



THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Q. & A.

Not long ago, a friend of ours agreed to do some work for the State Department. Knowing how the world spins in 1953, he was not surprised to be visited by a senior investigator, who inquired about his past career and associations. However, at the stage when such interviews usually end, the investigator cleared his throat and pulled a paper out of his pocket. He explained that under his new instructions he was to get answers to these questions:

1. Do you believe in the Marshall Plan?
2. Do you believe in NATO?
3. What is your feeling about Tito?
4. Do you favor recognizing Franco?
5. Are you in favor of our intervention in Korea?
6. What do you think about China?
7. Do you consider yourself a supporter of Chiang Kai-shek?

If the investigator had the right answers printed in the back of his notebook, we would like to print them too.

Air of Detachment

While we were filing away Senator Taft's historic Cincinnati speech, it finally occurred to us why it seemed so appalling. It was the tone in which it was written, its air of utter detachment from the real world of policymaking.

Not only did Taft write off the U.N. in Korea, though that would have been sensational enough for one speech. He also discarded the "Acheson formula" for using the General Assembly to act when the Security Council is paralyzed by a big-power veto; supported again the Communist position that all Far Eastern questions should be settled at

once; said he wouldn't send American soldiers to the continent of Asia—thus ruling out not only the present Korean War but also any effective support of Southeast Asia if the Chinese Communists should invade in force; said that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was "a military alliance of the old type," and "the complete antithesis of the [U.N.] Charter itself," as the Soviets have been claiming right along; and opposed the use of U.S. forces in Europe, preferring to have Europe defended wholly by the Europeans.

The commentators who are anxious to keep the Republican Party together quickly pooh-poohed the speech. After all, they said, you know Taft. This is the same crusty fellow, saying the same things he said in his book about foreign policy back in 1951. But these commentators missed the point. The point was that Taft, having been inoculated with governmental responsibility, was announcing that the inoculation hadn't taken.

More Important Than Justice?

The Rosenbergs have had their day in court—a day which, as we write, has already lasted over two years. The court before which they stood trial was the whole solemn hierarchy of our judicial system from trial judge to Supreme Court. They were ably defended by unintimidated counsel; sympathizers, Communist

and non-Communist, provided them with moral and financial support; their plea for commutation of the death sentence reached the nation's Chief Executive, who denied it and gave his reasons for doing so.

The Rosenbergs had a meticulously fair trial under the full and exhaustive processes of our law. That is why the nation has a clear conscience as it envisages the lamentable fate of this couple.

That is also why a statement attributed (May 26) by the *New York Times* to officials of the Justice Department must not be allowed, unchallenged, to blemish the record. The officials are reported to have said, hinting at the possibility of a further appeal to the President, that "any information the Rosenbergs might give about the identity or activities of spies could be more important to the Government than their execution."

Since when has the interest of the government become the decisive element in applying the death penalty? Ours is a government of law. And we think that to our laws only justice is "important." Under totalitarian rule people are convicted or not, executed or not, regardless of the law; their destiny is decided solely by what is considered important to the government. That is one of the offenses against justice that we find abhorrent in the totalitarian systems. Ill-considered remarks by

SYNONYM

New York Herald Tribune, May 25: "Core of Atom Is Fluffy Outside and Dense Inside."

At last, dear Kinsey, the report verbatim:
Woman is but another name for Atom.

—SEC

Justice Department officials cannot persuade us that such practices threaten us here.

Boomers and Boomerangs

As soon as Harold Stassen was appointed Director for Mutual Security, he selected fifty-six "evaluators" to look into the Mutual Security Program in the field. Most of them, for a change, were businessmen, and only a very few ever had had anything to do with foreign aid or foreign policy before. They were scheduled for two days of briefing in Washington, and some of them couldn't make *that* because of directors' meetings. Then they set off to evaluate what the government had been doing in the foreign-aid business. In charge of the expedition was Clarence Francis, chairman of the board of General Foods. The team that went to Rome was headed by Frederick C. Crawford, president of Thompson Products, Inc.

One of the ideas back of this project was that these men would come home booming the Mutual Security program, helping get across to their communities how important it is.

BUT just as the Administration was deciding to build up the Mutual Security Agency as the clearinghouse for all aid programs, Clarence Francis, as chief evaluator, brought out a report recommending that most of Stassen's job be "liquidated." Just as the Administration was hoping the Italian elections would come out all right for the Center coalition of Premier De Gasperi, its evaluator for Italy, Mr. Crawford, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that none of the aid ever given by the United States to Italy "will make any permanent improvement." The only thing he found worth praising was the fact that De Gasperi had strengthened the national police.

There are plenty of troubles in Italy, for no way has yet been found for the U.S., by giving aid, to make in another country the structural changes that the welfare of the people demands. But aid—through the Allied Commission, then the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and then the Marshall Plan—certainly has caused "permanent improvement" of very

THE GREATEST TRICKS ON EARTH

Step up ladies, step up gents,
See the lady sawed in two,
Watch Miss National Defense
Wilsonized in front of you—
See the Double-Headed Taft
Isolated on his raft,
Watch the Dinosenators
Walk the tightrope on all
fours,
See the hairy Knuckle-Heads
Tear alliances to shreds,
Watch the audience hold its
breath
At the Liberal Leap of Death—
Step up ladies, step up gents,
Here's a bargain that makes
sense:
Pay much less than what it's
worth
To be the Greatest Land on
Earth.

—SEC

large dimensions, as the merest glance at the indices of production will show. During the Marshall Plan alone, steel production rose from around 2 million tons to 3.5 million; electric power went up from 22 billion kilowatt-hours to more than 31, and Italy more than doubled its production of motor vehicles. Mr. Crawford himself said that Italy is forty per cent better off today than "at any time in the last 2,000 years." (We assume Mr. Crawford is an authority on Italian history and knows the gross national product of the Republic in 47 B.C., when Caesar was busy installing Cleopatra as ruler of Egypt.)

The Italian Government could hardly contain itself when it learned about Mr. Crawford's testimony. Small wonder he didn't learn anything, a Rome spokesman said bitterly, since he had no contacts with the Italian Government and refused to talk to any Italians.

No government program, certainly not Mutual Security, should be immune from independent "evaluation" by experts. But there are lessons in this incident for the next round of evaluators. First, they should be experts. Second, they

should talk to somebody besides other Americans when they go abroad. Third, their trips should not be timed to rock the boat in countries where elections are being held. And fourth, they should button their lips when they get home.

A Well-Misinformed Public . . .

The wire services and daily newspapers have their problems, and a magazine that waits two weeks between issues probably shouldn't adopt a holier-than-thou attitude. But the case of Clement Attlee and what he did or didn't say is a classic case of embroidery on fact.

A comparison of the news coverage given Clement Attlee's celebrated speech a while back with the transcript of what he actually said reveals what happened. The AP story from London, for example, started with: "British Socialist leader Clement Attlee charged the Eisenhower Administration's hands were tied in seeking peace in Korea by elements in the U.S. that do not want a settlement." According to the transcript, Attlee did mention "elements" not wanting a settlement, but nowhere intimated that they had tied anybody's hands.

An even stranger bit of embroidery occurred as a result of Senator McCarthy's response to Attlee. McCarthy took as one text for his attack an item carried by the Chicago *Tribune* Press Service from London that "Attlee said he welcomed Churchill's proposal Monday for an immediate meeting of heads of state, but he doubted the wisdom of Eisenhower's attendance." This particular quotation did not correspond to anything Attlee said, and was not carried in AP's original story. Yet next day the Associated Press reported: ". . . McCarthy took up Attlee's declarations . . . that the presence of President Eisenhower or any American might 'hinder' direct peace talks with the Russians." Thus the words Attlee never spoke were put into his mouth by the AP via Joseph McCarthy.

The day after McCarthy's speech, the New York *Times* headlined Attlee's protests: ATTLEE INSISTS U.S. MISREAD REMARKS. And so we did. All we knew was what we misread in the newspapers.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

EVER SINCE the early days of the First World War, when French and German pilots started to shoot pistols at each other from their little reconnaissance craft, ever since Billy Mitchell was court-martialed in this country because he wanted more planes, debate about U.S. air power has raged. That debate is at its loudest now because more than ever before is at stake. In our first three articles we try to get at the facts.

The first was written by **Roswell L. Gilpatric**, a man who knows precisely what plans for air power were inherited by the Eisenhower Administration and is therefore supremely qualified to discuss how Secretary of Defense Wilson is modifying them and to what extent. For until four months ago Mr. Gilpatric was at work preparing the budget for the Air Force. As Under Secretary of the Air Force (from October 1, 1951, to February 5, 1953) it was Mr. Gilpatric's job to procure airplanes.

Irving R. Levine's article deals with air power in one theater, the Far East. For twenty-six months Mr. Levine covered the Korean War and the truce talks. He also has had assignments in Japan, Formosa, Hong Kong, Indo-China, and Thailand. This year he came home to accept a Council on Foreign Relations research fellowship.

Air power is being cut back because we supposedly cannot afford to be strong. Words like "bankruptcy" and "economic disaster" are now common Washington hand-outs. Are we advertising to the world—and to ourselves—a weakness that is mostly imaginary? **Edwin L. Dale, Jr.**, tests the metabolism of our economy to see if we can stand the strain of defending ourselves. Mr. Dale is a member of the Washington bureau of the New York *Herald Tribune*, specializing on economic subjects.

WHEN unrest and violence break out anywhere in the world, *The Reporter* wants to know the reason why. The Mau Mau revolt in Kenya continues unabated. **Oden and Olivia Meeker** have been traveling in Africa, and we have already published four of their reports. We now present the results of their personal observations in Kenya.

If you look down from the press gallery at a session of the Indian Parliament you get a strange impression of diversity. People from all over India have come in their varied dress to this new parliament of a new nation, and to us, accustomed to our Senators and Congressmen in their standardized business suits, the spectacle is exotic. Yet the New Englanders and the Southerners who traveled through the mud to our first Constitutional Convention were not dressed alike.

Our first Congress must have looked exotic to Europeans. To Europeans, Ameri-

can democracy seemed uncount, and this is something worth remembering when we are inclined to judge the attainments of democracy in Asian countries by the degree of resemblance between their institutions and our own. At least as good a basis for comparison would be to take a good look at the changes democracy has brought to life in an Indian village. **Jean Lyon**, well known to our readers, is an observer who manages to get close to the lives of individuals—upon whom depends the functioning of any institution.

Eric F. Goldman is a recognized historian of American liberalism. Educated at Johns Hopkins, Professor Goldman taught there from 1935 to 1940. He is now associate professor of history at Princeton. His article in this issue may be considered an addendum to his recent book, *Rendezvous with Destiny*, a history of modern American reform, which has recently won Columbia University's Bancroft Prize.

OUR COVER, painted by **San Bon Matsu**, a talented young Japanese-American portraitist, shows a Japanese gentleman attired in a mixture of Oriental and western clothes. At first sight the contrast between this modern Japanese and the modern Diet Building, with traditional Fujiyama in the background, is, despite the artistry and color of the design, faintly comic. (Also, the Diet Building and Fujiyama are actually many miles apart.) But the process through which Japan is becoming westernized and the great strain this process places upon traditional Japanese civilization present one of the most serious problems of modern times.

By what is happening in Japan one can measure what can happen in other Asian countries seeking to absorb the heritage of the West without harm to an ageless heritage of their own. **Harold Strauss** met Japan in 1945 and 1946, when he served under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Subsequently he visited Japan many times and became greatly interested in the Japanese people. He gives us conclusions drawn after his most recent stay. Mr. Strauss is Editor in Chief at Alfred A. Knopf. From his account it is evident that exporting some of the tinnier products of our country is not the most effective way in which the United States can help contemporary Japan.

Immediately upon completing his vignette of the piccolo player, **Bill Mauldin** left for England to attend the Coronation.

Continuing our coverage of music in relation to American life, **James Hinton, Jr.**, former managing editor of *Musical America*, argues that the best way to encourage opera in the United States is to call it by some other name.

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