



# THE REPORTER'S NOTES

## Pictures from Arkansas

There is a disheartening quality in what one reads in the papers these days. But no news story is half as disheartening as some of the pictures that lately have been making the front pages with haunting regularity. One almost dreads to look at the paper in the morning and start the day that way.

It is not reassuring to read about Syria and the latest Russian missiles and the collapse of the disarmament negotiations in London. There are some papers that offer a relief to their readers by sordidly featuring the sordid stories about *Confidential* magazine. The dispatches from Arkansas and other parts of the South on how American children, black and white, are beginning their school year would be enough to make any decent American unhappy. But the pictures of what happens in and around the Arkansas or Southern schoolhouses are more than one can bear. Yet they keep coming: The work of the cameramen down South is featured by all the newspapers every day, as it deserves to be.

They are all more or less the same kind of pictures. They show lean, adolescent-looking militiamen, rifle in hand, turning Negro children away; or white children leering and yelling at the Negroes. From a photogenic viewpoint, the Negroes turn out much the best. Even the children among them, books in hand, with serious faces, have poise and dignity. Young as they are, they are already familiar with their role as victims of injustice.

The uncomfortable feeling is even stronger when you watch the newsreels and the TV news reports. Those frenzied boys and girls, those awkward-looking militiamen wearing the uniform of our armed forces, must be, by and large, better than they look. They must be just average, but average humanity turns out

to be rather beastly, or at least incongruous, when pictured at its meanest. The genius of a De Sica can find among average human beings individuals and postures that are spontaneous yet have the dignity, the representative, communicable quality of art. De Sica could make something out of the Negroes whose pictures we see every day. But the pictures of most of the white youngsters show nothing but thoughtlessness and stupidity in the raw.

Of course these pictures cannot be representative of what the white people in Little Rock, for instance, are like. Yet they are real. Some of the civil and military authorities in Little Rock are very tough on newspaper reporters and on cameramen, as if they were ashamed of the actual reality of what is described and pictured. These authorities try to destroy the mirror that reflects them.

And of course there is another consideration, at least as far as we

are concerned, that makes all these front-page pictures unbearable. For these pictures are featured not only in our country but in Paris, in Milan, in Bombay, in Moscow—literally all over the world. The thought of Moscow or of Peking raises the usual question of who is helping Communism the most: those who stir up the troubles in the South or those who report on them. "Go back to Moscow!" the mobsters yell at the newsmen and photographers from the North. Other people are saying that Governor Faubus would not be acting differently if he were following Moscow's instructions.

We must confess that all this talk about the relationship between Communism and the brawls around the Southern schools makes us about as sick as do the pictures on the front page of the morning papers. Why should we regulate our conduct according to what may be said all over the world by the godless Communists, who are our enemies? Rather,

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—SEC

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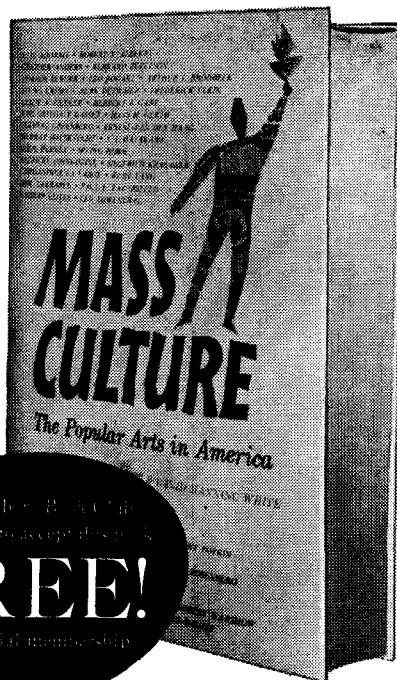
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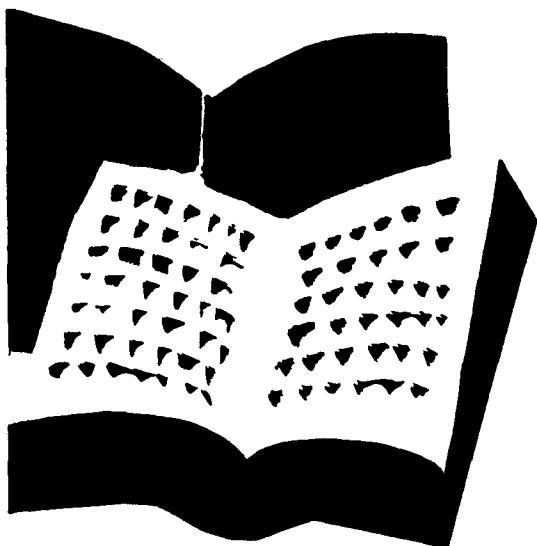
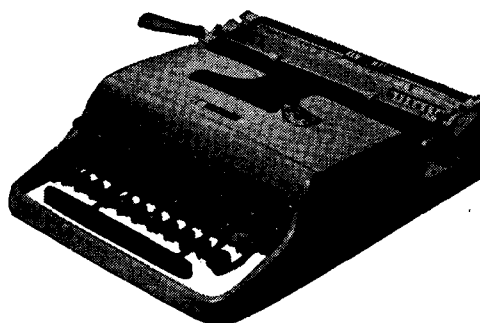
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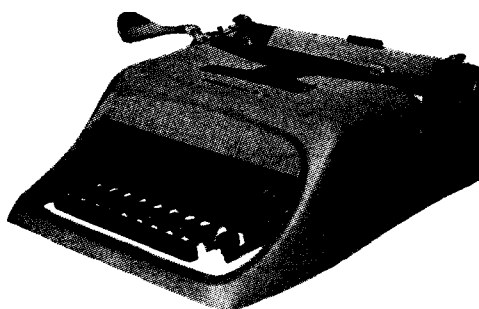


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let's think of all those who have respect for the human conscience and are our friends.

**D**URING the last few days, it has been said that the Federal government is going to do something. The President has sent a wire to the Governor of Arkansas and, so we hear, FBI men are already on the job, trying to track down how the breaches of the peace occurred and who is responsible for them, so that in due course the Federal authorities, presumably the judicial ones, can take further action. All this is good, of course. Indeed, it is as it should be. But many days and weeks are going to pass while the FBI is investigating and judicial decisions are first taken and then enforced. During all these days and weeks, the newspapers in our country and all over the world are going to carry the same kind of pictures. Somehow, we cannot take our mind off those pictures. Isn't it possible that the harm they are doing could be quickly remedied by some other pictures?

We have in our country men who, if for no other reason than because of their office, can be considered the protagonists of our national life. These men are not camera shy, and some of them have been well coached on how to appear under the TV klieg lights. *Life* magazine published recently a picture of President Eisenhower smiling happily with a Mexican boy at his side. We know we cannot ask too much of the President, but if he would just walk, with a Negro child at his side, through the doorway of a Southern school, then this nightmare—this national disgrace—would come to an end.

### **In the Vineyard**

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has apparently decided to put religion to work for his department. He has designated a liaison officer in the Federal Extension Service to inform ministers and priests about the farm programs of the Federal government and to familiarize clergymen with the "changing scene of rural life." The Extension Service has always had the general responsibility of publicizing departmental programs among private organizations, but this is the first time that

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Benson has intervened personally to focus attention on a specific group.

We dropped in on Phillip F. Aylesworth, the man who will handle the new program, and found him swamped by congratulatory letters. He informed us that he is a Republican with twenty-two years' service in government, a Methodist, and the owner of a 140-acre dairy farm in Indiana, whence he hails.

Aylesworth explained that the department had maintained a close relationship with church organizations during 1946-1948 but had let the liaison lapse. Re-establishment of the relationship was discussed recently with the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the National Lutheran Council, and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. Benson was eager. At first the White House had some reservations, but they were later overcome.

"Rural ministers are one of the most sensitive groups to community needs and one of the most effective channels to improving community welfare," he continued. The new liaison activity was designed "so they could keep current on the resources of the department . . . so these ministers will have the tools to help rural people.

"The entire price-support program has been geared to the big farmers," said Aylesworth a bit apologetically. "Why, even the Soil Bank won't take care of my farm of 140 acres. You see, normally the programs of the department are not reaching down to the lower one-third. Now, the person who is closest to the poorer farmers is the rural minister. We feel he can be a catalyst in bringing in these aids—such things as soil-conservation methods, seed types, spraying methods, research findings, for example."

He shuffled through the letters on his desk. "The Catholics, for example—one of the complaints was that their organizations were getting stuff secondhand much of the time—getting a warped view. We've added them to the mailing list of the department, which they were not on before. Now they'll get the monthly list of publications so they can order the things they need and they'll also receive our weekly press summary."

Aylesworth will work through national church organizations which

have "rural life" departments that advise the country clergy. The Mormons have been asked to participate, though according to Aylesworth they are so close-knit that they probably don't need help in keeping their members informed. As for Jewish organizations, Aylesworth didn't know of any.

"There aren't many Jewish farmers. We've asked the National Council of the Churches of Christ to suggest a Jewish organization. If there's a channel, we'll use it. That is, if they're an effective force in the community."

## Bottom of the Barrel

The man at the bar in a recent *New Yorker* cartoon who expressed concern about the fallout getting into his beer was casting his anxieties in the wrong direction. AEC Chairman Strauss, from whom all reassurances flow, will no doubt protect our globs of malt as well as he professes to watch over our genes. The danger surely comes from the little-publicized intelligence that a Wisconsin brewery is now trying to make beers taste like a Tom Collins, a gin and tonic, or a glass of punch.

There was a time in the Republic's history when a man could be asked—occasionally with malice—if he wanted an egg in his beer. But this tampering with hop nectar in Wisconsin goes too far. The brewers of the land would be better advised to try and improve the quality of the native brew, whose quality seems to diminish every year in direct proportion to the increase in carbonation.

Prohibition killed the art of brewing in this country, and there is no sense crying into the proverbial glass over the sad fact. But we at least have the right to ask our brewers to leave bad enough alone. Australia, a country whose contributions to mankind have been tennis players and the boomerang, produces a beer which brings tears to the eyes of robust men. Britain, a land cursed with a spiteful climate, adjusts its brews to the seasons and in winter brings forth a product that, in the words of one admirer, can "blow a soft hat through a concrete ceiling." Our brewers spend their time trying to put the man from Schweppes out of his job.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## NUCLEAR COUNTERATTACK

**To the Editor:** Paul H. Nitze's review of Henry A. Kissinger's *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (*The Reporter*, September 5) seems to me not only unnecessarily but somewhat inexplicably severe. Nitze castigates the book as "oversimplified and overdrawn"; he damns it for "implications" (e.g., that we should have fought a preventive war while we held the atomic monopoly) that cannot be fairly read into it; he describes what to others might seem a rational analysis of American foreign policy as an "attack" not only on present but also on past formulators of these policies; he tears some of its arithmetic to pieces, and suggests that Kissinger is trying to convert the United States to the foreign policies of Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Lenin, and Napoleon. Yet Nitze himself neither rejects the book's basic assumption, challenges the deductions drawn from it, nor, in sarcastically demolishing the proposed solution, offers any alternative solution whatever.

Surely Nitze has either overlooked or misconstrued Kissinger's purpose. Kissinger has accepted and proceeded from what now seems the basic postulate of our military foreign policy—that the introduction of the megaton nuclear arsenals has produced a situation in which a resort to maximum force in war must bring about the total destruction or suicide of the combatant societies. Such a situation is unparalleled in all the long history of organized warfare. Like the introduction of a wholly new factor into a familiar mathematical equation, it must alter all the familiar results and the familiar concepts based upon them. With a logic that seems to me quite rigorous, Kissinger attempts to deduce the consequences for international relations which must follow so drastic a modification in what has always been the chief determinant of those relations. His problem is greatly complicated by the fact that, coincidentally with the appearance of the nuclear arsenals, the United States, a conservative and *status quo* power, is facing both revolutionary Communism and revolutionary Asian nationalism, each seeking to play the other against ourselves. But he does not shirk the complexity.

**HIS** major deduction is that we must consciously adopt a policy of limited war (unless, indeed, we are to accept the desuetude of war itself). So far, both writers seem to be agreed; Nitze observes, at any rate, that "In the nuclear age everyone must be for the limitation of war." But Kissinger goes on to point out that it is not enough "to be for" limited war; one must do something about it. If limited war is to become a practicable method for the regulation of international differences without inevitably exploding into the total war of mass destruction, policy must be shaped positively to that end. There must be far-reaching readjustments of popular attitudes, diplomatic and military methods, and national understanding of what policy goals are still attainable and of what policy reversals may, in the

new contexts, have become more bearable than they would once have seemed.

This whole aspect of the analysis has a brilliance and persuasiveness to which Nitze surely gives too little credit. Kissinger's exposition of the grand strategy of an age of limited war is compelling. It is only when he comes to the \$64,000 question—the question of how, tactically, limited war can be kept limited, given the existence of the nuclear arsenals—that he seems to fail. His conclusion is that such wars not only may but must be fought with "tactical" nuclear weapons introduced into the conventional forces, and he attempts a model of a war of this character. It is unjust of Nitze to say of this: "I can see little purpose in making every war, even a limited war, a nuclear one," as if that were Kissinger's "purpose."

The crux of the problem lies precisely in how to do it. But here it is neither unjust nor irrelevant to point out that Kissinger's answer—an essentially conventional war to which tactical atomic weapons have been added—is too filled with operational inconsistency and improbability to be acceptable. In justice to Kissinger it might be said that none of the other suggested models—the pentomic division, the airborne army, and so on—seem to the layman any more realistic. As Nitze says, "The debate must go on." But in stressing the want of finality in Kissinger's conclusions, it does seem that one might recognize the major character of his contribution to that debate.

WALTER MILLIS  
Glen Head, New York

## THE FOUR-DAY WEEK

**To the Editor:** Robert Bendiner's article in *The Reporter* for August 8, "Could You Stand a Four-Day Week?," is the most comprehensive and balanced treatment of the subject that we have seen in a long time.

The National Recreation Association agrees that the problem of the new leisure calls for a fresh concept of how to help people develop all their potential interests and capabilities. The true test of a democracy, after all, is what we do when no one tells us what to do.

You may be interested to know also that the association, which pioneered in helping communities plan for basic recreation needs, is now seeking to enlist support for pilot projects that will lead people to the fullest possible use of the time that so often hangs heavy on their hands. If we succeed in this endeavor—and we believe we shall, just as we have succeeded in the past—the answer to Mr. Bendiner's question will be a hearty "Yes."

JOSEPH PRENDERCAST  
Executive Director  
National Recreation Association  
New York

**To the Editor:** One point in Robert Bendiner's well-researched article perhaps deserves further discussion.

If we can believe recent articles on the

medical profession, the medical schools are not producing doctors in proportion to existing needs in spite of qualified applicants for three reasons—lack of personnel, religious and ethnic-group quota systems, and a philosophy of limiting numbers that would be more suitable for a static population in a depression period. Every survey of teacher needs I have seen comes to the same conclusion: Teachers are not being produced as fast as babies. Even with television and other aids, the numbers in the classroom will probably be larger, the discipline more heartbreaking, the hours longer. (Those who think teachers already have a thirty-hour week should try teaching!)

Perhaps overwork for the professionals, who are among the most intelligent members of our society, is a more serious problem than underwork for skilled and unskilled workers. What kind of culture will we have when those who are best able to use leisure creatively will have the least leisure to use?

ROBERT T. TAYLOR  
Butte, Montana

## CULTURE IN THE ROCKIES

**To the Editor:** I have read with interest and gratification William Harlan Hale's article about Aspen, "Culture with a Sun Tan High in the Rockies," in the August 8 issue of *The Reporter*. He has given an excellent account of the cultural activities here, and we are all naturally most gratified that his impression of them was generally so favorable.

With no thought of being in the least critical of the piece, I wonder whether I might be permitted to point out an omission that I feel I should correct in fairness to the individual involved. Nowhere in the article is the name of Izler Solomon mentioned, and without his presence here we would be in great difficulty to maintain the high standard of music which we believe we have enjoyed. Mr. Solomon is Festival Director and Conductor. In addition to conducting the orchestra, he is responsible for all the programming. We believe that he is one of the finest conductors in this country today, if not the finest, and his contribution to the festival here is immense.

COURTLANDT D. BARNES, JR.  
Aspen Music Festival  
and Music School  
Aspen, Colorado

## VISUAL PLEASURE

**To the Editor:** Much as I enjoy the lively and informative reading matter that makes every number valuable, I am writing in praise of a feature I have yet to see mentioned in your correspondence—your art work. As an artist in a small way, I am glad to see a magazine that still uses artists' work when so many have nothing but photographs. Your covers are good examples of appropriate use of "modern" techniques, and the little cuts scattered through the reading matter are delightful. I would like to see you give name credits for the latter along with the authors.

Thank you for the visual pleasure your magazine provides.

CATHERINE S. TUTTLE  
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**T**HE LATEST Russian announcement on missiles is in itself a very serious matter, and it is rendered even more serious when we consider that the American Presidency—as **Max Ascoli** states in his editorial—is being put in mothballs. This point is developed by **Sidney Hyman**, who is the author of *The American President*.

In the issue of August 8, **Edmond Taylor**, our European Correspondent, sent good news from France but warned that increased productivity was bringing French finances to a period of crisis. The illness he foresaw is now acute and there is some doubt as to whether the doctor in charge—Finance Minister Gaillard—will cure the patient, if, indeed, he is not taken off the case before his prescription has been carried out. . . . Our readers will not have forgotten the two-part article that Staff Writer **Paul Jacobs** wrote on Jimmy Hoffa (January 24 and February 7) before the name of the Teamsters' leader broke into the news in a big way. Once again Mr. Jacobs has had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Hoffa. He finds that while the troubles Hoffa has been through have left a mark, he still remains fundamentally the same—white socks included. . . . **Ray Alan**, who has contributed many articles on the Middle East, describes a rather unsavory episode in British-Arab relations. Now that our State Department is trying to play big brother to the Arabs it is devoutly to be hoped that it will not make similar mistakes. . . . There is a big boom along the Ohio River and **William H. Hessler**, who lives and works in the region—on the Cincinnati *Enquirer*—writes about it. . . . Some of the regulatory agencies established by the New Deal have now, under the Republican administration, become quite chummy with the business interests they are supposed to regulate. Our Contributing Editor **Robert Bendiner** reports on the case of the FCC. . . . **David Hotham**, who covers the Far East for the London *Times* and the *Economist*, reviews the record of U.S. aid to Vietnam.

**D**ean Acheson has not up to now been known primarily as a critic of popular culture. For more reasons than one we should be glad to have the opportunity of publishing as good an article on a similar subject by his successor. . . . **Heinrich Boll** is a well-known German novelist. . . . **Barbara Vereker** is a British political journalist and film critic. . . . **Lewis Galantière** is associated with the Free Europe Committee. . . . Two of **George R. Clay's** short stories appeared in Martha Foley's *Best Short Stories* of 1956.

Our cover is by **Benjamin Einhorn**.