburbs are technological jungles. The homes are filled with gadgets, but schools suffer and cultural activities are nil except in the abandoned cities. Individual dignity, it is thought, requires home-ownership, so we get the project homes which will probably be slums in a generation. Mass consumption, a product of technological society, makes possible individualistic business enterprise. So every man has his own neon light and we get fifteen miles of utter ugliness on the Berlin turnpike, something made possible by the suburbs' refusal to make the highway closed access so they could have the taxes to maintain their independence of the technological evils of the city.

There are many more illustrations of the results of individualistic attempts to escape from technological society. The pressing question, of course, is whether there are alternative solutions. I have no blueprints to offer except to point out that there can be no escape from technology, that it can only be controlled; that means proper exploitation of its resources, which are almost unlimited. This is not so much a philosophical problem as it is a practical and aesthetic one. Let me make two suggestions.

Controlled Technology

One is that technology, since it is a human product, can be controlled if its use is planned. Human products become uncontrolled only when we let them. The use of technology must be as reflective as its creation. Here the city-planners are pointing the way. These men have a better grasp of the overall possibilities of technological society than any other I know. They are giving us visions of the beauty of well-planned cities and turning these visions into actuality. They are showing how technology can not only hinder but also further the spiritual aims of men.

The other suggestion is that what modern man has suffered from as much as any other thing is a surfeit of distractions of all kinds and that what he needs is a new kind of asceticism, a simplification of life.

There's Segregation Outside Montgomery Too, Says Stambaugh

By JOHN STAMBAUGH, '61

One effect of last week's South African race riots has been a shift in world attention from the United States' own racial incidents in Montgomery and Nashville.

The outbreak of violence in Africa has at least shown that racial discrimination is not bounded on the east by the Atlantic and the west by the Pacific. The problems of the Union of South Africa were well documented long before March, 1960, by a stream of literature which has criticized, dramatized, and warned about the tense situation in the land of pass-books and Apartheid.

Australia: 300,000 to 50,000

Less publicized but just as real is the discrimination against minorities practiced in many other areas from Australia to Jamaica. In Australia, for example, white colonists have hewn the native black population from 300,000, when white immigration began, to today's 50,000, either by exterminating the natives or by driving them from their hunting grounds. Present-day Australia continues an official "white Australia" policy forbidding Asians and all colored races to enter the country.

In Northern Rhodesia there has been a long battle over working rights for Negroes; employers want to upgrade Negro workers by giving them jobs formerly reserved for whites, and white labor unions charge that natives would work for unfair wages.

Also in Jamaica

Economic discrimination is also evident in Jamaica, where the whites (1% of the total population) own and control the large estates, the shipping, and the finance on the island. The Negro population, however, has no choice but to work at agricultural labor.

At the end of Spanish rule in Mexico, whites involved native Indian laborers in debt and thus forced them into peonage, a form of involuntary servitude. Such discrimination has been common in Mexico, although recently it has been decreasing in frequency.

Discrimination in England

According to Roi Ottley, an American Negro who toured the western world to get a first-hand experience of racial attitudes outside the United States, a color bar definitely exists in England, even though there are no official legal restrictions. Discrimination occurs chiefly in employment ("Never give a Negro a job a white man can fill"), partly as a result of incidents during the 1930's when Negro street sweepers were stoned by whites who were out of work.

A social barrier against Negroes also exists in Great Britain; nearly all English Negroes live in exclusively non-white districts, and during the war only 5 per cent of the whites in England had any first-hand knowledge of Negroes living there.

Anti-Semitic prejudice has also been widely discussed. The Jewish magazine *Commentary* recently published an article by Robert Gorham Davis which charged that the Oberammergau Passion Play combined some of the worst features of both medieval and modern anti-Semitism. The article said that the characterizations of Jews in the play as greedy, proud, and dishonest was an indication of present-day anti-Jewish feeling.

Spanish Discrimination

In Spain, too, Franco's Castilian government has attempted to stamp out the traditions of the Catalans and the Basques, two groups separated from the rest of Spain by language and culture. These groups have been discriminated against in many ways as the government tries to eliminate their peculiar folkways.

There are also spots where discrimination appears to be very slight. The Balkans and Italy, as well as France and Germany, seem to have little racial consciousness.

America Must Stop World's Baby Boom

By PETER S. ANDERSON, '60

Louis Pasteur, Jonas Salk, Edward Jenner, and Sir Alexander Fleming achieved greatness in the fields of preventive and curative medicine and unwittingly contributed to a most acute world crisis. Unhappily the great strides made in saving lives are not matched by equal strides in population control.

We fail to see behind the banner headlines announcing new earth satellites and atomic explosions, an explosion which makes the dilemma of what to do about the newest nuclear club member insignificant.

Control The Baby Boom

If the United States' position as

leader of the free world is to be maintained, we must of necessity aid these areas in controlling their "baby boom." The success or failure of U.S. policy in this field may well decide the east-west conflict.

Hitler used his *lebensraum* need as an excuse for starting the last European conflict and undoubtedly the real aim of Tojo's "Co-prosperity Sphere" lay in providing a safety valve for Japan's excess population. Between 1650 and 1900 the world population increased slightly over a billion though it grew still another billion in the next 50 years. At the present increase rate another billion will be added in only 25 years.

Sax Traces Transition

Karl Sax, author of *Standing Room Only and Population Explosion*, traces four stages of transition for an area. In stage one he describes a high birth rate and a correspondingly high death rate. This was characteristic of the world before the 17th century. In stage two the death rate declines sharply while the birth rate remains high. It is in this stage that the problem becomes acute. Nearly all of the undeveloped neutral areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are presently in this stage. When an area moves into the third stage the birth rate begins to decrease sharply and approach the death rate. Southern and Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R., Japan and Argentina are in this phase. In stage four there is a steady low birth rate and low death rate, and high living standards prevail.

Asia Greatest Problem

The greatest problem exists in Asia because of the peasant nature of the populace. A peasant is by nature a conservative person wedded to habit. This applies especially to India, where the innate distrust of change is coupled with an almost unreal acceptance of "the way things are." This conservatism, linked with an amazing toleration of conditions, makes a correction of the problem difficult at best.

Desire Seems Lacking

A typical Indian villager understands the "rhythm method" of contraception. He also practices *coitus interruptus* frequently. Although some doubt it, Peggy and Peirre Streit in a recent *New York Times Magazine* article state that there is a strong Hindu and Gandhian feeling that frowns on excessive intercourse. In spite of this the problem is acute and the availability of non-availability of contraceptive devices or knowledge has little effect.

Size Gives Status

There is status to be gained in an Indian village by raising a large family. A great number of sons causes a woman to be more highly regarded. Even with today's medical progress death is an ever present reality in an Indian village — especially that of children under five. Such an atmosphere is unlikely to produce a willingness to lessen the number of children in a family. The only way to get these peasant families to desire fewer children is to inculcate in them a desire to give their offspring advantages such as education. This will incite peasant couples to limit their families, making possible more advantages for those they have.

Medical Teams Needed

What should the United States do to alleviate this crisis? Merely dumping advice and contraceptives in each country will not suffice. We should, however, provide U.S. medical teams in the problem areas with material to aid desiring families to obtain the kind of birth control that will best suit them. We should realize that this is a personal matter and the means that are best, psychologically as well as biologically, for one family, one village, or one area may not be suited to others. We should have no reservations about aiding those desiring help in any way, materially, educationally, or otherwise. In fact we should consider it our duty to humanity to do so.

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