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NEW BOOKS

DIPLOMACY IN A WHIRLPOOL: Hungary between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. By STEPHEN D. KERTESZ. University of Notre Dame Press, 1953, 273 pp.

The author of this book, Stephen D. Kertesz, professor of political science since 1948 in the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, is a former high official of the Hungarian Foreign Office. When I met him in Budapest in 1938, he was one of the gifted younger men through whom Count Paul Teleki was trying to shape a Hungarian future in harmony with the West and with Christian civilization. The book is dedicated to the memory of Andor Szentmiklossy, secretary-general of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who was martyred by the Nazis in Dachau in February 1945.

The exposition falls into two divisions: Part I, a background analysis from A. D. 1000 to A. D. 1945, but with by far the greatest weight given to Hungary's experience just prior to and during the Second World War; and Part II, "Diplomacy in the Shadow of the Red Star", dealing with the armistice and treaty negotiations of 1945-46.

In Part I, the political gales blow from the northwest. World War I had left Hungary economically shattered and friendless. Attempts to cultivate better relations with the West were defeated by the subtler strategy of hostile neighbours. Friendly advances by Italy were welcomed but were frozen off by Nazi disapproval. There followed desperate Hungarian attempts, amply documented here, to avoid sharing in the German dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, to refuse to help the Nazis against Poland, and to keep clear of any complicity in the German advance on the Balkans. Premier Paul Teleki committed suicide rather than concur in this last. As for the course of World War II, Hungary, from March 19, 1944, on, was an occupied and unwilling ally, a dwarf compelled by geography to share the bed of a murderous giant. The Regent Horthy worked feverishly to prevent the Nazi liquidation of Hungary's Jews, but without much avail. The symbolic climax of the war came in the siege of Budapest, where German and Russian troops fought to the death in the streets while the Hungarian population crouched for weeks in their cellars, waiting for the storm to end.

Perhaps the most instructive part of the book is its description of the stages by which a Moscow-trained cadre of Hungarian Communists, coming in with the Soviet army, rapidly took over strategic posts in the government of the stricken country, first in apparent partnership with other political parties and then increasingly in sheer despotism. As for the negotiation of a peace treaty, it proved difficult "to play cards if you do not have a partner and your opponents have all the aces." The Roosevelt administration, which in 1942-43 had (to my personal knowledge) been training army personnel at a mid-West university for occupation duty in Hungary, had meanwhile sold the Magyars out to Moscow and the result was utter tragedy. To follow weekly abstracts of the Budapest press during the nine years subsequent to the close of Dr. Kertesz's book has been to watch the steady strangulation of freedom in the basin of the Danube.

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One or two errors of fact may be noted. On page 50 Dr. Kertesz states: "Soviet Russia reacted to the German victories in the West by the incorporation of the Baltic states and Rumanian territories." This was in no sense a "reaction" to German military success but simply part of a Nazi-Soviet bargain laid down in detail in a "Secret Additional Protocol" to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 23, 1939. This document has been public knowledge since 1948, when it was published (p. 78) in *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941*, printed by the American Department of State from the Archives of the German Foreign Office. I have copies of Russian N. K. V. D. orders dating in 1939 instructions for the liquidation of whole categories of population in the Baltic states. I also have a Soviet army map, likewise dated in 1939, showing the Baltic states already incorporated in the U.S.S.R. The program of June 1940 was in no sense a later Soviet gesture of self-defense against Nazi success in its 1940 campaigns.

Or again on page 101 we read: "The Nazis were barbarians but they had a comprehensive system. The Soviet Russians had none. . ." To anyone who has given serious study to Marx-Leninism in action, such a statement is fantastic, unless indeed it be taken to mean that on their first taking over in Hungary the Russians "appeared to have no system". According to Dr. Kertesz's own subsequent account, the system was there—subtle, ingenious, flexible, but ultimately inexorable and true to well-known blueprints.

Of all the hundreds of books that I have read since 1920 on the affairs of Central Europe, this is much the fairest, the most heavily documented, and the most objective. It will be greeted with snarls by those who have been suckled on the infected milk of Communist, Nazi, Little Entente, or even extreme Magyarophile propaganda, but all who value sober historicity will have respect for the intelligence and integrity of its author.

WATSON KIRKCONNELL.

WATCHING THE CHINESE CURTAIN FALL: By W. J. SHERIDAN.
Mitchell Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Vancouver, 1954,
126 pp., \$1.50.

This is a document of first rate importance by a man of the utmost integrity who was for thirty-seven years a medical missionary in China and speaks from personal knowledge of the tragedy that has engulfed that country.

The book is not well written. It lacks any clear plan of organization. Its blocks of fact have not been fitted into a coherent structure of exposition. But so intense is its sincerity that one feels it to be an utterance wrung from an otherwise inarticulate man who has gazed on absolute horror and feels that he must warn his fellows before their lives are doomed.

The central theme is the process by which the Communists took over the five hundred million "easy-going individualistic Chinese". Conquest has been under way for four decades. Virtually all of the leaders of the present Red regime were trained in Moscow's military and revolutionary institutes and are passionately loyal to the world

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revolution. Dr. Sheridan outlines and illustrates some of the techniques employed by the Moscow-coached Communists in China down through the years: the emotionalism technique, the Angels of Light technique, the smear technique, the use of students (even from the early 1920's), the national prestige technique, the use of fellow-travelers, the destruction of natural loyalties, the myth of the agrarian revolution, indoctrination techniques and many others. Finally, after the betrayal of Nationalist China by the West, came the actual occupation of China by the Red tyrants, whose performance was neatly summed up by the popular formula: "Three months, heads nod; three months, heads shake; three months, heads off." In other words, there was an idyllic interlude in which all promises were kept (and all power was consolidated); a second period of freezing hostility; and finally the terror of mass murder and utter savagery.

This pattern of Communist conquest has been uniform in all countries. It would be the same in Canada. So much falsehood regarding China's Communism has been peddled abroad by columnists and insincere "experts" that even yet the full story (and its moral for the gullible West) must be unknown to most honest citizens. Dr. Sheridan, out of his experience of the reality, has therefore felt compelled "to warn . . . fellow-Canadians of their danger while yet there is time."

WATSON KIRKCONNELL.

THIS MOST FAMOUS STREAM. The Liberal Democratic Way of Life.
By ARTHUR R. M. LOWER. The Ryerson Press 1954. Pp.
193. \$3.50

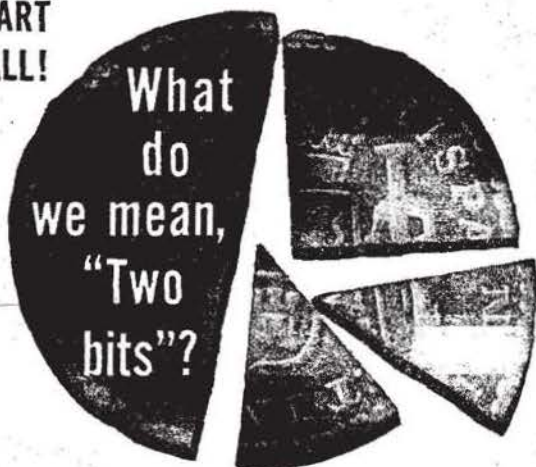
A distinguished Canadian historian has restated for the present day a sonnet of Wordsworth's:

It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hate flowed, "with pomp of waters unwithstood"—
Road by which all might come and go that would,
And bear our freights of worth to foreign lands;
That *this most famous stream* in bogs and sands
Should perish . . .
We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we're sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Although Professor Lower does not quote so much of the poem as appears above he affirms every word of it, and his main theme is the pressing need for faith in our 'titles' so that they shall not be lost by our latter-day indifference. By a combination of historical circumstances in which idealism, the self-seeking of factions and sheer good luck each had a part, the English speaking world has created the free institutions which make possible the just society. The just society depends upon maintaining these institutions and upon preserving the temper of *Liberalism* in the body social.

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Such an uncompromising defence of liberalism is particularly welcome in view of the disfavour into which the word *liberal* has fallen. Of course, not everything that adopts the title—or is branded with it—has a right to be called *liberal* or is worth defending. Maurice Cranston's *Freedom—A New Analysis*, for instance, has diagnosed very well the ambiguity of *liberalism* in its political aspect, pointing out that it represents two antagonistic traditions in political theory. But Professor Lower leaves us in no doubt about which liberal tradition he is supporting. And it is this tradition which is so commonly attacked, as he reminds us, 'on both extremes' by those who, from the standpoint of collectivism, see liberalism as unbridled individualism. The extreme of Communism is not now, as it was in the thirties, very influential in the West; but the other extreme, the Roman Catholic, is widely heard. Thomas P. Neill's *The Rise and Decline of Liberalism* and Barbara Ward's *Faith and Freedom* are two recent books (from The U.S. and Britain respectively) which give a Catholic reading of history already established by such authors as Christopher Dawson and Jacques Maritain, and probably more popularly received than that advanced in *This Most Famous Stream*.

Professor Lower writes pointedly and pungently, without any parade of scholarship. Indeed, some of his generalizations might be written off as 'slap-dash' if it were not clear that he is deliberately avoiding detailed proving of his case in order to drive home his main points. 'The words are inadequate and the exposition probably defective but the point is clear,' he writes in one place. And that is a good indication of the method he has chosen. When he makes a point it is clear. We might cavil at the evidence he has brought to prove it, but we are sure that, if need be, the point could be substantiated, if perhaps with some reservations. On the theoretical foundation of liberty and its roots in the teaching of the Christian Church he is least persuasive, although far from imperceptive. The historical growth of the institutions of freedom, however, is traced with a sure hand. From their roots in medievalism, Professor Lower shows how these institutions were transformed gradually into our present bulwarks against tyranny. In this process the seventeenth century was one crucial stage: 'Thence classical gain of the seventeenth century is freedom from arbitrary authority. If there can be a greater, it would be interesting to know what it is. The nineteenth century advanced the political rights won two centuries before into the social field. In both these periods, Protestant faith was the motive power behind the will to freedom. Our reluctance to acknowledge the virtues of our victorian fathers is castigated: 'Modern life is conceived in the image of Victorian humanitarianism and the very people who scorn Victorian piety are those who are most vociferous when the social dividends which it entailed on its posterity cease to be paid to them'.

Not the least value and part of the most interesting sections of the story lies in Professor Lower's account of the modification of English institutions in North America. This is not quite the same story as has become orthodox teaching in the United States, and the author has some sharp things to say about the way in which the Big Neighbour has neglected to recognise that Canada is part of the North American

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Continent and supplies valuable evidence about such historical problems as the "frontier experience". The leading part of Canada in extending the *federal* solution to the problem of authority and freedom—first put into practice in the United States—is emphasized. The hope of world peace can come only through an extension of these principles over the world. Not only such experiments as India (the first non-Anglo-Saxon federation) but other more tentative ones such as NATO and The United Nations show the principle of federation in action.

This Most Famous Stream is a readable historical study. It is also a declaration of faith. We need to understand that faith—and to value it more consistently than we have been doing. Freedom that has been won by so much sacrifice can only be preserved by keeping the faith and knowing what we are keeping. Our 'titles' matter.

K. M. H.

"SABOTS AND SLIPPERS" BY KENNETH F. MACKENZIE. pp 131.
Privately printed.

A series of charming and interesting pictures in writing which re-create the Nova Scotia of one hundred and fifty to one hundred years ago. The chapters include The Blanchard Story, The Presbyterians from Londonderry, The MacKenzies—who settled at Earltown. These are family portraits. They include many well known figures from former days. They are presented in salty language but genial in tone as the author sees them through the years that have passed, and from far away Ontario, where he has spent his days. We join the Truro citizens amid the elms and green shutters, look across the Bay at the shipping, watch the leather-workers and the weavers, greet the 'train-cars' when they arrive, and think of times before that when all commerce came to Cobequid by sea. One may take the journey to Halifax in these pages by sleigh (with stove) when Colechester and Pietou were a single electoral district. The book abounds in wise comment, which is given with the right of a man of mature age. The reader will wish also to keep it beside him as he takes his summer motor ride and looks for the old dwellings mentioned, or the places where they were once located; and not the least for the home of the mother whose life and trials are tenderly recalled.

I. F. MACKINNON.

COWBOYS AND KINGS: Three letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Harvard University Press, 1954. Introduction by E. E. Morison. \$3.60.

These three letters by Theodore Roosevelt are about his travels in western United States, Egypt, and Europe. Roosevelt travelled the way he did everything, with energy, persistence, and an indefatigable interest in human beings. These letters faithfully reflect him. He wrote voluminously: the longest letter in this volume (to George Otto Trevelyan, Oct. 1, 1911) takes 68 pages of print!

One might have hoped for a larger selection of letters culled from the eight large volumes of the Roosevelt correspondence; \$3.60 is a price that ought to command more of Roosevelt than the three letters here—entertaining though they are. Moreover they are devoid of the footnotes that elucidate the letters in the official volumes and which

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would have been useful to the general reader. The addition of cartoons and photographs to this volume has been a happy thought: perhaps for this reason, as much as the letters themselves, Roosevelt manages to come through even in this brief compass.

PETER WAITE.

YANKEE REFORMERS IN THE URBAN AGE. By ARTHUR MANN, Assistant Professor of History at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Published in Canada By S. J. Reginald Saunders & Co. Ltd., Toronto. Price \$6.50.

This book deals with the background of need for social reform in Boston in 1880, and the efforts towards that end in the succeeding twenty years. At first blush one is inclined to recall the tale of the old lady at the zoo who inquired,

"Keeper, what sex is that hippopotamus?" To which the keeper replied, "That could only be of interest to another hippopotamus."

How could the sweat shops of Boston, the slums of the North End and of the South End, long hours of work, hunger, prostitution, and all the other social sores of the late Nineteenth Century in Boston, be of interest now to other than Bostonians?

Only the book itself will give you a sufficient answer, but in a word it lies in the reformers themselves. A more colorful group would be difficult to find from John Boyle O'Reilly to Lucy Stone. The author deals with them graphically and leaves the reader with a concise and informative account of what each accomplished and their motives. In some, like O'Reilly, you see upsurges of his own ideas, modified or repressed by the attitude of the Vatican. In others there is definite self interest, but the majority are well motivated if not always judicious persons.

To students of sociology as well as to general readers this book will prove of interest as a statement of problems and opinions in the Eighties and Nineties of the last Century in contrast to social problems and their solution today. Women's suffrage has been obtained, the eight hour day is a reality, the sweatshop has gone as then understood, but a more complex society has created new irritations. If we are able to face them and deal with them as well or better than the Bostonians of that day, we have no reason to fear that our civilization is in a retrogressive phase. If we can maintain the energy, zeal and dedicated fervor of these apostles of improvement and observe and eschew their many errors, we shall do well. A careful reading of this excellent work will prove valuable to every thoughtful citizen in any urban community.

H. L. SCAMMELL.

EVENTS AND SIGNALS. By F. R. SCOTT. Ryerson Press, Toronto. Pp. 58. \$2.50.

THE METAL AND THE FLOWER. By P. K. PAGE. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto. Pp. 64. \$2.75.

These two books of poetry are by two of the better-known Canadian poets. Both of these poets use Canadian scenes and Canadian



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subjects, but much of their work transcends the bounds of narrow provincialism or nationalism. The specific locality or the specific event is expanded by the poetic treatment to appeal to all sensitive readers; in other words, universality of the particular is achieved through the transformation of the specific into a symbol that each reader must apply to his own experience.

F. R. Scott, deeply concerned with man as a social animal, writes with angry compassion and bitter humour about individuals, customs, and institutions that unnecessarily confine the development of the human spirit. He suffers with all sufferers and accepts his responsibility for Everyman, with whom he identifies himself. His satire, as in "Social Sonnets", "The Canadian Social Register" and "I am Employed", is witty, clever and effective, commenting on the stupidity and sterility of many aspects of modern life. Here is a sample from "Command of the Air":

This sweet music that I hear,
Is it Soap, or is it Beer?
Do I owe the string quartet
To foulness of the Breath, or Sweat?
When the Chopin Prelude comes
Will it help Massage the Gums?

His poems addressed to individuals almost invariably expand to force a careful self examination from the thoughtful reader, who sees his own plight in the troubles of others.

But Scott is not only a poet of social comment. Many of his best poems are lyrics developing from an apparently simple object or an uninteresting concept into a perceptive delving into the mysterious forces that lie behind man's thoughts and actions. For example, in "A Grain of Rice" the poet begins with the lines

Such majestic rhythms, such tiny disturbances,
The rain of the monsoon falls, an inescapable treasure,
 hundreds of millions live
Only because of the certainty of this season,
 The turn of the wind

and, after stanzas on the wonder of the creation, on European wars and politics and on the awe-inspiring emergence of "a great Asian moth, radiant, fragile" from its cocoon, ends with this stanza:

Religion builds walls round our love, and science
Is equal of error and truth. Yet always we find
Such ordered purpose in cell and in galaxy,
So great a glory in life-thrust and mind-range,
Such widening frontiers to draw out our longings,
We grow to one world through
 Enlargement of wonder.

The translation of French-Canadian verse, especially the poems of Anne Hebert, add to the scope and variety of *Events and Signals*, which is an important contribution to Canadian poetry.

In *The Metal and the Flower* P. K. Page, another Montreal poet, has written sensitive, subtle and sympathetic verse. The people who inhabit her poetic world—young boys and girls, sleepers and dreamers, paranoids and freaks, sailors and nurses and tourists—are all troubled

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by the unknown, by the instincts and emotions they are unable to understand or control, by nightmares and distorted reflections from their Freudian subconscious. Her guilt-ridden, tormented, uncertain and frustrated characters do not know themselves, although they appear to the reader in all their solitary confusion, quivering and shivering whenever they emerge from their protective shell of self-delusion.

Most of the poems in this volume are subtle, demanding careful and intelligent reading; a few of the poems, however, are extremely obscure, and the reader is left with the uncomfortable and disturbing feeling that the intended meaning has eluded him. Even in the most obscure poems there is a beauty of expression, an unusual combination of soothing music and exciting image, to which the reader's immediate response is emotional, depending entirely on a first impression that demands no meaning from the poem. For example, "The Event" remains incomprehensible to me; I am unable to decide what are represented by the lion and the burred bear, by lilies and archangels and by "the cactus plant of pain". However, although I am left troubled by my unsatisfied curiosity, left wondering just what the electrifying event actually was, the poem is still able to arouse a positive emotional response through its music and its imagery.

Here, for example, is one of the stanzas:

Lilies and archangels began
The gradual gentling of the lion,
The burred bear fell asleep again—
a snowfall lulled him to a lamb.
Like velvet toys they lie there prone
and dream the cactus plant of pain.

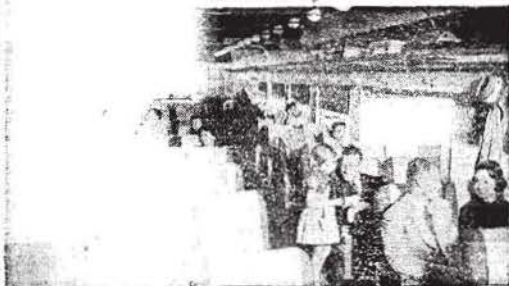
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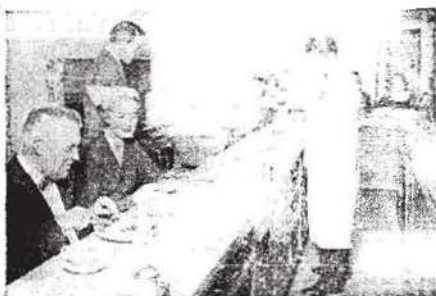


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