

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Raw Fact

Maybe it was just the bad luck of Friday the thirteenth, but it is a pity that a story which appeared that day in the New York *Post* was mishandled by most of the press. Or perhaps it was because newspaper space for laughter, or irony, or a sense of history, or urbanity is fast disappearing these days. James Wechsler's "Damning Disclosure" had all these qualities. It was based on a 1947 piece in *United Nations World*, a firsthand account of remarks made by General Eisenhower in England in 1944 to the then Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Harry Dexter White on what was to become known as the Morgenthau Plan for pastoralizing defeated Germany. The author of the *U.N. World* article, a former Treasury official named Fred Smith, wrote: "Actually it was General Dwight D. Eisenhower who launched the project . . . set the spark . . ."

Two days before the *Post* editorial, Harry Dexter White had been referred to in answer to questions in a White House press conference as "a man named White . . . whom the President had never met, didn't know anything about."

But in printing evidence that the President's memory was not infallible the *Post* departed from the routine pattern of partisanship. It did not crow about its discovery of contradiction. With eloquence and wit it asked Americans to be more charitable about the "vagaries of memory" which great and patriotic Americans share with the rest of us. It spoofed its own "disclosure" and hoped, by presenting the story with its built-in interpretation, to "restore

some sanity and perspective in Washington."

We have the greatest sympathy for Mr. Wechsler of the *Post*, but as a professional journalist he should have known that his essay on tolerance hadn't a chance of surviving unmaimed in the newspaper world of today. Who would care for his thoughtful and serious comment on a text when that text, taken out of context, could be presented as a charge against the President of the United States?

The papers didn't. Two great and responsible New York newspapers seized upon a fact which a capable and brilliant editor had evaluated and set in proper perspective—and decided they preferred it raw.

Says You

When one child sets out to torment another, he will often repeat whatever the other child says, aping inflection as well as words.

Have the psychological-warfare ex-

perts of the Kremlin discovered this primitive but vexing gambit?

Those long, formal speeches and rambling diplomatic notes sound very much as if me-tooism has become the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Having appropriated our words "peace" and "democracy" and the like, they have now taken to repeating our policies.

We have complained that the Soviets are trying to undermine the democratic countries by subversion, building up armaments, and increasing the military strength of their satellites.

Listen to President Kliment E. Voroshilov:

"The United States government is demonstratively appropriating hundreds of millions for undermining activities in the countries of the democratic camp, it continues the policy of the armament race, builds up military groups and creates intensively a close network of military bases in the immediate proximity of the frontiers

ABSENT WITNESS

Servants of foolish hope or dark design,
Driven by guilt, or, worse, by innocence
To sudden death—you are now free to decline
To testify again in your defense.
Earth is a safer sanctuary now
Than the Fifth Amendment, and your muted tongue
No proof of blame. But if the dead somehow
Can listen to all the bitter charges flung
By the living, then your graves must shake
With weeping or laughing, since you alone hold tight
The truth; since you alone can make
The last distinction between wrong and right.

But you are still—and what we ought to know
No file or fantasy can fully show.

—SEC

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YOUR BONUS

**Illustrated London News
1953 Special Christmas Number**

Coming Events 1954 (February 1954)

of the countries of the democratic camp."

We want to consider the causes of international tension at a four-power meeting. The Russians want to consider the causes of international tension at a five-power meeting.

We want German elections and a unified Germany. Voroshilov wants "the formation of an interim all-German government, the holding of

all-German elections." A little difference as to which comes first, but the two objectives are always mentioned in the same sentence. We want a rollback of Soviet power in Europe. They want a rollback of American power in Europe. We are for a policy of liberation. They say they want to "liberate" the European nations from what they call American "occupation." Whatever there is of origi-

nality in their position is in their lying.

When children play the "repeating game" it means they have run out of useful talk and constructive play. The same condition can be reproduced in chess, a game the Russians understand. When neither player can checkmate the other but can only move back and forth, it is called a stalemate.

TRIESTE AFTERMATH

CLAIRE STERLING

ITALY'S maturity in the face of intense provocation since October 8 deserves much more recognition than it has received. Western incitement to nationalist excesses could not have been greater here if it had been calculated. First Italy was misled, especially by the United States, about its rights to Zone B. Then Italy's chances of getting even Zone A seemed remote: In Italian eyes Britain and America submitted to Yugoslavia and broke their promise to Italy. As a further provocation to Italian tempers, General Sir John Winterton used bullets to quell student rioting that could certainly have been put down with tear gas and fire hoses. No one knows why he suddenly loosed armed mobile units when British-trained police traditionally go unarmed.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's blanket justification of the British commander—seconded by Secretary of State Dulles—and his attempt to blame the episode on Italy did not serve to smooth things over. Of course there are Fascists in Italy and they helped make trouble, but the British press had no justification for implying that "Italian" and "Fascist" are synonyms.

WITH SUCH PRESSURE from the outside combined with pressure from both Right and Left on the Government inside Italy, the wonder is that Prime Minister Giuseppe Pella managed to avoid a more extreme nationalist position. I doubt if anyone outside Italy realizes the effort that has been made by the Pella Government, under President Luigi Einaudi's guidance, to restrain the press, the

rightist leaders, and the Foreign Office nationalists. A few nights ago the Foreign Office gave a private screening for foreign correspondents of edited and unedited versions of Trieste riot newsreels, showing how inflammatory sequences of policemen clubbing students, hoses being played into churches, etc., had been deleted from the public version.

Following the first explosion of indignation, all the papers except those on the extreme Left and Right have adopted a more moderate tone, cautioning that Italy must not break up the Atlantic alliance or become Britain's eternal enemy and must welcome any reasonable compromise on Trieste. It is now generally accepted throughout Italy that such a compromise would necessarily involve some kind of partition with eventual territorial adjustments. This is a position that former Prime Minister De Gasperi never dared take, but Pella—except for occasional bursts of rhetoric—has been holding it very well.

The news from Belgrade indicates that moderation is also prevailing there. But in Yugoslavia a single man can change the policy if it doesn't seem to be working, while here in Italy dozens of leaders and hundreds of politicians are involved—and ultimately the policy Pella adopts has to be acceptable to the entire nation.

Of course, Italy cannot afford to be immoderate. Italy has no place to go if it abandons the West; even the Fascists and Monarchists are unwilling to enter an alliance of spite with Russia.

But Italian moderation is also based on a profound change in Italian thinking. There is a new revulsion, on the part of many Italians, against the pos-

sibility of falling back into the ranting, nationalistic superpatriotism that was Mussolini's stock in trade. For some reason, this doesn't seem to be "news" in the West. Has any American paper indicated how small a proportion of Italians were in the streets demonstrating against the Allies?

The United States seems to be coming out of the Trieste affair better than could be expected. The British, on the contrary, are so unpopular in Italy right now that even Secretary Dulles, who was described by *L'Europeo* a few weeks ago as the "biggest gaffeur in the business," is being let off lightly, while Ambassador Luce, perhaps largely because of her personal gallantry, has become very popular. Although she is blamed in British, Italian—and American—circles for precipitating the whole crisis, most Italians feel that her good will compensates for her inexperience.

BUT EVEN IF Italian moderation brings about a settlement, no conclusion of the episode can be entirely satisfactory for any of the parties concerned. A settlement would probably help toward Italian ratification of the European Defense Community treaties, but a successful Atlantic policy depends upon much more than the formal ratification of treaties.

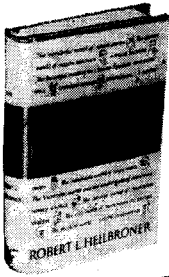
Some of the most persistently pro-western Italian leaders confess that they have been shocked. One of the most prominent told me recently that he can never again support Atlanticism with the personal enthusiasm he once felt. This disenchantment with the Atlantic and European ideas can be at least as harmful as a vote in Parliament against the EDC.

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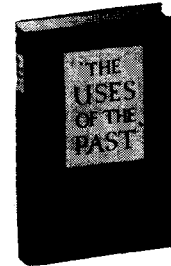
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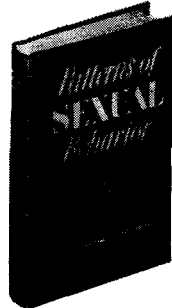
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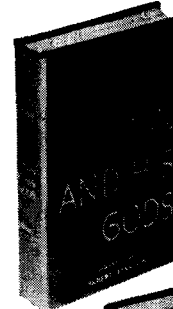
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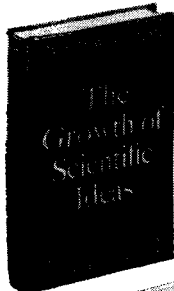
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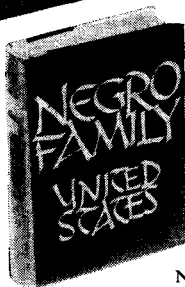
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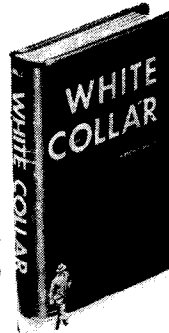
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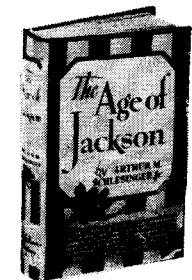
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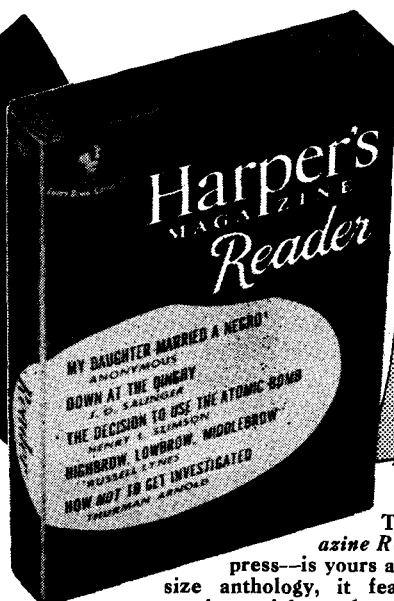
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These are typical of the stimulating reading you find every month in

Harper's MAGAZINE

Here's what you will read in the current December issue:

WHY NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE RUSSIANS? The chairman of the National Steel Corporation presents the European viewpoint toward the present world situation and urges that Americans consider it carefully as the only avenue to peace now available. *Ernest T. Weir*

WHY PEOPLE CHANGE. A practicing psychiatrist describes the ways in which the human personality can change, the underlying factors that are involved, and the reason why some of the most successful changes are sometimes achieved without any outside help like psychotherapy. *Ian Stevenson, M.D.*

INSOMNIA, STAMPS, AND MR. MINKUS. A funny and informative account of stamp collecting as a hobby, as a cure for insomnia and a way of life, by the author of *See Here, Private Hargrove*. *Marion Hargrove*

A glance at the contents will convince you that the *Harper's Magazine Reader* means hours, days, of the keenest, most absorbing reading imaginable. For instance—

What happens when the daughter of "liberal" white parents announces that she is going to marry a Negro classmate? You'll find the answer in *My Daughter Married a Negro*.

The Regal Life of Pierpont Morgan is told by Frederick Lewis Allen, author of the current best seller *The Big Change*. John Fischer reveals *The Unwritten Law of American Politics*.

Henry L. Stimson, the late Secretary of War, documents the little-known but fateful *Decision to Use the Atom Bomb*.

Katherine Anne Porter is represented by *Gertrude Stein: A Self Portrait*... Joyce Cary by *A Special Occasion*... and J. D. Salinger of the memorable *Catcher in the Rye* tells another one you won't forget, *Down at the Dinghy*.

Thurman Arnold shows *How NOT to Get Investigated*. Russell Lynes' famous *Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow* is included, naturally... and the rest are equally good.

A RELIGION FOR NOW. The new President of Harvard University suggests that we are all, to some extent, religious illiterates for we have not been well taught about religion. As a result, there is a great urgency for schools of religion to do something fresh and convincing to meet present needs. *Nathan M. Pusey*

THE GERMANS: THEIR CAUSE AND CURE. A startling, disconcerting and consistently fascinating picture of the German state of mind today—based on the author's recent experience as visiting faculty member of the Institute of Social Research of Frankfurt University. *Milton Mayer*

BILLION-DOLLAR CURE FOR TEXAS' DROUGHT. One of America's leading historians describes what the current drought, which has lasted five years already, is doing to the whole Southwest and why water is today the biggest factor holding back the further development of that important region. *Walter Prescott Webb*

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: "Mass-Produced Suburbs," Part II, by Harry Henderson, "A Christmas Carillon" by Hortense Calisher, "The Armadillo Basket" by William Goyen, and the regular departments of Bernard DeVoto, Gilbert Highet, and "Mr. Harper"—plus the New Recordings by Edward Tatnall Canby.



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CORRESPONDENCE

HOW HI THE FI?

To the Editor: James Hinton, Jr.'s, "How Hi the Fi?" in your November 10 issue so succinctly expressed the sentiments that have troubled my heart that I was cheering almost every paragraph.

HAROLD ROGERS

Music Critic

The Christian Science Monitor
Boston

To the Editor: James Hinton, Jr.'s, advice on high-fidelity music reproduction may be helpful to those hoping to acquire wide-range equipment. But in his neglect of specific examples of his experience of equipment performance and in his comments upon music itself, the theme of the article was poorly served by its variations.

Mr. Hinton counsels us not to buy a speaker system "that would blow the armor off a battleship." But I should like to suggest that when the storm breaks in the "Pastoral" Symphony there should be the impression of a cataclysm in which no battleship would be safe, in which the thunder rolls with almost sickening intensity and terrifying power—as Beethoven intended. Further, equipment able to reproduce such music with little distortion is usually, by reason of being rugged and heavy, better able to reproduce the "Scene by the Brook," and moreover will last longer and require less servicing.

MILES M. PAYNE

San Diego, California

To the Editor: Mr. Hinton's dim views on the glory of listening to hi-fi fell disappointingly short of providing an enlightened picture of the new sound. As a magazine with a crusader's flair for letting the people know when and where they are getting fleeced, you are missing some good bets. Hi-fi has been awaiting mass acceptance since long-forgotten prewar days when Major Edwin Armstrong first demonstrated the overwhelming hi-fiability of FM broadcasting.

The fi of FM was then, and still is, markedly hi-er than the best new records. The variety of music presented through this medium is a far cry from the stagnant repetition of a recorded performance. I, for one, would much prefer to listen to a live concert accurately reproduced in the shoeless comfort of my living room than face the jostling crowd, stiff seat, and tuxedo-and-furs atmosphere of the concert hall. Reproduced music is so important a part of the lives of my budding concert-pianist wife and myself that we have four of the five rooms of our modest bungalow wired with built-in loudspeakers.

Hi-fi is now coming of age, not so much because technically better discs are available as because the big-name manufacturers are looking for something to sell, now that they

have saturated the television market. FM has been available for years. FM broadcasts completely duplicate the transmissions of all worthwhile standard AM stations in New York City and many other metropolitan areas. Despite this, combination sets (with added cost for the inclusion of AM) are unblushingly foisted on the unfortunate customer. It is only now, when new markets are needed, that FM receiver selling has become an important part of the radio business. Now every major manufacturer offers a set with the hi-fi label tacked on.

None of these sets compete, either in hi-ness of fi or lowness of price, with custom-made components made in uneconomically short production runs by manufacturers whose small size is compensated by a large conscience. This is not to say that all small manufacturers make good hi-fi components; the market is so glutted with inferior equipment that the layman is faced with an impossible task when he tries to select the best of hi-fi from the mass of confusion. Your magazine could provide an important service by publicizing the motives and achievements of the hi-fi marketers. This purpose has not been served by Mr. Hinton's overly strong expressions of personal bias against the accuracy of record reproduction. Mr. Hinton has an invitation to listen to the very near realism of music reproduced in any of the four high-fidelity-equipped rooms of my home.

HERBERT M. HONIG

Englewood, New Jersey

OUR FULSOME APOLOGIES

To the Editor: The November 10 issue of *The Reporter*, page 1, The Reporter's Notes, third paragraph: "Our diplomacy and its chief architect, Mr. Dulles, have lately received fulsome tributes in the press. This magazine would like nothing better than to join in the acclaim if only we could find one valid reason for doing so."

I urge, quite humbly as becomes a middlebrow of doubtful intellect and meager erudition, that you consult the dictionary in regard to the adjective "fulsome."

BERTRAM D. SCOTT

North Bridgton, Maine

To the Editor: I have been appointed by family and friends to call your attention to the very incorrect use of the word "fulsome". . . .

ELSIE B. OSBORN

Malibu, California

(While the tributes to Mr. Dulles were not "offensive from insincerity or baseness of motive" [*Webster's New International*], we beg leave to cite the *Shorter Oxford's* definition: "Offensive to good taste; esp. from excess or want of measure. Now chiefly of flattery, over-demonstrative affection, etc.")

TAKE A SECOND LOOK

To the Editor: "Adman's Nightmare: Is the Prune a Witch?" by Robert Graham in your October 13 issue was amusing for your readers and a fair introduction to a new trend in marketing research. His allusion to ads as "tacks" is an interesting, if prejudiced, literary device. If it were meant in any way as a criticism of advertising, as your editors apparently took it, the criticism is not deep enough from my point of view. Quite obviously, mass markets require sound advertising; many ad campaigns are basically unsound and need more than pinprick criticism both inside and outside the advertising profession.

One thing missing in the piece, strictly from a personal angle, is the fact that I conduct many standard studies. Projective methods are by no means a panacea for the ills in business research. Actually, my kind of work represents a wedding between practical application in the market place and a variety of knowledge techniques in the academic arena. A forthcoming *Public Opinion Quarterly* reporting the last American Association for Public Opinion Research Conference underlines this point in the study of the authoritarian personality.

The Reporter provides an excellent medium for criticisms of worn-out practices, and in balancing out such material a good context for suggesting new trends and ideas to its readers.

JAMES M. VICARY
New York

MONEY TALKS

To the Editor: Your entire "Correspondence" page in the November 24 issue was devoted to letters concerning the article "Can Government Be Merchandised?" by William Lee Miller (*The Reporter*, October 27). If we can consider these letters representative of your readers' thinking, I would say that the vast majority of your audience missed what was to me the main point of Mr. Miller's article.

Nobody is denying that "public information" techniques of one sort or another go back to the first time one man ever tried persuading another by means other than a club. And nobody denies that the great mass media are open to all.

But the point is: Using these media costs money. Which means simply that the cause, the campaign, and the campaigner with the most money generally have the best chance for success.

I'm inclined to disagree, too, with your reader who states that "dissatisfied customers will not buy again." First, there are always amazing new advertising techniques to squelch even such things as customer dissatisfaction. Second, there are always new prospects coming into any market. New voters, too.

But even if I should agree with this "dissatisfied customer" theory, I would also be inclined to agree with Mr. Miller's implied statement that buying the right or wrong vacuum cleaner is perhaps less vital to a man and his community than electing the right or wrong statesman.

FRED SLATER

Brighton, Massachusetts

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

MAX ASCOLI's editorial, "Government by Bombshell," considers the Brownell-Truman incident as a confirmation of the peculiar way the Administration has of handling major international and domestic problems.

Our three leading articles deal with the Middle East and the attitude that its peoples are taking toward the United States. One article is on Israel, where long tension has frayed nerves and made the Israelis fearful of both their Arab neighbors and the intentions of the United States. Another article, on the Arab world, reveals, rather remarkably, that there is a considerable similarity between the position of the Israelis and the Arabs, at least in one respect: Both are groping for a sort of middle-of-the-road international position. The word "neutrality" is one way of putting it. This refusal to take a stand with either the East or the West is predominant throughout the Middle East despite the fact that Israelis and Arabs depend so largely on the West, and particularly on the United States, and also despite the fact that the Israeli population is predominantly western and the Arab states, in their insistence upon the fullest measure of national independence, are following a western pattern.

The reader may share with us a certain feeling of sympathy for Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who is being vehemently criticized by both sides, as **Ernest Stock** and **Simon Malley** make quite plain. Mr. Stock, at present in Israel on a grant from the Ford Foundation, has been a correspondent for the United Press and a writer for the *Jerusalem Post*. Mr. Malley, an Egyptian correspondent accredited to the United Nations, has just concluded a five-month tour through the Middle East.

A third article by **Harlan Cleveland** focuses on the economic situation in Israel. This new state has

brought the twentieth century to the Middle East—and with it the traditional headaches of economic growth and national solvency. It would be best if all parties concerned forgot as speedily as possible the bitter and bloody quarrels of the past in order to work together and live in peace. But the Arab-Israel conflict does not concern Arabs and Israelis alone, and it cannot be solved by them alone. To a large degree, responsibility for a solution rests on the western powers and especially on the United States.

DAVE BECK, a labor baron whose chief until recently was in the Far West, but who, as national head of the formidable Teamsters Union, now makes his influence felt throughout the nation, is presented to our readers in an article by **Joe Miller**. In his toughness and indifference to ideology Mr. Beck resembles another generation of labor leaders, men who were job-conscious rather than class- or politics-conscious. The great difference between Beck and those men is that the complex machinery of today's industry gives Beck a power that the men of Samuel Gompers's school never had. Mr. Miller has been a labor reporter for the *Seattle Times* and executive secretary for the League for a Columbia Valley Authority.

We are particularly happy to introduce Congressman Charles B. Brownson, a Republican from Indiana who, we think, represents a new type of Republican politician. Representative Brownson, no headline hunter, has brought credit to his state and to his party in Congress by his careful investigative work. In preparing his article, **William H. Hessler**—an editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and the author of *Operation Survival*—has carefully studied Mr. Brownson's background and voting record and has had a number of talks with the Congressman.

President Eisenhower's remark to

the effect that TVA is an instance of "creeping socialism" caused considerable uproar in the Tennessee Valley. In a statement from which excerpts appear in this issue, **Governor Frank G. Clement** of Tennessee—who is no socialist, creeping or otherwise, but a conservative Democrat—answers the President. In this connection, our Washington Editor, **Douglass Cater**, went down to Tennessee to do some checking on the allegations made by critics of the TVA, and made interesting discoveries about the tactics of the public-utility lobbies.

As described by **Bogdan Raditsa**, the present Greek political situation should give us pause. In no European country has our government made a greater effort to be helpful. Yet the good intentions of our representatives in the field have somehow miscarried. There is much our diplomats must still learn about the new technique of non-imperialistic intervention. At least in the military field we achieved complete success in Greece, but when it came to helping the Greeks help themselves politically and economically, we somehow did not quite make the grade. We are glad to say that a future article by Mr. Raditsa will indicate that we have done better in Turkey. *The Reporter* intends to follow up this line of investigation of the concrete results our diplomats attain and the causes that make for success or failure. Mr. Raditsa, born in Yugoslavia, was an official in Tito's Government until he broke away from it in 1946. Last summer he revisited several of the countries which he had known as a Yugoslav diplomat. Mr. Raditsa now lives in this country and teaches at Fairleigh Dickinson College in Rutherford, New Jersey.

O. Henry Brandon, Washington correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of London, feels that there's probably been too much pessimism over the situation of the French in Indo-China, a country he recently visited. We are happy to publish his more hopeful views.

J. K. Galbraith, who reviews Mrs. Meyer's book, is the author of *American Capitalism*.

The cover for this issue was painted for *The Reporter* by **Dong Kingman**.