

an intelligently conceived and carefully implemented exchange-program for European writers would go a long way toward eliminating distressing and mutually dangerous misconceptions. Should my paper this evening in any way have stimulated interest and support for such a suggestion, I would consider myself richly rewarded.

## What Is Marxism? . . .

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us is enriched by this process. I appropriate something from you, you appropriate something from me. The process of exchange, the give and take of ideas is richer than any of the partners is who contributes to it. In order to be successful, we have to open ourselves to the others. Without veracity and trust in the veracity of others we cannot arrive at any truth. If we thus risk ourselves, we also expect kindness and respect from the others.

The philosophical name for this process is *dialectic*, derived from the Greek "dialogue," which means to speak something through together. Democracy is the political realization of dialectic. Hegel conceived the whole history as such a dialectical process on a grand scale. Marx took the term and, as usual, perverted it into the absurdity of a "Dialectical Materialism." Marx is related to Hegel's philosophy as a dog is related to the corner of a cathedral.

Hegel's historical dialectic is the clarification of opposites within the divine-and-human spirit. This dialectic of the divine-and-human is reflected in the unity of all logical opposites, such as apparent and real, temporal and eternal, finite and infinite, etc. By working out a principle, its limitations are discovered and overcome in a wider and more comprehensive knowledge. Dialectic is meaningful only if it refers to thinking human beings who can freely express themselves. "Matter" can not be dialectical and a "dialectical materialism" is a wooden iron.

Marx transformed Hegel's logical opposites into a clash of brute power groups. Their "dialectic" is merely a clash of force against force, without a common human ground. And these forces, in turn, were narrowed down to economic classes. The whole intellectual, spiritual, moral, aesthetic, and religious culture and their dialectical relations disappear in the bloody monotony of class-struggle between "the bourgeois" and "the proletarian" classes.

Their clash is an absolutely unintelligent process, in which the greater mass and the greater number determines the unavoidable result. In an official pronouncement of the Supreme Soviet of 1931 it is not orthodox to speak of this class-struggle as "mechanical-causal," which is

proper for machines, but as "deterministic-causal."

Freedom of thought and of speech, the true dialectic of the human mind, is incompatible with "dialectical materialism," just as a true democracy is impossible within a "people's democracy." The living human mind and spirit is the creator of all historical realities, including natural sciences and technical machinery, and it is not a product of a "deterministic causality."

The priority of logic over its embodiments and applications is the refutation of "dialectical materialism." But, unfortunately, a logical refutation is not convincing to an enemy who considers an appeal to truth as treason to the party line. He leaves us no alternative but to defend our freedom by force.

This enemy is Marxism. It can not be separated from Russian imperialism. It is the communistic manifesto of Marx which makes such a distinction between political practice and philosophical theory ridiculous; which abolishes all private ownership; which gives to the state the right to send you to work where the state pleases; which foments trouble and fans hatred all over the world to soften this world up for a communistic world-conquest. Russian imperialism is merely the secular arm of the Marxist creed, in which all Russian youths are indoctrinated.

Marxism is the denial of religion, reason, progress, and freedom. Now—destructive negations are simple, co-operative construction is difficult. Marxism is so simple that even Communists can understand it.

## Books

### How the Russians Thought

*THE RUSSIAN MIND* From Peter the Great Through the Enlightenment, by Stuart Ramsay Tompkins. University of Oklahoma Press.

In this book Stuart Ramsay Tompkins, whose knowledge of Russian history, literature, and language qualifies him to discuss the Russian mind, provides a psychological portrait of the Russian mind until 1855. Supporting his conclusions with facts—frequently the result of careful historical detective work—he shows clearly that the mechanisms employed today by the Soviets spring from comparable methods and institutions of the Russian past.

The Communistic system, however, has perverted these methods in startling ways in order that they might serve the control features implicit in a Communistic regime.

The Russian mind and characteristics from the Middle Ages up to the Crimean War are examined in detail. Education,

classes, the press, censorship, journalistic activities, and a host of other institutions necessary to a society of free peoples are analyzed carefully and related to the political and social milieu of the monarchs of Russia from Peter the Great to Alexander II.

### Handbook for Politicians

*PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH*, by Cortez A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma Press.

Perhaps no one is better qualified to reveal the complex political scene in the South than Cortez A. M. Ewing, who in this book discovers the strength and weakness, the democratic and undemocratic methods, and the false and real motives underlying Southern political strategy. He answers such vital questions as: What power does incumbency give a candidate? How are votes bought and sold in large blocks? How can a corporation "railroad" its candidate into an influential post?

For politicians who would like to know where they stand statistically, for Southerners who would like to know just what their votes mean, for professional or lay scholars of government, and for general readers who are interested in Southern politics, this book is recommended.

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