

all saw how free men, acting concertedly, can win battles for decency without resorting to intrigue or secret cabals.

First, there were the churchmen who utilized their Constitutional right of petition to the President against the irresponsible attacks being made on the clergy. The President, as the chief spokesman for all the people, made prompt use of his own undeniable right to answer.

Second, that was the day when the *New York Times* published both a summary of the Jackson report and Dr. Robert L. Johnson's admirable statement on how the U.S. libraries abroad should be run.

Then a Washington paper, the *Evening Star*, offered a heartening instance of the free press measuring up to its responsibility. At noon on that Thursday, the *Star* appeared on the newsstands with a biography of J. B. Matthews that did as much as anything to make the Senate aware of what kind of man McCarthy had called to head the staff of a Senate committee.

The newspaper story contained facts, not opinions, about how Matthews had conducted a long vendetta against the Protestant clergy, first from the extreme Left and now from the extreme Right. The *Star* acted as an investigator of the news and not simply as a mechanical recorder of whatever the politicians care to have repeated.

Finally, when Senator Charles E. Potter of Michigan voted with his Republican colleagues to give McCarthy full power to hire and fire members of the investigating committee staff, Senators McClellan, Jackson, and Symington resigned. That day, McCarthy appeared weak and bumbling indeed. He backed and filled all over the lot, first differentiating between professional and clerical appointments (it must have been galling to Matthews to be called a clerk), then claiming absolute power, and finally, after actually receiving this power, admitting that the committee had the authority to give it or deny it all along.

As we go to press we don't know how the new round of McCarthy's attack—this time against the Central Intelligence Agency—will end. As

always, it all depends on the President: Will he stand up against McCarthy this time too? Recently we have been outspoken in saying how deeply concerned we are with the harm that the President can do both to the nation and to himself by inaction. We are happy to applaud him for what, in our opinion, he has done well, and we are glad to express once more our hope in him. When this issue of *The Reporter* reaches our readers, they will know more than we do now. They may think that we have been naïve and overconfident. We don't mind at all. This is a chance we like to take.

The Responsible Shadows

We rubbed our eyes with amazement recently when we read a statement that—unless we are utterly mistaken—indicates a complete change in Senator William F. Knowland's attitude toward Red China. The Senator, talking about the truce negotiations, complained: "The Chinese Communist regime, which has been declared

the aggressor by the United Nations and which supplied most of the armed forces, and with the help of the Soviet Union supplied the planes, tanks, guns and ammunition, has not been a party to the negotiations, does not sign the armistice and does not guarantee that the armistice will be respected once it is entered into. . . . No responsible official of that regime signs or underwrites anything."

IF THE SENATOR wants our representatives to deal face to face with the official representatives of Red China, he must think that the time has come to recognize Mao's régime. How can a government enter an agreement with us while at the same time we deny its existence? It seems to us that Senator Knowland might have done better for himself if he had remained satisfied with the fiction that the Chinese fighting in Korea were "volunteers"—soldiers from nowhere, utterly unconnected with any responsible government.

THE ONE-EYED PRESS or DEPENDS ON HOW YOU LOOK AT IT

When Truman used to go to Key West
For a rest
They all said "Yah—what a shirt—neglecting the nation!"

But when Ike takes a day off (or three)
At Burning Tree
Everybody beams at such a deserved vacation.

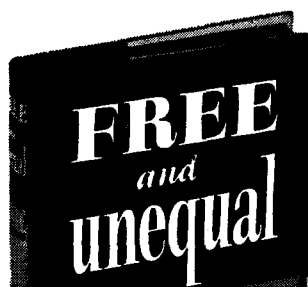
When the former President smiled
Everybody got riled
And said "Imagine smiling in such a serious state of affairs."

But Ike can stretch a grin
Till the cows come in
And they call it "radiance," or courage in a man of such cares.

When Truman made a mistake
They told him to go jump in the lake—
But anything that goes badly now is just inexperience,

And instead of a "mess,"
The nation's press
Calls it "problems" or "the difficulties are immense."

What a treat it must be
To evoke such reportorial charity—
Every Republican cloud has a silver linotyping
And somebody has hidden away all the type set up for griping.
—SEC



This is the controversial book which challenges the cherished American idea that all men are created equal.

Roger J. Williams, an internationally known biochemist, has written a book which dares to question the validity of one of our most deeply-rooted beliefs. **FREE AND UNEQUAL** will be passionately defended and bitterly attacked, for it treads on almost sacred ground. Whether you agree with it or not, you will find it one of the most important books of the year. At all bookstores, \$3.50

Free and Unequal
By **ROGER J. WILLIAMS**
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS



SELLS SEVERAL STORIES AS RESULT OF TRAINING

"N.I.A. Training helped me to make several sales since I embarked on full-time free-lancing. The latest entitled, 'Cabin Pressurization', was published in *Aviation and Yachting Magazine*."—Henry S. Galus, 164 Cedar Grove, New Bedford, Mass.

To People who want to write but can't get started

DO YOU have that constant urge to write but fear that a beginner hasn't a chance? Here is what the former editor of *Liberty* said:—

"There is more room for newcomers in writing than ever before. Some of the greatest of writing men and women have passed from the scene. Who will take their places? Fame, riches and the happiness of achievement await the new men and women of power."

A Chance to Test Yourself—FREE

The Newspaper Institute of America offers a **FREE Writing Aptitude Test**. Its object is to discover more men and women who can add to their income by fiction and article writing. The **Writing Aptitude Test** is a simple but expert analysis of your latent ability, your powers of imagination, logic, etc. Those who pass this test are qualified to take the famous N.I.A. course based on the **practical New York Copy Desk Method** which teaches you to write by writing. You work at home, in leisure time, constantly guided by experienced writers. Soon you acquire the coveted "professional" touch. Then you are ready to market your stories, articles and news items.

Mail the Coupon Now

Taking the **FREE Writing Aptitude Test** requires but a few minutes and costs nothing. So mail the coupon now. Take the first step towards the most enjoyable and profitable occupation—writing for publication! Newspaper Institute of America, One Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y. (Founded 1925) (Licensed by the State of N. Y.)

FREE Newspaper Institute of America
One Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Send me without cost or obligation your Writing Aptitude Test and further information about writing for profit as promised in Reporter.

Miss _____
Mrs. _____
Mr. _____
Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____
☐ Check here if Veteran.
(All correspondence confidential. No salesman will call on you.) 12-M-783

Copyright 1953 Newspaper Institute of America

The Reporter

A FORTNIGHTLY OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, Editor and Publisher

Executive Editor, Harlan Cleveland

Senior Editor, Philip Horton • Managing Editor, Al Newman

Associate Editor, Gouverneur Paulding

Assistant Managing Editors: William Knapp, Robert K. Bingham

Washington Editor, Douglass Cater • Art Editor, Reg Massie

Staff Writer, Claire Sterling

Production Manager, Malcolm J. Fleming

Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Dalcher • Librarian, Ruth Ames

Circulation Manager, Albert C. Simonson • Advertising Sales Director, Edward Roeder, Jr.

VOLUME 9, No. 3

AUGUST 4, 1953

THE REPORTER'S NOTES	2
THE ONE-EYED PRESS—A POEM	Sec 3

The Ramparts We Watch

LINCOLN'S NATION—AN EDITORIAL	Max Ascoli 7
THE BIG RED 'ONE': POWER AT THE READY	Theodore H. White 8
MILITARY FORCE: HOW MUCH AND WHERE?	Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. 12

At Home & Abroad

SOUTHERN ITALY: LAND, POLITICS, AND THE EMPTY BELLY	Claire Sterling 17
SENATOR BRICKER AND THE NUT WHO KNEW HISTORY	William H. Hessler 21
HOW IMPORTANT ARE TARIFFS?	Bruno Foa 24
D.P.s IN D.C.: THE RIFFED AND THE MIFFED	Helen Hill Miller 27

Views & Reviews

Channels: THE COMMENTATORS	Marya Mannes 31
HOW TO EMBALM A NEWSPAPER	James Munves 33
THE TROUBLED TRAVELS OF COLONEL MCCORMICK	H. B. David 35
THE PROUD PREJUDICES OF SINCLAIR LEWIS	Daniel Aaron 37

THE REPORTER: Published every other Tuesday, except for omission of two summer issues, by Fortnightly Publishing Company, Inc., 220 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. All rights reserved under Pan American Copyright Convention. Entered as second class matter at Dunellen, N. J., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1953 by Fortnightly Publishing Company, Inc. Subscription price, United States, Canada, and U.S. Possessions: One year \$5; Two years \$8; Three years \$10. All other countries: One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$13. Please give four weeks' notice when changing your address, giving old and new addresses. Indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

To the Editor: Once more the hunt is on. In a country which has placed its faith in education and freedom, the little men scurry around with magnifying glasses, discovering in their myopia that everything is not written the way they want it. Around and around the little men run, poking into corners of the past, jabbing blindly where the dust has finally settled. And gleeful even to find the shoddy remnants of old ideas, long ago discarded.

The timid probings become a roar. The weakhearts, with scarcely an idea to the dozen, of a sudden become intellectual giants, ready to save the unsuspecting multitudes from the strange undefined poison of subversion. The poison spreads. Books long unread, written still longer ago, become somehow infested with that horrible virus, and confidential memoranda circulate. The books disappear off the shelf, and then reside in a packing box in the basement—pending. The pinheads want more; one says thirty thousand books in our overseas libraries have suddenly become unfit. One envisions them, a real multitude of books, now like lepers, once innocent upon the shelves. Thirty thousand, some good and some bad, a variety of thought imprisoned, yet all with due protocol escorted to the ash heap. Not burned, mind you, but merely placed out of reach—pending. The pinheads swell!

Once upon a time, books were burned in Germany. The good Germans turned their heads the other way. The thoughtful Germans cried. Generations of thought and humanity snuffed out by the crackling flames, in the shout-filled night, when the doors were rent open by mobs in search of still more fuel for the fire.

America, 1953. The progress of the world is measured by subtlety. Nobody wants to burn books any more. It's easier to issue directives. Besides, it can't happen here. We've got more colleges, more public education, more precious freedom than anywhere else in the world. We are therefore immune from the mob, and tomorrow is always supposed to get a little bit better than today.

Except that the little men run around with their little minds, jabbing at the air. Unrest is about, unrest of thinking people, unrest of those who live without thinking. An era of distrust dawns, like some gray

morning without color, and mocking laughter is in the streets.

ROMOLO TOIGO
New York

TALK, TALK, TALK

To the Editor: Although William Lee Miller's article "Religion, Politics, and the 'Great Crusade'" (*The Reporter*, July 7) was, in my opinion, an excellent analysis of President Eisenhower's religious philosophy, I take sharp issue with the statement: "Above all, Mr. Eisenhower has a mind which detests ambiguity and insists on clarity." If his speeches offer any indication of his mental preferences, the President thrives on vagueness and ambiguity. His "book-burning" speech and the ensuing press conferences were a classic example of obscurantism. Newspaper reporters spent days in a futile attempt to interpret the President's remarks, which, if they did nothing else, betrayed his abysmal ignorance of the State Department's stupid and cowardly book-purging program. As is so often the case, the President's moral crusade, with its guiding principle of pleasing all Republicans, and above all, not offending Senator McCarthy's flock, consists of pious platitudes in place of the necessary action.

C. W. GRIFFIN
Erlton, New Jersey

THE FIRST SEX

To the Editor: In "A Woman Looks at Men's Magazines" (*The Reporter*, July 7) Naomi Barko analyzes the basic trends in men's magazines. In her conclusion she says: "They [the magazines] can discover no more heroes." Wonderful! In the matriarchal system predominant in our culture, the male, in order to assert himself somehow, has to dwell upon the he-man ideal of pioneer days. The more oppressive and awkward the reality, the more unrealistic and exaggerated his escape into the heroship. With the growing tendency to make "the hero" more and more heroic, the myth had to explode one day. No tears will be shed if it really does explode.

MARIAN F. AXEL, M.D.
New York

To the Editor: I'm delighted to see that *The Reporter* has added a humor section. Naomi Barko's "A Woman Looks at Men's Magazines" strikes me as funny enough for a belly-laugh. Why not continue the series

with "An Amoeba Looks at a Biochemist"?

Look, chums, if the men's magazines appealed to ladies like Naomi they'd be ladies' magazines. For Pete's sake, let's reserve some reading matter for the Male Animal.

THEODORE IRWIN
Editor, *Real*
The Exciting Magazine for Men
New York

To the Editor: Naomi Barko's "A Woman Looks at Men's Magazines," an excellent survey of the literature of what one has come to regard as the cult of masculinity, fails to point up the state of affairs from which the cult has risen.

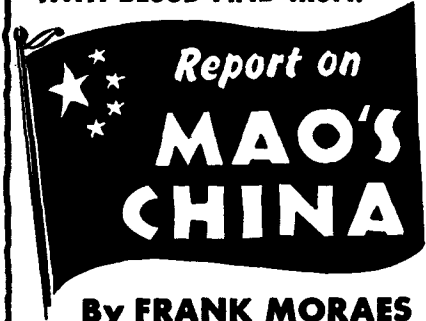
The literature deals with violence: war, big-game hunting, the more active sports, and vigorous crime—generally, with the occupations and diversions beyond woman's physical capacity. It is the one area in which a man can maintain some of his masculine prerogatives (in fancy at least) beyond the intrusion of domesticity and the maternalistic society which is in being or aborning.

His father has had escape from domesticity, too—from the early perils of maternalism. In upstairs halls, with guarded doors, where no woman's laugh could intrude, with nicked sword at side, dressed in a red bellyband and a trick hat with feathers on it, he had hours as a knight or baron. Stronger stuff was needed by the son to escape the grim fact that his influence in his household had come to rate only a notch above the family cat. Where his father was keeper of the family budget and purchasing agent for his dependents, the son now passes through a normal lifetime without buying more than his petty extravagances from his allowance. He buys cigarettes for a few cents, but the wife replaces last year's electric range with the new one with built-in cigarette lighter for hundreds of dollars. His functions now are only those of the main provider of funds and his part in the business of procreation.

Until woman has laughed war out of existence, until the last of the game is gone, until man has indisputably fallen to the state of the spider's mate, he will seek escape in a dream world beyond woman's invasion. It will exist in the literature of the cult of masculinity, until that itself is laughed out of existence by woman. Naomi Barko has smiled pityingly, but other women will jeer.

A. P. HILL
New York

"...THE MATING OF BAMBOO
WITH BLOOD AND IRON."



By FRANK MORAES

What is happening inside Red China today?

Frank Moraes, editor of *The Times of India*, offers the Western world a perceptive Indian's point of view on communism's struggle for Asia. A report that is of vital concern to every thinking American.

"Report on Mao's China gives a balanced, down-to-earth account of China today."
—*New York Times*

"... Mr. Moraes, despite his Christianity and his Oxford education, is an Indian, and the Indian point of view on China is of vital concern to the world today."
—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*

\$3.75 at all Bookstores

The Macmillan Company

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

LINGUAPHONE for LANGUAGES



FRENCH

GERMAN

SPANISH

RUSSIAN

ITALIAN

JAPANESE

NORWEGIAN

PORTUGUESE

—any of 29 languages MAIL COUPON TODAY

No Textbook Can Teach YOU to Speak

With LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method, you bring a foreign land right into your own home—you LISTEN and LEARN another language in the same easy, natural way you learned English long before you went to school.

The Natural Way To Learn
AT HOME you hear native men and women speak about everyday matters; you listen—you Understand—YOU SPEAK easily, naturally—correctly—as they do. You read and write. You can learn in 20 minutes a day.

World-Wide Endorsement
Internationally used by schools, colleges, governments, Armed Services and business firms for personnel training. Over a million home-study students of all ages.

Stop Wishing—Start Talking

WRITE NOW

for fascinating FREE book, "Passport to a New World of Opportunity." LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, P-8 Mezz., Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE

P-8 Mezz., Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Send me your FREE book, "Passport to a New World of Opportunity."

LANGUAGE INTERESTED.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IN THIS ISSUE "The Ramparts We Watch" are discussed. The editorial looks at the diplomatic posture of the United States and at causes which paralyze foreign policy. Following articles deal with concrete problems of preparedness.

A BOXER trains and makes the weight, but when a fight is postponed indefinitely a man breaks training. That is also how it is with armies. An army can be trained and sent into combat, but in time of peace it is supremely difficult to keep it at the ready. Gibbon tells what happens when you don't and an emergency arises: The Praetorians "quitted, with a sigh, the pleasures of the baths and theatres, to put on arms, whose use they had almost forgotten, and beneath the weight of which they were oppressed. The unpractised elephants . . . threw their unskilful riders . . ." The Praetorians were defeated. It is not impossible, however, to keep troops fit and ready; and the Big Red One and its brother divisions standing guard in Germany are being kept in combat trim. Our correspondent, **Theodore H. White**, describes the U.S. First Infantry Division's proud spirit.

No clear-cut formula can ever cover the kind and amount of armament this nation must have, but as **Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**, points out, the problem cannot even be discussed unless one is aware of the relationship between armament and diplomacy. Only a balanced and flexible military power can provide our diplomacy with the freedom of maneuver it needs to meet the changing nature of the enemy threat.

WHY, in the recent Italian elections, did the Communists gain votes precisely in those regions of the south where the De Gasperi Government had tried hardest to better the lot of the peasants? Staff writer **Claire Sterling** traveled through eroded

Apulia and barren Calabria to talk with government engineers at work there, and with the land-starved population they were attempting to help. Her report shows what difficulties hamper land reform.

It seems probable that James Madison, fourth President of the United States and framer of the Bill of Rights, would have some pretty pointed things to say to Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio in regard to the latter's proposal to limit the President's powers. Their imaginary dialogue is recorded by **William H. Hessler**.

IF HIGH TARIFFS were in fact vital to the life of the American economy, all arguments against them would be somewhat academic. **Bruno Foa**, who during the war was on the staff of the Federal Reserve Board, argues that high tariffs do not really help the things they are supposed to help and in some cases actually harm our economy. This being so, international economic co-operation rather than a philanthropic dream is the only basis on which our nation can continue to prosper.

Helen Hill Miller, until recently Washington representative of the *Economist* of London, knows the teeming world of Washington government employees at first hand. In "D.P.s in D.C." she reports results of the new economy drive.

In our "Views and Reviews" section, **Marya Mannes** continues her discussion of how our major networks handle the news; **H. B. David** recalls some of Colonel McCormick's earlier European adventures; and **James Munves** writes about a typical small-town newspaper; **Daniel Aaron** about Sinclair Lewis.

Our cover, which shows U.S. First Infantry Division troops assaulting OMAHA Beach on June 6, 1944, is by a painter who knows what action is — **John McDermott**, four years a combat artist with the Marine Corps.