

THE REVIEW OF POLITICS

Vol. 10

OCTOBER, 1948

No. 4



Editorial: **The Image of Man**

N. S. Timasheff: **The Strength and the Weaknesses of the Soviet Union**

Peter F. Drucker: **A Key to American Politics: Calhoun's Pluralism**

Stephan Kuttner: **Papal Efforts Toward Protestant Representation at Trent**

Heinrich Rommen: **Francis Suarez**

Charles F. Mullet: **Religion, Politics, and Oaths in the Glorious Revolution**

Friedrich Meinecke: **The Year 1848 in German History: Reflections on a Centenary**



THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

THE REVIEW OF POLITICS

WALDEMAR GURIAN - - - - - Editor

THOMAS T. McAVOY, FRANK O'MALLEY - Managing Editors

M. A. FITZSIMONS, F. A. HERMENS - Editorial Consultants

Advisory Editors

FRANCIS J. BOLAND
WILLIS D. NUTTING

CHARLES C. MILTNER
YVES R. SIMON

LEO R. WARD

Copyright, 1948. Published quarterly by the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Issued each January, April, July, and October. Entered as second-class matter, April 1, 1939, at the post office at Notre Dame, Indiana, under Act of March 2nd, 1879. Subscription: \$3.00 the year in the United States and Canada; foreign \$3.40; single copy, \$1.00. English representative, Duckett's, 140 Strand, London W.C. 2, England. Subscription price per year 18/6.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912

OF THE REVIEW OF POLITICS, published in January, April, July, and October,
at Notre Dame, Indiana, for October, 1948.

State of Indiana, St. Joseph County, ss:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., and Francis J. O'Malley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and say that they are Managing Editors of The Review of Politics and that the following is, to the best of their knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication, for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editors, managing editors, and business managers are: Publisher, The University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana; Editor, Walde-
mar Gurian, Social Science Building, Notre Dame, Indiana; Managing Editors, Rev. Thomas
T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Notre Dame, Indiana, and Francis J. O'Malley, Notre Dame, Indiana.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated
and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding
one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names
and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company or other
unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member,
must be given.) The University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana; President, Rev. John
J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., Notre Dame, Indiana; Vice-President, Rev. John Murphy, C.S.C.,
Notre Dame, Indiana; Treasurer, Brother Albinus Butler, C.S.C., Notre Dame, Indiana.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding
one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities, are: (If there
are none, so state.) None.

THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C., FRANCIS J. O'MALLEY, Managing Editors.

State of Indiana, St. Joseph County, ss:

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of September, 1948.

HELEN HOSINSKI, Notary Public.

(Seal) My commission expires Oct. 17, 1951.

THE REVIEW OF POLITICS

Published Quarterly by the University of Notre Dame, Indiana

VOL. 10

OCTOBER, 1948

No. 4

IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL— <i>The Image of Man</i>	395
N. S. TIMASHEFF— <i>The Strength and the Weaknesses of the Soviet Union</i>	399
PETER F. DRUCKER— <i>A Key to American Politics: Calhoun's Pluralism</i>	412
STEPHAN KUTTNER— <i>Papal Efforts Toward Protestant Representation at Trent</i>	427
HEINRICH ROMMEN— <i>Francis Suarez</i>	437
CHARLES F. MULLET— <i>Religion, Politics and Oaths in the Glorious Revolution</i>	462
FRIEDRICH MEINECKE— <i>The Year 1848 in German History: Reflections on a Centenary</i>	475

Reviews:

Hans Morgenthau: <i>International Affairs</i>	493
Waldemar Gurian: <i>Inside the Third Reich</i>	498
William O. Shanahan: <i>Germany: Realities of Power and Reconstruction</i>	502
Matthew A. Fitzsimons: <i>Power and the Protean Public</i>	509
Stephen Kertesz: <i>Danubian Economics</i>	512
Aaron I. Abell: <i>Beard on Roosevelt and the War</i>	514
Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.: <i>The Disruption of American Democracy</i>	515
Marshall Smelser: <i>General Thomas Gage</i>	516
Anton-Hermann Chroust: <i>On the Bases of Ethics</i>	517

Contributors to This Issue

- N. S. TIMASHEFF—Professor of Sociology in Fordham University, author of several books on Soviet Russia and on the sociology of law.
- PETER DRUCKER—member of the faculty of Bennington College, author of *The End of Economic Man*, contributor to *The Virginia Quarterly Review* and many other periodicals.
- STEPHAN KUTTNER—Professor of Canon Law in The Catholic University of America, editor of *Traditio*, lecturer in The Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame.
- HEINRICH ROMMEN—member of the faculty of the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota, author of books on the political philosophy of Suarez, on the State and Catholic Thought and on Natural Law.
- C. F. MULLET—Professor of History in the University of Missouri, contributor to historical periodicals.
- FRIEDRICH MEINECKE—foremost among German historians, now eighty-five years old, the author of books on the period of Prussian reforms, on political ideas and concepts of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and on the genesis of historicism. He received an honorary degree at the Harvard Tercentenary in 1936. After the fall of the Nazi regime, he resumed his teaching in the University of Berlin. The article published in this issue has appeared in German under the title, *1848—Eine Saekulärbetrachtung*. It is printed with the kind permission of the publisher, Lothar Blauvalet (Berlin-Wannsee) A few passages have been omitted in the translation, which was made by Professor Hans Rothfels of the University of Chicago with the help of Mr. P. Wolfson.
- HANS MORGENTHAU—member of the Department of Political Science in the University of Chicago, author of *Scientific Man versus Power Politics*.
- STEPHEN KERTESZ—former Hungarian Minister to Italy and visiting Professor in the University of Notre Dame.
- AARON ABELL, WILLIAM SHANAHAN, ANTON-HERMANN CHROUST and MARSHALL SMELSER—members of the history faculty in the University of Notre Dame.

THE REVIEW OF POLITICS, without neglecting the analysis of institutions and techniques, is primarily interested in the philosophical and historical approach to political realities.

All manuscripts, books for review, exchanges, inquiries, and subscriptions, should be addressed to the Editors, THE REVIEW OF POLITICS, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Opinions expressed in the articles printed in THE REVIEW OF POLITICS are those of the authors alone and not necessarily opinions held by the editors.

The contents of this publication cannot be reissued or republished in any form without special permission from the Editors.

The articles in THE REVIEW OF POLITICS are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals* and the *Index of Catholic Periodicals*.
