Commencing about a year ago, with the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Tito of Yugoslavia, followed later by developments in Poland and Hungary, the theory of “different roads to socialism” was brought into sharp and not thru class struggle. 2 million tons “Sentinel Radie-absorbed by...” broader and more apparent. Of Marxism in the light of new conditions, in contradiction to the strictly orthodox Stalin approach.

For a while, too, it appeared as tho it was paying off. Relations between Tito and the Soviet Union were becoming friendlier, for the time being, at least. But that was only one aspect of the contradiction. The other aspect, a negative one, was to follow. And it came in Poland and in Hungary with a thud. During the Hungarian revolt, Nagy, a Titoist and “national” communist went so far in his repudiation of the Soviet Union as to virtually handing over all past socialist achievement and political power to the bourgeoisie.

In Poland, the present premier and leader is Gomulka, also a Titoist and “national” communist. He, too, advocates independence for Poland in its building of socialism. By independence, it is assumed, that Poland is not to be included within the Soviet orbit, or the group of Socialist nations, with the Soviet Union at the head. What the future of this policy will be remains to be seen. Practical events have a way of overriding the plans of individuals, irrespective of the sincerity of their motives. Once the class lines are loosened and the flames of nationalism are fanned there’s no telling how far this loosening process can go, even to the brink of complete socialist negation. That has already been sufficiently proven in Hungary.

The general idea of different paths to socialism is as old as socialism itself. Even the utopian socialists, as we have seen, had given paths. What essentially characterized the devious paths of the various utopians was that they did not stem from the practical material conditions of society. They all relied upon the idea and reason. All of society was to be emancipated all at once thru the appeal to reason and not thru class struggle. In fact they had hoped to win over the upper (exploiting) classes and convince them, too, of the greater reasonableness and justice of the new social utopia. Some of the socialist utopians had even organized model communal communities to demonstrate their workability. But history and practical obstacles went against them. They ran their course, and failed. But their failures were not with­out positive results, viz., that they...(Continued on page 2)

HOME

Economic Outlook

According to the economic data coming into the news, the year just closed, 1956, was a prosperous year, establishing new peaks in many fields. Industrial production, employment, personal income, retail sales all rose to new highs. So as we enter 1957 the boom keeps rolling along.

Gross national production (value of goods and services) reached a total of $412 billion, a new high. Business spending alone for plant and equipment amounted to $55 billion, also a new high. Modernization of plant and equipment will pay off in greater productivity (output per man-hour) as well as production output.

Already the appliance industry is feeling the pains of overproduction. Some well-known companies have faded from the scene and over a hundred small unknowns have folded. Mr. James M. Skinner Jr., Philco president, thinks the shakedown process will continue this year as well. He said: “There will be further downward trend in the number of appliance and television dealers and manufacturer–ers this year. The reason is continued overcapacity at the manufacturing level. After the war everything was going to be rosy forever. Everybody went out and built plants and production facilities. The industry today has too much capacity and there’s trouble.”

The N.Y. Times in its special edition on “The Nation’s Business and Finance—A Review” (Jan. 2, 1957) listed some of the appliance companies that folded or were absorbed. Among some of the well-known companies were “Arvin Industries—out of business.”

“Bendix Aviation—quit television but continued huge military and industrial operation.”

“General Electric—out of business.”

“Stromberg-Carlson—absorbed by General Dynamics Corporation—stopped making radio and television.”

“C.B.S.—Columbia—out of radio and television business although parent Columbia Broadcasting System—still makes tubes and remains leading radio-television broadcaster.”

“Muntz Television—out of business.”

“Sentinel Radio—absorbed by Magnavox—brand name continues.” A host of others could be listed, if space permitted.

Auto output was 27 per cent off in 1956 from the previous year. Home building was off but construction as a whole increased 2 per cent over a year ago. Agriculture lagged behind the rest of the economy. Steel output hit 115 million tons, off only 3 million tons from last year, despite the 5 week strike. Sales of whiskey increased 5 per cent over a year ago, totaling 210 million gallons or about 1.26 gallons per individual consumption. It was a spirited year.

Dun & Bradstreet estimates there were 12,750 failures in 1956 for a total of $365 million—a 16 per cent increase over a year ago... (Continued on page 2)

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Tension has increased over the Middle East crisis. The Suez Canal dispute has not been settled; nor has the animosity between Egypt and Israel abated. This, in spite of the fact that hostilities by means of bombing and gunfire as a result of the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt gave way to a “cease­­fire” arranged by the UN last year. The Israeli reluctance to give up its gains-by-conquest, and fearing Egyptian retaliation, still refuses (at this writing, Jan. 21st) to pull back all her troops from Egyptian soil, i.e., from the Gaza strip and the region around the Gulf of Aqaba. The United Nations itself is divided on this issue for it is faced with the demand from Egypt and her Iranian allies that all foreign troops, including the UN “po­­lice force,” be removed from Egyptian soil.

The Middle East crisis also had a direct impact on the British gov­­ernment; it caused the resignation of Anthony Eden from his office of Prime Minister. Harold Macmil­­lan, who had served as Foreign Secretary, replaced Eden as Prime Minister. But Britain’s foreign pol­­icy, even towards where it had received a “free hand” from the Middle East, will still remain the same—imperialistic—because Macmillan heads the same old gang of die­­hards who supported Eden.

It’s against this background of crisis that early in January of this year, the American president, Eisenhower, announced his “doc­­trine” toward the Middle East. Al­­though such was its label, yet the real “architect” of this “doctrine” was Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State (and, of course, well advised by his Wall Street associates). It was aimed directly against the Soviet Union with the warning that the “armed forces of the United States” would be used to resist any Soviet “aggression” in the Middle East. It startled the world in a way, because up to this time no one had ever heard of any Soviet “aggression” in that region—but plenty of British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt.

President Eisenhower presented “his doctrine” to the U.S. Congress for approval, for a “free hand” (or a “blank check” as the press put it) to use troops in the Middle East as he sees fit, and also for the sum of 200 million dollars annually for “economic aid” to those countries of the Middle East willing to accept it.

There were quite a few protests against giving Eisenhower so much authority, of a “Truman-Korean­­War type” as expressed by some of them. Still others resented this “ Ike’s doctrine” being shoved down the throat of Congress, particularly in view of continued high taxation, and the record-breaking high governmental budget of...
(Continued from Page 1) 

approximately 72 billion of dollars, of which more than half was for the armed forces of the nation. Nor did some of the Congressmen have any immediate urgency of "aiding" the Middle East, in spite of Dulles trying to impress upon them the idea of a Soviet "poten-
tial threat." However, some press comments indicate that Congress will in the end approve "like's billions," which are slipping out of the hands of the British colo-
nialists." A Russian diplomat in a United Nations debate called it "a clearly formulated program for imperialism." In the Soviet Union charged that "the United States program envisages flagrant interference...in the affairs of the Arab countries." In a joint decla-
roration, Russia and Peoples China promised the Middle East the "nec-
essary support...so as to prevent aggression and interventionist affairs of the countries of this area.

There was an immediate re-

action to these Soviet denuncia-
tions within the United States itself: the Stock Market took a sharp chill. On the lips of the citizens were these queries: "Will the cold war be heated up again? Are we on the verge of World War Number Three?"

(Continued from page 1) 

Different Roads to Socialism 

led to a new approach, of a prac-
tical and materialistic character. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were the two men who transformed social-
ism into a science. It be-
came a scientific theory because, with them, it no longer depended on the will or was of an individual. It was no longer an attempt to establish a perfect, just and completely moral society. Their starting point was the material basis of capitalist society in its historic evolution, with its eco-
nomical laws and interrelations, the class struggles engendered thru its exploitation. By this process of his-
torical analysis they arrived at the revolutionary conclusion that cap-
itism in its historical evolution reaches a point of decline or dis-
solution as all previous social sys-
tems have. That capitalism not only necessary develops the eco-
nomic foundation for the future society but in the process engenders as well the class that is to achieve this revolution. It is the prole-
tariat or working class.

The history of the struggles be-
tween capital and labor has also provided the necessary experience as to how this transformation was to be accomplished. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an invention of Marx's thinking. History provided the nec-
cessary material or experience out of which Marx was able to make his generalization. The solution of 1848 and the Paris Com-

mune made possible that formula-
tion. They helped to prove that the "working class must not simply lay hold of the ready-made ma-

chinery, and wield it for its own purposes" (Marx). In other words the workers in taking power must do more than establishing a state of its own, a proletarian state.

Following the defeat of the Paris Commune, a few years later, comes the rise and development of reform socialism of the Second In-
ternational. It was the contention of this group, and others as well, that the revolution and socialism could be achieved thru the EXIST-

ING (capitalist) state machinery; the capitalists to be voted or bought.

Then there are anarchists, who have no use, whatever, for the State and political action; and the Syndicalists whose sole weapon towards socialism is an economic one.

From the above we get a general idea about the conciliations or agree-
ments over paths to social-

ism, itself. A Marxist socialist def-
inition is at variance with that of a "free and democratic-socialist".

Out of the 1917 revolution in Russia came the Soviet Union, the first workers state, resembling the Paris Commune, the an evolved form of it, under more advanced conditions of capitalism. Here was the first true test of the Dictator-

ship of the Proletariat. The revolu-
tion has survived against all odds and has successfully been building on this foundation. But it has entailed much effort and sacrifice. It also meant vigilance and repression against elements who sought to destroy the socialist working class and socialism. An-
other test of its growing strength, economically and politically, came with World War II. The type of hitler attack on Soviet Union.

Emerging from the war victori-

ous, a leading world power match-
ed only by the United States, the Soviet Union was instrumental in helping directly and indirectly some East European nations to ditch their ruling classes and estab-
lish peoples governments.

Now the question is being raised: "should individual socialist na-
tions (people's governments) seek separate paths to socialism?" Or, should they follow the pattern as set by the Soviet Union, because it has been tested; secondly, because of the strength and power of the Soviet Union, vis-a-vis, world capitalism?

Are there separate and inde-
pendent paths to socialism? Yes and no, is the answer. Separate, independent, as regards form, de-
tail and period? No.

It was Lenin who pointed out that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat will not be the same in all countries. It can readily be un-

derstood that in industrially more ad-
nanced nations the period of trans-
ition might well be shorter than in those less advanced.

Certainly there are differences as to stages of development, cul-
ture, language, nationality. But these modifications are secondary as compared to the essential and essentially characterizes all socialist nations when their differ-
ences are abstracted.

What is the basic determinant of the transition period? It is the class struggle, of course. Class differ-
ences and opposition is what characterizes the path to socialism, regardless whether it is the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary or China. Wherever a ruling class has and is being expropriated, no matter what the language or tradition is, there you have the class struggle in its 

enormous form. This has to be dealt with firmly and in no uncertain terms. In marxian language it is called the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is this common denominator, the opposition between capital and la-

bor that leads us to the belief that no matter what the conditions might seek to find other circum-

stantial paths, that if they are not to get lost in the social wilderness and defeat, they will have to more or less stick to the same general 
direction and methods.

Those who resent one socialist (Continued on page 4)
The Source and Substance of America's Strength

The United States of America is now the strongest nation of the capitalist world: its armed forces reach into many lands. It also produce, all of which, in the first place, goes to the capitalist owners of the industries.

An increasing number of workers are non-protective. They create no value, but they are necessary to the capitalist class. We have in mind soldiers, sailors, military fliers, politicians, tax-collectors, producers, head-fixers of the press, and many other servants of the system. The labor of all these is supported indirectly from the surplus value wrung from the exploitation of the productive workers.

What we are here stressing is that the vast majority of the American people are wage-workers. They have no economic investments abroad to defend, and very little at home. In fact, if credit reports are reliable, many have only succeeded in accumulating debts, upon the rather slim security of the future sale of their labor-power. Big business and the vested interests of the industrial proletariat, is chiefly due to the amount of head-fixing that the capitalists are able to give to their pet charities.

The American government must be maintained. The continuation of the war goes unchecked and almost unprotected. The masses of the people are silent and confused. They hope for the best and fear the worst. The national budget grows from year to year. Seven or eight billion dollars have already been called to cover the next fiscal year, $45 billions of which is to go for "defense." In this period of finance imperialism, America's imperial needs are far greater than their military needs.

The industrial capitalist is confronted with the necessity of increasing his surplus value. The form of its wealth is a modern form of "finance imperialism." What is the source of America's great strength? It arises from the productivity of its industrial workers—the producers of all values. The form of its wealth is an "immense accumulation of commodities." Those commodities are the result of the labor of the capitalist class. The workers own but one commodity, namely, their labor power. That is to say, their physical and mental strength and skill, their "know-how," and their ability to apply this labor power—their only commodity—they are obligated to sell to the employing class, in order to live. It is their only means of obtaining the necessary subsistence for themselves and their dependents.

In the process of production, the workers create value in excess of the value of their labor power (wages.) During the first part of a working-day—during the necessary labor time, probably the first hour—the modern worker creates a value equivalent to his day's wage. During the rest of the working-day—during the surplus working time—what is added to the day's labor is the surplus value for which he receives no equivalent. This was Karl Marx discovered and named SURPLUS VALUE. This is the true source of the enormous profits of modern capitalism. It is this that gives America its capitalist strength. All efficiency, all new inventions and processes, such as automation, revolution around that all important division of the working-day. There is a constant effort to reduce the time in which the worker produces the necessary value (wages) and thus lengthen the time during which he produces surplus value (appropriated by the capitalists).

Altho it is from surplus value that the capitalists are enriched, not all of it is clear profit. The workers must be confronted with unavoidable expenses. He may not like it, but he must part with a substantial portion of the surplus value in the form of taxes. His government must be maintained. The continuation of the system requires it. The total of tax payments may amount to a third, more or less, of the surplus value. Nevertheless, what is called "profit after taxes" is quite substantial. There is enough of it so that the capitalists have increased wealth, mainly in the form of industrial expansion. They live sumptuously, and are able to give to their pet charities.

Most modern wage-workers are quite unaware of how extensively they are exploited. Others admit it but deny its extent. Many believe that it is unavoidable and that nothing can be done about it. This attitude of the workers is chiefly due to the amount of hand-fixing they have undergone in the name of "education." They are the victims of an extensive variety of deceptions—a necessary characteristic of all systems of exploitation. Capitalism, especially its American form, is the highest and most efficient way of plundering the social labors of the producers. It makes much use of deception.

It is from this prolific source—the social productivity of the industrial proletariat—that the cost of building vast navies, air armadas, atom-bombs and such, is obtained. Such, as is clear from the very high percentage they can afford by the way of taxes, aloha some are paid out of the private incomes of the capitalists. Such, for instance, are house servants, butlers, chauffeurs, and the like. They are not productive so much as speculative employers. There is a surplus value wrung from the exploitation of capitalism's social apparatus, intellectual flunks, a sort of second-grade parasites, scoundrels who do the dirty work for the real capitalists. All these are supported indirectly from the surplus value wrung from the exploitation of the productive workers.

What are we here stressing is that the vast amount of armaments, and the like, is only possible because of the productivity of surplus value wrung from the American proletariat. But, the capitalist class, having enriched themselves from this exploitation, are now in a position to invest vast sums of surplus capital in other parts of the world. This is the basis of finance imperialism. It gives American investors a share of the exploitation of the working people of many lands. It is said that there is now over $45 billions invested outside of the U.S., apart from government loans.

In some instances, this economic penetration into smaller nations gives American capitalists control of those nations. The wielding of economic power, for purely imperial purposes, for instance, a form of bribery, is typical of finance imperialism. In substance, it is a new form of colonialism and it works more smoothly than the old "gunboat diplomacy." Those are there should be needed.

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HOME SCENE
(Continued from page 2)
roadblocks have been employed to circumvent the integration ruling. But the battle goes on and the fight is expected to last for years. School integration is the administration of schools runs high and that too is a favorable factor towards school integration.

The attempt towards desegregated busses has brought forth a rash of violence. Negro churches, homes of anti-segregation ministers and the busses themselves have been burned. The public authorities have had to halt bus services indefinitely in some cities. The bus companies, many of them owned by Northern capitalists, were ready to accept integration, as money is all the same to them, no matter what deposits it in the coin box; big city and not politicians are delaying and putting roadblocks in the way. Meanwhile disorder reigns in the South over this issue. Like school integration, the survival of the segregated public transportation seems a long way off under capitalism.

The capitalist system produces and reproduces the worst in mankind. Individual success and advantage, private gain, even at the expense of the many, is sanctified as a basic and eternal principle of this system and its private profit, of necessity, means the exploitation of the many. How one accumulates a fortune doesn't matter, as long as the individual has it is what counts.

This divides the population into haves, the capitalists, and the have-nots, the propertyless workers. This division lends itself and encourages other divisions, such as over the skin color, Inequality in the economy engenders racial inequality.

But the capitalist system today finds itself in a world struggle with the growing giant of the communist system. The vast majority of the world's population is made up of colored peoples. These seek to remove off the yoke of oppression. The capitalists in the U.S. fear its own discriminating policy against the Negroes here will alienate the colored peoples of the world in its fight against the communist system.

The federal government is trying hard to set up some showcases indicating a semblance of racial integration. Race hatred is imbedded in the system and next to impossible to uproot.

Let us assume that integration succeeds in the U.S. The vast majority of the Negroes are workers and these will be in the same boat with the white workers. They will be just as dependent upon a job as the white worker; just as much exploited and sweated; just as hungry when jobless; just as much the subject class—wage slaves. While battling to break down racial barriers, the Negro workers must realize that it is not enough. They must go beyond that. Together with all workers they must organize a class basis by abolishing its cause: capitalism, in order to achieve economic, political and genuine social equality.

THUMBNAILS
LET’S SKIP THE RED TAPE.
If you were the owner of Standard Oil of New Jersey and had all those oil interests in the Middle East, don’t you think it would be a good thing to have your representative in the White House vested with the power to throw 170 million Americans into a war to save and protect those treasures at the snap of a finger? No? Well, I wouldn’t even matter to you if the threat came from Red, White, Blues, Blacks or Browns, just so they could be crushed without the bother and delay of going through that cumbersome body called the Congress.

THE PEOPLES CHOICE.
The City of Naha, largest on America’s island, base of Okinawa will be headed by a new mayor as of Dec. 25th last. He is Kamejiro Okinaga, head of the Okinawa Peoples Party. Senaga’s island (by a 2,000 plus majority) was the result of his active fight against American control of Okinawa and its wholesale requisition of land for air bases.

Just how long the new mayor can keep his office is problematical because the Peoples Party has been branded communist-controlled by U.S. officials on the island. However, since Senaga has just completed a two year prison term for “subversive activities” (that means American activities even on Okinawa) he should be in good practice for a return engagement to the suppression chambers.

STROKE OF LUCK?
The Hungarian run-aways are really getting a break these days, what with Uncle Sam being so warm hearted and all. But, if you think they are lucky, just imagine how fortunate the State Department's intelligence agency must feel getting so many “red-haters” all in one crack! Say, they’ll have so

DIFFERENT ROADS TO SOCIALISM
(Continued from page 2)
power playing a dominating guiding (or whatever you want to call it) influence as compared to the nation and small-capitalist nations and even learn a lesson in practical relations from the capitalist world. Here, too, it is not morality but economics that determines national policy.

Following the war several European capitalist nations were on the brink of bankruptcy and civil war. Who came to their aid and anchored them out? The U.S. for the strongest capitalist nation. Was it their specific differences that prompted such assistance? Rather, we should say, it was their COM­ MON bond, their unity as an exploiting class that dictated such action. And from their class viewpoint it was absolutely correct. It saved a good part of their system.

Even today some of those nations are existing by the grace of the powerful U.S.A. This is even more true in religion to socialist nations.

All socialist nations have much to thank the Soviet Union for, its experience, its lessons, and its strength. It is because of these, if for no other reason, that she merits a given amount of seniority and respect in affairs that concern the world as a whole. Recognition of a leading role doesn’t necessarily spell domination.

It will be claimed by some that socialist nations should continue their national autonomy and free expression. Yes, provided this autonomy doesn’t encourage a rebirth of bourgeois nationalism and capitalism; provided this national independence endorses racial equality.

P.S.: Associated Press wire service reports that Hungarians ranging in age from 20 to 30 years of age have organized a “Revolutionary Hungarian Council” to figure out ways and means of disrupting Soviet plans in Hungary. These meetings, held in Strasbourg, France, indicate the value of such contacts with Western intelligence services. It is being less than a field day for them.

A MATTER OF TIMING:
President Eisenhower’s “New Republicanism” contains most of the features of “Old Democrat­ ism.” It proves the two party system works, but that the party has the same idea at the same time.