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**No. 1**



**Frank O'Malley**

**Aaron I. Abell**

**Thomas T. McAvoy, c.s.c.**

**Fredrick B. Pike**

**Leo R. Ward, c.s.c.**

**John S. Dunne, c.s.c.**

**William O. Shanahan**

**John T. Frederick**

**Marshall Smelser**

**Paul A. Montavon**

**R. E. Burns**

**M. A. Fitzsimons**

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME**

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# THE REVIEW OF POLITICS

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This Notre Dame number, the second of two special issues marking the twentieth anniversary of *The Review of Politics*, inaugurates the third decade of *The Review's* publication. The editors' observation of the occasion will be completed with the publication of *The Image of Man: A Review of Politics Reader* (February, 1959).

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All of the articles in this issue are by faculty members of the  
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*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.

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## WALDEMAR GURIAN and CARDINAL O'HARA

Twenty years ago the genius of a scholar and the concern of a university president combined to make possible a new review in America. The scholar was Waldemar Gurian, who came from Europe to Notre Dame in the later thirties. The president was Father John O'Hara, who had invited Professor Gurian to come and then commissioned him to establish a quarterly. With the assistance of various members of the faculty, *The Review of Politics* was founded and developed as a universal, intellectual journal, bringing to bear upon the critical realities of the modern world the traditional wisdom of theology, philosophy, and history. And during these past twenty years the scholars and thinkers of Western Christendom, Catholic and non-Catholic, American and European, have made the pages of *The Review of Politics* living and meaningful.

But it is not our intention here to restate the nature of *The Review* or to narrate a catalogue of our accomplishments. Rather we desire to acknowledge our debt to two men: to our founder and first editor, Waldemar Gurian, whose power of mind and personality, continuing even after his death in 1954, has given dynamic form to the work of *The Review*; and to our first patron and supporter, now His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Hara, Archbishop of Philadelphia, whose friendly regard for the possibilities and values of *The Review*, during the period of his presidency at Notre Dame and since, has encouraged and sustained the actions and hopes of the editors. So the editors and friends of *The Review* cannot fail to rejoice in his elevation to the Sacred College, where as a Prince of the Church he can bring to the highest fruition a dedicated lifetime of amazing activity — successively journalist, teacher, dean, religious counsellor, college president, military delegate and bishop. We are happy indeed that this great event coincides with the celebration of the twentieth-anniversary of *The Review's* founding and, in particular, with the publication of this second twentieth-anniversary issue, composed entirely as it is of contributions by faculty members of Notre Dame, over whose affairs Cardinal O'Hara once presided, trying always to increase the University's intellectual opportunities as a Catholic center of learning.

No one could have done more than Waldemar Gurian to realize the opportunities provided by President O'Hara. In his essay, "The Catholic Publicist" (published in the Gurian Memorial Issue, January, 1955), an early work which limns to a degree and in a sense the character of this journal, Waldemar Gurian observed that the Catholic publicist must realize that, while his work is impossible apart from science and learning, his activity can only succeed as connected with Catholic theology and philosophy: "His membership in the Church of itself determines his outlook—but any serious reflection will convince him that he may not leave the question at that. He must ponder and meditate on its teachings, and cannot content himself with supporting and protecting the Church by universal considerations alone. The very fact that he approaches the questions of the age and the hour in the light of Church teaching, that according to his own conviction these questions can be answered in the light of the Church, compels him to a zealous study of the learning of the Church, to a careful examination of the always pressing questions about the relationship of faith and knowledge to philosophy and theology. This study educates him in discretion and modesty. He is compelled to perceive that he is not the solver of the world's problems or the discoverer of theories which make the world's ills curable or, at any rate, open the way to a cure. He recognizes that each moment of actuality is but one of many actualities and does not take refuge in the flux of any time or time itself. In the pathos of life's present struggle he senses the peace of eternity, knowing that he is not the Savior of the World. His claim derives not from his own strength; his own life is always insufficient, his will to help and understand always exceeds his own power. He knows that the human spirit is not an end in itself."

Somewhat against the background of this statement, the vocations of Waldemar Gurian and Cardinal O'Hara can be drawn together. One remains that of a layman, chiefly a scholar, writer, teacher, editor. The other is that of a clergyman, primarily a priest, bishop, educator-administrator, shepherd of and counsellor to his people. Both, however, can be seen ever engaged in the effort "to comprehend eternity" in the modern world. *The Review of Politics* represents, after all, a uniting of their different though equivalent spirits. With humility and gratitude, we dedicate this issue — and our twenty years — to Professor Waldemar Gurian and to His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Hara.

The EDITORS