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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE daily press reports of "record" air raids and the weekly tally of casualties tend to sound so much the same that the reader may lose sight of a most important fact: we are winning the war in Vietnam. Richard C. Hottelet, a veteran CBS correspondent, documents this conclusion with facts and observations collected during a recent wide-ranging assignment in Vietnam. . . . How to turn this victory into peace was the question considered at the Manila Conference. Not far north of Manila, the nature of the enemy and his classic strategy of fomenting a military rebellion from the anger of an oppressed peasantry could be seen in the resurgence of the Communist Huk guerrilla movement. Denis Warner, who covered the beginnings of the Communist subversion in Laos and Vietnam, sees a parallel situation developing in the Philippines.

A CONFLICT of priorities in slum schools—whether integration of teaching staffs should come first, or an upgrading of education by providing better teachers, regardless of color—is fast becoming a major problem of big-city school boards. Teachers are resisting forced re-assignment to upgrade neglected schools, and city administrators are afraid that many will quit or strike if the Federal government uses its power to withhold funds as a club to force teacher integration. Peter A. Janssen is Education Editor for the Newhouse National News Service. . . . Argentines have always felt that if their recurring governmental crises should become too damaging to the national welfare, a strong government backed by the military could step in and restore a balance. This is what the Onganía régime promised to do, writes Gladys Delmas, but there is no sign that its military leadership has the answers to the social and economic unrest that has plagued the country since the downfall of Perón. Mrs. Delmas travels regularly throughout Latin

America and broadcasts editorial comment for the English and French networks of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. . . . The bilking of the poor by fast-talking door-to-door salesmen has been cited before Congress as a factor contributing to the smoldering resentments of the people of places like Watts. Ralph Lee Smith, a free-lance writer who specializes in consumer problems, documents how the poor are defrauded.

IN THE SUMMER of 1914, young men marched off to war with gaiety and innocence. The incredible horror of the four years that followed destroyed that innocence forever. And out of the mixture of that innocence and that horror was born a literature that is unique in history yet true for all time. Alfred Kazin discusses Guy Chapman's *A Passionate Prodigality*, one of the classic examples of writing about the Great War—and all wars—which, though more than thirty years old, has just been published in this country for the first time.

Sarel Eimerl reviews Iris Murdoch's latest novel. . . . On leave from the English Department at the University of California at Berkeley, David Littlejohn is currently a Fulbright lecturer in American literature at the University of Montpellier in France. Mr. Littlejohn is the editor of *Dr. Johnson: His Life in Letters* (Prentice-Hall) and the author of *Black on White: A Critical Survey of Writing by American Negroes* (Grossman). . . . Richard Moore lives in Marblehead, Massachusetts. . . . Glendy Culligan is the former book-review editor of the *Washington Post*. . . . Alfred Werner's forthcoming book, *Gauguin*, will be published by McGraw-Hill. The Manet show he writes about will be at the Philadelphia Museum of Art until December 11, and at the Art Institute of Chicago from January 13 to February 19. . . . James A. Maxwell is a free-lance writer.

Our cover is by Arthur Shilstone.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE U.N.

To the Editor: Your editorial, "The Frailtest of Them All," in the October 6 issue, will get you howls of protest from many of your readers, some of whom, perhaps, like myself find it painful to view the U.N. as it is.

However, sad but true, the United Nations under U Thant is fast approaching irrelevancy, in declension from its present position of impotence.

RAYMOND L. BRAMUCCI
Brooklyn, New York

To the Editor: I am not easily shocked, but I am deeply shocked by some of your statements and comments in the October 6 *Reporter* editorial, especially in the last two paragraphs.

You add insult to injury. We Americans are devastating both North and South Vietnam, killing thousands of innocent people (including women and children and even some of our own soldiers), because it is thought some Vietcong may be hiding in the villages. I am inclined to think that we are almost as much to blame for our action in Vietnam as the Russians were in Hungary some years ago. Now, on top of this you make belittling remarks about U Thant and his sincere efforts toward peace.

ARTHUR H. WASHBURN
New Hope, Pennsylvania

BONN AND NATO

To the Editor: Congratulations on the superb reporting in George Bailey's "Germany Between Two Alliances," in your October 6 issue.

Having just returned from a tour of several NATO capitals, including Bonn, where I talked with senior officials of the various Foreign and Defense Ministries, I can attest to both the accuracy and the importance of Mr. Bailey's statements. Germany is closest among the fourteen to being our captive ally, and while that may increase the readiness of German officialdom to conform to our views, it has an additional cost in dissatisfaction. Moreover, the willingness to so conform is wearing very thin.

This is not to say that the disaffection with NATO, and especially disenchantment with American leadership in it, are confined to Germany and France. British high officials both in the Foreign Office in London and in the North Atlantic Council have had more than enough of American "doctrinalism" and "pushing." So have various representatives of the smaller NATO allies.

American Foreign Service officers, especially those working among our NATO allies, would really do well to listen a little harder and to pay more attention to what they hear, rather than feeling that they have or should have the answers to all problems, which



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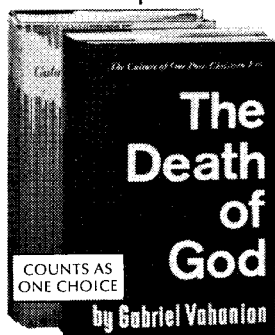
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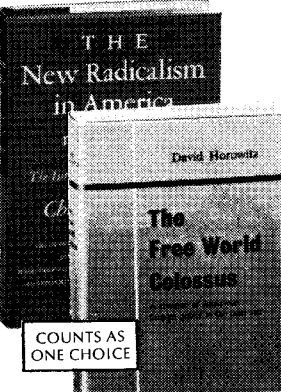
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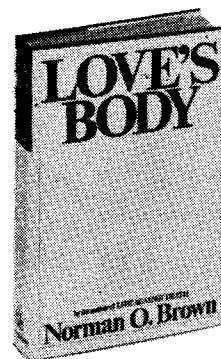
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ELECTORAL COLLEGE

To the Editor: As principal draftsman of the brief in *Delaware v. New York*, I was pleased to see the cogent and balanced coverage you gave this case in the article "The Electoral College Goes to Court" by Neal R. Peirce in your October 6 issue. The case is historic, even though the Supreme Court decided not to decide it when on October 17 Delaware was denied leave to file a bill of complaint.

Speaking from my "other hat" as immediate past chairman of the Committee on Supreme Court Decisions of the Association of American Law Schools, whose purpose is to help improve press reporting of the Court's work, I applaud this coverage in depth. It is an example of the kind of thing the Committee is seeking to promote. The Committee's main function so far, with the blessing of Chief Justice Earl Warren, has been to provide objective pre-decision memoranda by law professors on the cases on the Court's oral argument docket.

ROBERT G. DIXON, JR.

Special Counsel to Attorney General
of Delaware and Professor of Law,
George Washington University

To the Editor: As you know, this subcommittee intends to continue its work toward the resolution of several inequities which many of us believe exist under the present Electoral College system.

The publicity attendant to the filing and disposition of the Delaware suit may well bring to the electoral question the widespread public understanding necessary if we are to rid ourselves of this antiquated system.

BIRCH BAYH, Chairman
Subcommittee on Constitutional
Amendments
U.S. Senate

UPWARD BOUND

To the Editor: We were disappointed by Mark Levy's pessimistic and generally negative article "Upward Bound: A Summer Romance?" (*The Reporter*, October 6). The solid evidence as to whether Upward Bound students will go on to an appropriate form of post-secondary education is just not yet in hand. There are some fragments which we hope will turn out to be more general. For example, we had fifty-three students in the program at the State University at Buffalo this past summer. All of them are now enrolled at the university. We had forty-five high-school graduates at the Upward Bound program at Brandeis. Almost all are now enrolled in a post-secondary educational institution. Other programs took tenth- and eleventh-graders and

MR. PRESIDENT!

June 22, 1966

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

...Our hopes for world peace, and our fears of world disaster, are centered at this time on Vietnam...

You, the United States Government, and Americans generally have looked for ways to end this unhappy war. The search has been extraordinarily difficult. Profoundly discouraging, too, has been the fact that the numerous efforts to find a path to peace in Vietnam have not only failed in themselves, but that we have been unable to understand these failures and to learn from them how we might succeed.

Much of our policy in Vietnam has been based on the historical analogy of our encounter with Nazism and Stalinism, an experience of ten to thirty years ago. A group of historians has now examined a past more recent and more relevant: the history of American involvement in Vietnam itself since 1963. Their findings are presented in the attached study.

The historians disclose a disturbing pattern of connections between negotiations and escalation, between political opportunities to approach peace and military actions that widen the war. The authors are well aware that, working only from the public record, their facts are incomplete and their perspective partial. Yet, the recent pattern they discern in the history of United States policy is of such grave import that we believe it to merit your serious attention: if wrong, to be refuted by evidence; if right, to become a guide to policy...

Respectfully,

Charles A. Bane, John C. Bennett, Eugene Carson Blake,
Robert McAfee Brown, Benjamin J. Bittenwieser,
Benton R. Cancell, Grenville Clark, Barry Commoner,
Clifford J. Durr, William Eastlake, Marriner S. Eccles,
Robert C. Garretson, Maxwell Geismar, J.W. Gitt,
Patrick E. Gorman, Abraham J. Heschel, Robert M.
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Lamb, Irving F. Laucks, David Livingston, Arno J. Mayer
James G. Patton, B.T. Rocca, Sr., Frank Rosenblum,
Carl E. Schorske, Jacob J. Weinstein, C. Vann Woodward,

A Citizens' White Paper on U. S. responses to pressures for a political settlement of the Vietnam War, prepared by a team of competent scholars, was submitted to the White House four months ago. A cover letter signed by 29 prominent and responsible American leaders and educators urged that the people of this nation be given a forthright official reply to the disturbing conclusions of this study.

Since no adequate official response has been made, this white paper is now being called to the attention of the American people through the publication of an expanded book-length edition entitled

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—ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

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HAROLD WILSON

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we don't know, of course, what their future will be.

The whole tone of the article suggested that Upward Bound was merely a "summer romance" and thus may be a "colossal fraud" perpetrated on poverty kids with what you call low ability. You failed to emphasize that every Upward Bound program is a *year-round* program in which the college takes direct responsibility to keep close track of their Upward Bound students via tutoring, return academic sessions back on the campus, and close work with the guidance people in the high schools to which the students returned.

I particularly regret that such a distinguished scholar as Dr. Kenneth Clark seems so pessimistic about Upward Bound. Unfortunately for us, he has never talked with us about Upward Bound. The program is carried on in 216 colleges, universities, and prep schools from the University of Maine to the College of Guam. So far as I know, his contact—and your reporter's—with Upward Bound is narrowed to the New York City region alone.

In a real sense, all anti-poverty programs are a gamble. I was a bit surprised to see *The Reporter* so eager to hedge the bet.

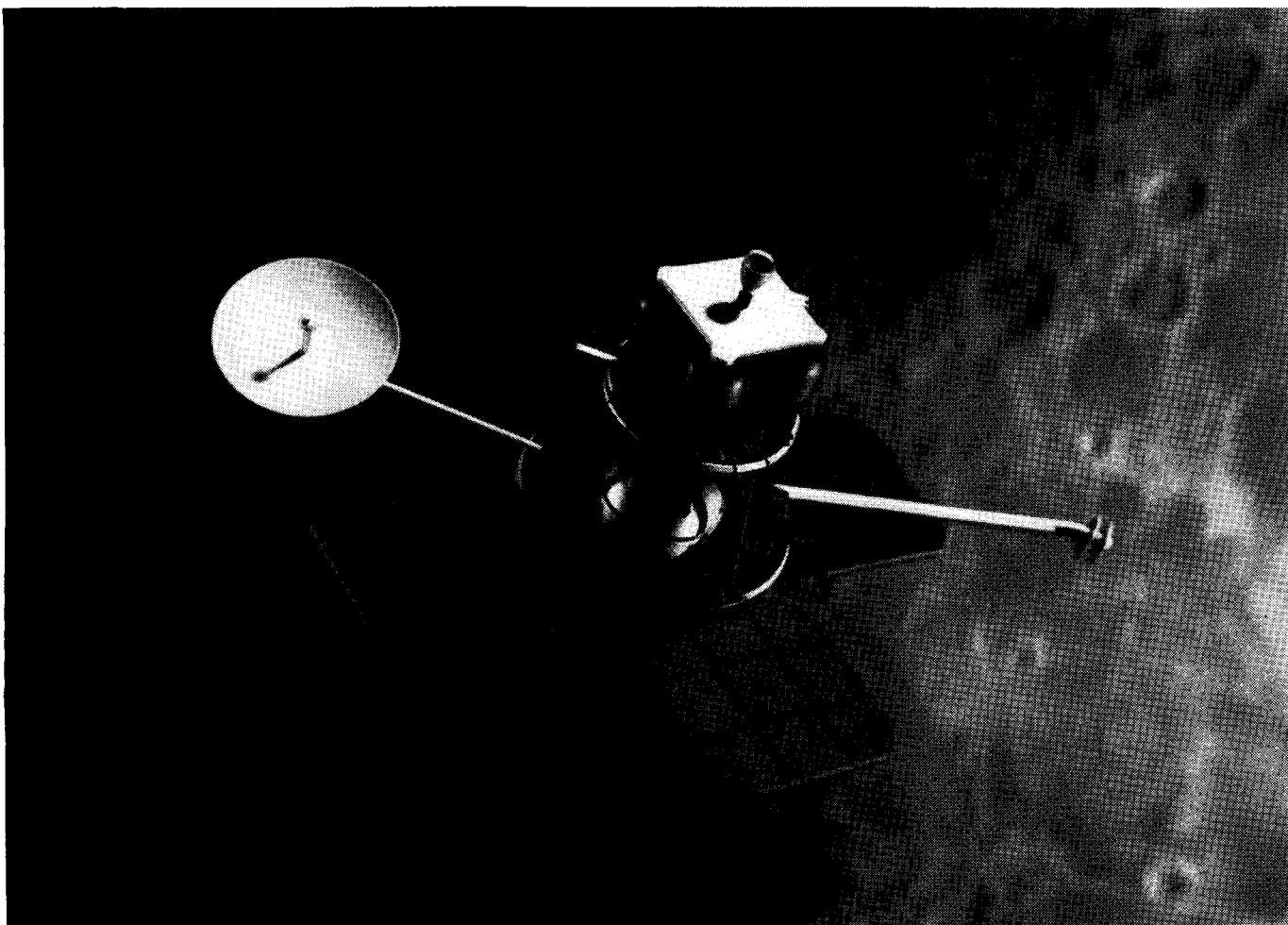
RICHARD T. FROST
Director
Project Upward Bound
Washington, D.C.

EAST SIDE

To the Editor: I yield to no one in my respect and admiration for Dr. Alfred Werner as an art critic, writer, and lecturer. But as the author of "In the Land of Promise" (*The Reporter*, October 6) he does not possess sufficient knowledge of the East Side, especially for the years prior to 1947 when Dr. Werner came to these shores.

As a native American and East Sider during my youth, whose parents came here and settled on the East Side in the middle 1880's, I can say honestly that while the East Side was not "a bed of roses," it was far from a place of "suffering" in those early years. For these immigrants came to the Promised Land, indeed, or "Goldene Medina" (the golden land), where they were emancipated, to seek economic opportunities and education, if not for themselves then for their children. Dr. Werner, if he was more conversant with the subject, could write about the remarkable work of the Educational Alliance, with its religious and social service work; of Cooper Union with its free public lectures, its public libraries, night and evening high schools, its numerous preparatory schools, for those young men and women anxious to obtain a higher education and who eventually went to the universities and graduated as doctors, lawyers, accountants, etc. This was the East Side as I and thousands of others knew it and loved it.

WILLIAM GOLDFINGER
Bronx, New York



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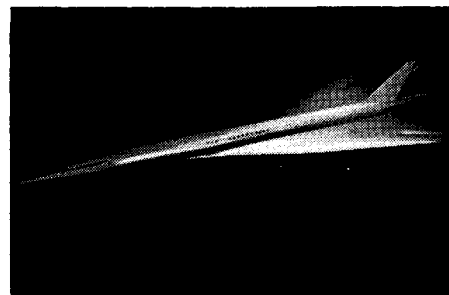
astronauts. In addition, Orbiter data revealed exact shape of moon and its gravitational characteristics. Astronomers report Orbiter sent back more moon information than had been learned in the past 50 years. Designed and built by Boeing for NASA, Orbiter's first flight began 28 months, 15 days after contract signing, shortest span ever for a major U.S. spacecraft.

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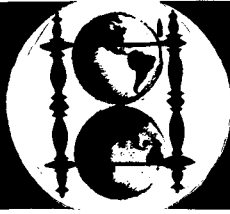
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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Uncle Ezra's Legacy

It is not quite a tragedy but certainly it has gone far enough to be more than a nuisance, this feud between the President and the purveyors of information and reflection on national affairs. While a degree of reciprocal detachment is useful in the exercise of the responsibility each side has, the animosity that has been growing between the two has been harmful to everyone concerned, the national interest included. Even in the most authoritative press, the analysis of the President's utterances has been reduced to a translation of his words into what he is supposed to have meant—as if Lyndon Johnson's sayings needed to be put into plainer English. The President reacts by wishing that these middlemen, as he calls them, be forced into occupational unemployment.

He has his own notion of how this can be done: by taking to the hustings and reaching the people directly. He feels reinvigorated by the warmth of the masses surging around him, and his words are answered by roars of consent. Where is the need for brokers, radio and TV included? In Newark, on October 7, he addressed a large crowd and urged the election of a Congress at least as good, he said, as this last one, whose record is unsurpassed by all the preceding ones as “measured by laws that mean something to people—that is p-e-e-p-u-l—that is p-e-e-p-l-e—that is p-e-o-p-l-e. You know what I am talking about. I am talking about folks. I am talking about average fellows.”

If it is relaxation he looks for, this perfectly suits LBJ. For him, the people, no matter how spelled, are not an abstract, legal, or moralistic figure of speech, and he himself finds he is not just a symbol of power when he is in their midst. But this can happen only once in a while, for the responsibilities

crowded upon him are too many and the country too big. Moreover, he is about the last person who should complain about middlemen, for what is a politician if not a middleman, and what does the President do on the hustings if not promote his team of middlemen against their competitors?

The brokers of news and ideas are not much different from those of politics, the middlemen between the citizens' interests and institutions. The politician's license to hold an elective office is subject to periodic re-evaluation by the voters, whose mood is fickle; or else he can exert his power behind the scenes as a boss. Bossism, in our day, has acquired a particularly malodorous reputation as power accountable to nobody. There is probably more unscrupulous bossism in the world of the intelligentsia, journalism included, than in politics, and the ethics of politics is, on the whole, superior. Only at the lowest level has a politician something to gain by pricing his conscience and making it tearfully available to the highest bidder.

The intelligentsia has its own politics, which has led a large section of it to attack Johnson's Presidency with ever-increasing bitterness. It is unfortunate that the President has been unable to exert a greater restraint on his own resentment, thereby asking for more punishment from honorable men who seem to have suffered a relapse into adolescent meanness. But, it is said, the same thing happened to Lincoln and to Roosevelt and to Truman. So the litany goes, except that, in our time, the abuse heaped on the President comes from a widely diversified section of the intelligentsia and finds an easy echo in a large number of foreign lands.

Lyndon Johnson's lack of universal popularity cannot be attributed exclusively to the ill will of the domestic middlemen. This,

however, is a factor of notable importance. The President and most of our professionals of political thinking and reporting seem destined to rub each other the wrong way. What is the reason? Not even the Vietnam war can explain it, for the idea of our nation's responsibility for preventing the expansion of Communism had been more or less officially recognized by the intelligentsia. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, far from being restricted to any specific continent, were promised to the whole of the human race and greatly contributed to his popularity among intellectuals.

SINCE the United States came into existence, it has constantly tried to address the outside world in terms of universal principles. When it found itself a world power, concerned with what happens all over the globe, two ever-concurrent, ever-recurrent conflicting attitudes have been characteristic of America. The first is: why isn't everybody like us? Why don't people on other continents get together in more perfect unions? The second is: but every nation *is* like ours, no matter what it thinks it is. Forms of government, ideologies, etcetera, mean little or nothing. What really matters is development.

Lyndon Johnson is boundlessly dedicated to these two policies or attitudes. He wants to have them realized as soon as it is humanly possible, together with the fullest realization of the American dream at home. But these are also the inclinations of the professionals of political expression. Sometimes the difference between Johnson and his bitterest opponents can be found in the predilection for words: he likes “consensus,” for instance, while the word long cherished before was “center.” Johnson's program is the one of his immediate predecessors, but writ large and global. He is not overburdened by a sense of history,