

CORRESPONDENCE

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

To the Editor: I read George Martelli's "Portugal's African Provinces" (*The Reporter*, December 29) with great interest. Mr. Martelli is, to my mind, an acute and accurate reporter. His article does justice to Portugal's aims in Africa with its dual commitment to a truly integrated society and to Christian civilization.

One argument often made against Portugal with regard to its African provinces is that Portugal is maintaining these provinces solely to protect its balance-of-payments position. As international bankers for Portugal we have studied the accounts of the country with great care. The truth of the matter is that the international accounts of Metropolitan Portugal are in balance without relying on the benefits from its African provinces. It is also true that Metropolitan Portugal contributes heavily to capital investment in its African provinces, which investment could be well used in Metropolitan Portugal.

PETER M. FLANIGAN, Vice President
Dillon, Read & Co., Inc.
New York

To the Editor: One of the most elusive things to document in Africa must be the presence and influence of Communists as instructors or members of the various guerrilla movements. In the past, *The Reporter* has described the defeat of Russian intrigues in Ghana, of the Chinese in Burundi and elsewhere, and of the failures of Nasser in the Organization for African Unity. Now George Martelli, who writes like a propagandist for Lisbon, tries again to raise the tattered old ghost of the Communist menace to discredit the African nationalist leaders fighting Portugal in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea.

I have had the pleasure of spending several hours with both Dr. Eduardo Mondlane and Holden Roberto and I would say that both are far more democratic and more constructively anti-Communist than Portugal's Salazar.

HUGH GRAINGER
Washington, D.C.

FLORENCE

To the Editor: Sidney Alexander's "Florence After the Deluge," in your December 15 issue, was the more deeply moving to me in that it brought back so vividly my own experiences during my two trips to the stricken city in November. Professor Alexander writes with great eloquence and force about what is certainly one of the major cultural disasters of modern times. I am especially glad that he brought out not only the great sufferings to which the people of Florence and its surroundings have been subjected, but the quiet heroism with which they attacked the unimaginable mountains of mud and

debris to which their possessions and their creations have been reduced. Between my two trips the Florentines had already made great progress. But they face crushing economic hardships and bitter cold this winter.

Unfortunately, the last weeks have shown the truth of what I had feared all along—that the catastrophe to the cultural heritage of Florence is turning out to be vastly greater than anyone was in a position to state a month ago. The three hundred thousand damaged volumes in the Biblioteca Nazionale have grown to 1.3 million. The task of rehabilitation is inconceivable, but is being attacked with modern scientific methods, after the first necessarily primitive attempts at salvage.

The nightmare of the next few months is going to be the fate of the great monuments themselves, and the frescoes painted on their walls. You cannot have mud and water surging around and through a building at forty or forty-five miles an hour, and then standing for days, without serious effects on walls and foundations. The Brancacci Chapel, for example, with its frescoes by the great Masaccio, Masolino, and Filippino Lippi, was first reported as quite safe. Now it appears that the water entered the crypt below the chapel and sapped the foundations, and the walls on which the frescoes are painted have had to be shored up from the outside. We must expect many other hideous surprises, perhaps even the collapse of walls and towers in some churches.

The Florentine people are well aware that their cultural heritage is not only their proudest possession but a worldwide responsibility. They are immensely grateful for what is being done, in this country and elsewhere, to assist them in their colossal task. I know I speak for my colleagues on the executive committee when I say that the Committee to Rescue Italian Art, an organization that has now grown throughout the country and enlisted the imagination and allegiance of American youth to an unprecedented degree, appreciates deeply the opportunities that *The Reporter* has given its work.

FREDERICK HARTT
Professor of the History of Art
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

WEE INTEGRATED PALS

To the Editor: Martin F. Nolan's "New (Sob!) Trends in the Comics" (*The Reporter*, December 29) is mistaken. *Joe and Asbestos*, *The Phantom*, and *Mandrake the Magician* are not the only integrated serial comics. The politically conservative *Oakland Tribune* has carried the delightful *Wee Pals* by Morrie Turner for quite a while. As with the television program *I Spy*, *Wee*

Pals makes its point subtly by presenting a racially integrated situation with high good humor.

LYNDA HICKOX ROBINSON
Orinda, California

BOUQUET

To the Editor: I've been meaning to write to tell you what an excellent publication I think *The Reporter* is. I came upon it a couple of years ago at about the same time I decided the *New York Times* was giving me all the news they saw fit to print about Vietnam. *The Reporter*, I believe, is a professional journal where the facts are more important than the story and where the editors don't toe anybody's line on any issue. They just keep their feet on the ground. My only regret about *The Reporter* is that it comes out too seldom.

BRIAN J. McMAHON
Masco Corporation
Detroit, Michigan

SEGREGATED SUBURBS

To the Editor: Congratulations to Mayor Tom Mayers of Stamford, and condolences, too. John R. Wolf's article "Stamford's Attempt to Integrate Suburbia" (*The Reporter*, December 29) proves again that the South has nothing on the North when it comes to bigotry. In fact, the kind of Northerners who give loud verbal support (and maybe \$10, tax-deductible, to the NAACP) to integration in Mississippi but exclude Negroes in their own communities are hypocrites and therefore worse than unabashed Southern segregationists.

DAVID ALLEN
Norwalk, Connecticut

UNFUNNY FLICKS

To the Editor: I thought that it was me against the world on Richard Lester. And then I read James Maxwell's "Not So Funny" (*The Reporter*, December 29). He is quite right. *The Knack* and *A Funny Thing Happened* were nowhere as interesting as the stage versions.

JEROME AGEL, Editor-Publisher
Books/
New York

IDEALS AND REALITY

To the Editor: Efreem Sigel's account of his own experiences ("A Peace Corpsman Looks Back," *The Reporter*, December 29) and his evaluation of the Peace Corps as a whole were refreshingly candid, modest, and realistic. These are qualities for which neither members of the much-discussed younger generation nor promulgators of the Peace Corps in Washington have been remarkable so far. Unless, as Mr. Sigel suggests, the young volunteers' sights are set realistically, the disillusionment that is bound to follow their contact with intractable problems will turn their idealism into cynicism, reaction, and irresponsibility by the time they get a chance to run things their way.

RICHARD BAILEY
Sarasota, Florida

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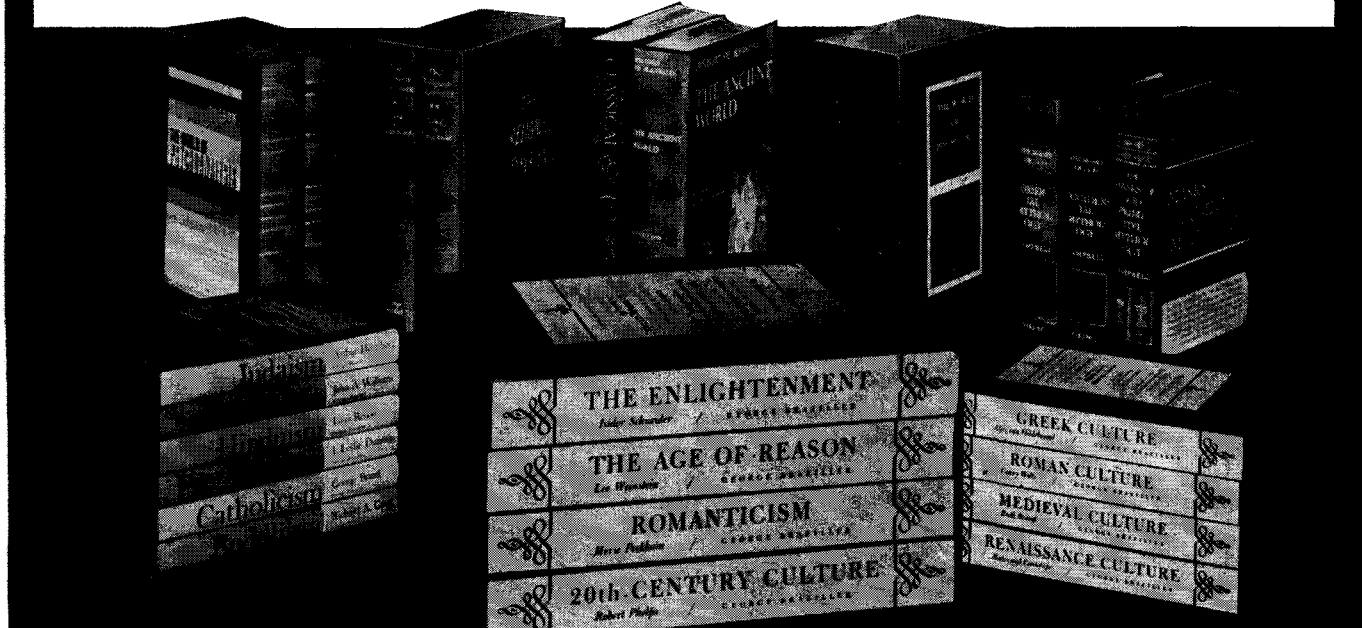
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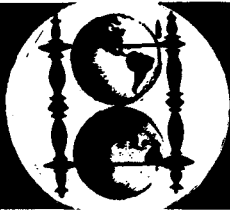
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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The State of the Union

There is a quality of wholeness in this latest message, earnest as the man who unrhethorically delivered it. One after another, issues of race and of justice and of education that for too long had been considered among the promises of America are moving from the potential to the real, together with our commitment to a world a large part of which is alien to us and which we do not covet.

All this the President said at unusual length but not verbosely. Of course he could not give an adequate explanation for many of his statements—for instance, “We are in the midst of a great transition, a transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership. . . .” Does he see it happening in Latin America, of all places, which he mentioned immediately afterward as an example? As for Africa, he said that it “stands at an earlier stage of development. . . .” In general, we consider regionalism as nationalism writ large.

The President is absolutely right on Vietnam: “We have chosen to fight a limited war in Vietnam in an attempt to prevent a larger war—a war that’s almost certain to follow, I believe, if the Communists succeeded in overrunning and taking over South Vietnam by aggression and by force.”

Since he delivered his message a year ago, the President has had to face major difficulties in the management of the nation’s economic affairs and in the conduct of a war he himself wants to keep limited. He has become the object of a maniacal, scurrilous hatred of such proportions and venom as to be a national shame. His 1967 message proved how his self-possession has been strengthened by the ordeal he has gone through.

—M.A.

Sic Transit Everything, Baby

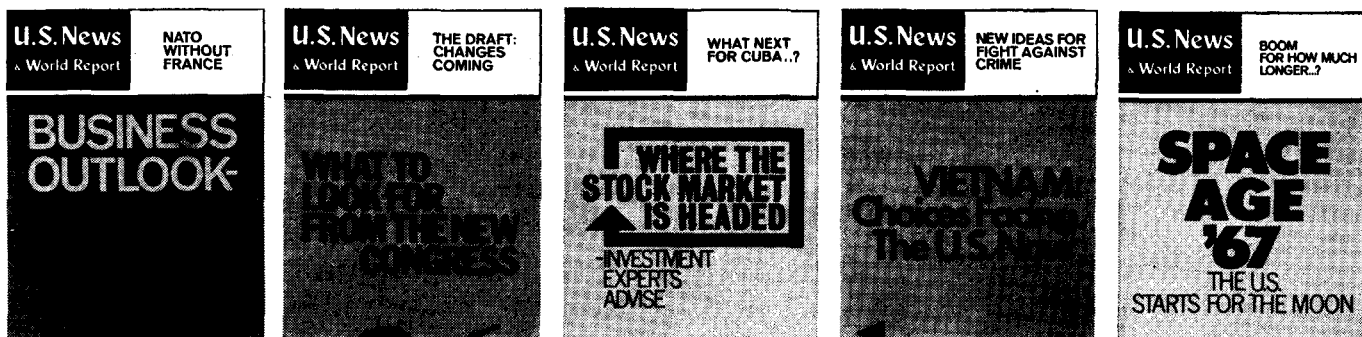
In January of 1961, sixteen hundred persons attended a gay testimonial banquet at New York City’s Commodore Hotel. It was sponsored by the congregation of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and an ad hoc citizens’ committee, and its purpose was to do honor to Representative Adam Clayton Powell on the occasion of his ascent to the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee. President Kennedy and Eleanor Roosevelt sent telegrams of good will. Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff passed up a White House social function in order to be present to offer their personal blessings to Powell. The Congressman received a silver tea service from his grateful parishioners and a marble penstand from his loyal staff. And no one who was there is likely to forget his performance that evening. It was vintage Powell—at once wry, cynical, demagogic, threatening, and (quite evidently) amused by it all. “There’s a saying up in Harlem,” Powell belted to the crowd at one point, “when we get our Negro up, all hell breaks loose!”

At the time, Powell was under indictment for Federal income-tax evasion, and he had also compiled a record of stunning indifference to the duties of the committee he was about to take over. Still, it was widely supposed on the Hill that Powell would be transformed by the honor and responsibility of his chairmanship, and while it is not necessary to accept his own currently inflated version of what he has accomplished, it is only fair to say that he did propel a good deal of legislation through his committee smoothly and skillfully.

Powell’s partisans and his critics have been busy weighing the rel-

ative importance of his achievements and his lapses over the past six years, but there has been another development in the same period that is not without its relevance to the Congressman’s fortunes—namely, the growth of the Negro protest movement and the acceleration of its demands. Powell is not the only Negro leader who has had to do some fancy footwork to keep up with the movement’s more violent and confused spokesmen, but he has stood in a unique relation to them in one respect. Perhaps the most unfortunate and self-damaging line to be cultivated by various Negro leaders in the current struggle is that which justifies, romanticizes, and encourages a kind of glorified criminality as the proper part for the Negro to play in his community and in society at large. It is a strain that runs, for instance, through the recent writings of James Baldwin with his unconvincing exaltation of petty crime as a form of racial revenge. It was apparent in the mindless approbation with which some civil-rights enthusiasts greeted the carnage of Watts. Congressman Powell’s legal and financial escapades substantially antedate this strange development, but he has found refuge in it. It was a short step from his followers’ (and his own) assertions that he was being singled out for punishment because of the color of his skin to a kind of exuberant acceptance of Powell’s depredations as a calculated blow at white supremacy and, consequently, a blow for social justice.

THE INSULT to Negroes inherent in all this has escaped his Negro followers. They were holding vigils for him in Washington as Congress opened and chanting their distress on the Capitol steps. And precisely because of their sense of grievance and the depth of their feeling—however misplaced—it is the more re-



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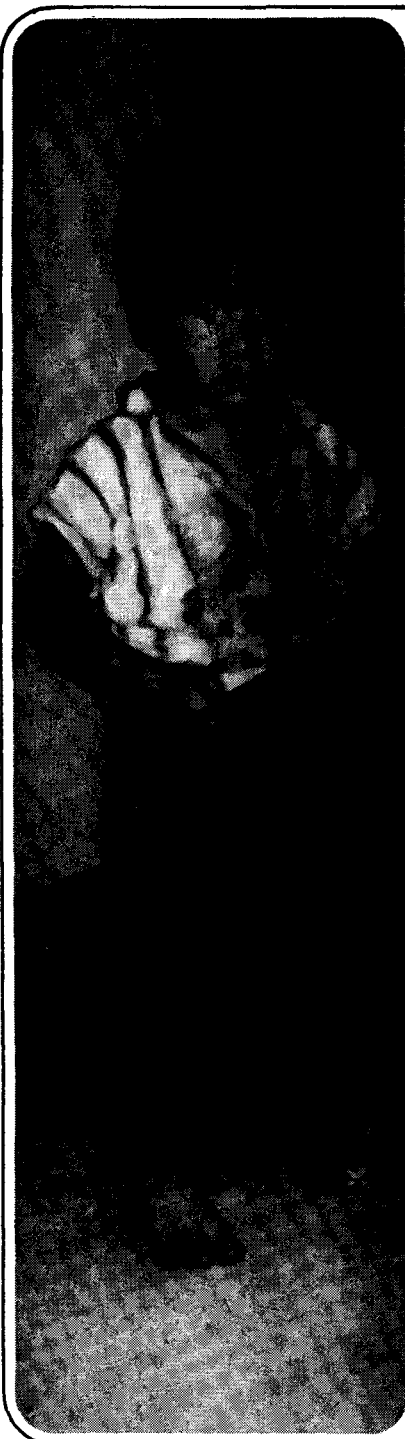
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grettable that the House drew up an indictment that was breathtaking in its substantive and procedural sloppiness. To a very great extent, the members were acting on political motivations. Speaker John McCormack, who returned late to Washington, completely misjudged the strength of the anti-Powell feeling in the House and spent a few fruitless days defending Powell for the sake of the seniority system.

In the end a Republican plan was passed to deny Powell his seat pending an investigation. At no time (and nowhere in the resolution) was any charge brought against him, nor was it stated on what grounds his seat was being denied him. Moreover, the committee that was to be appointed was given no instructions as to its mandate or the criteria—Constitutional or otherwise—by which it was to judge Powell's right to take his seat. Indeed, after the first flush of excitement, Capitol Hill newsmen began to receive inquiries from their editorial offices: what was Powell being tried for exactly, and what would he have to prove to keep his seat? They were obliged to reply that they didn't know.

We are hard put to it to think of a situation requiring more care and fairness and precision in its handling—or one receiving less. The prospect, whether the committee recommends seating or not, is for the return to Congress of Powell by ever larger majorities of voters who will accept neither his fall from grace nor their own lack of Congressional representation. It remains to be seen whether Powell will be able, as he puts it, to get their Negro up and whether, as is predicted, all hell will break loose. His colleagues in the House have enhanced the possibility.

Taking Out the Bugs

For the first time in recent memory, those anxious to close the legal loopholes that permit wiretapping and bugging feel they have a chance to take action, thanks to the strong position taken by the President in his State of the Union message.

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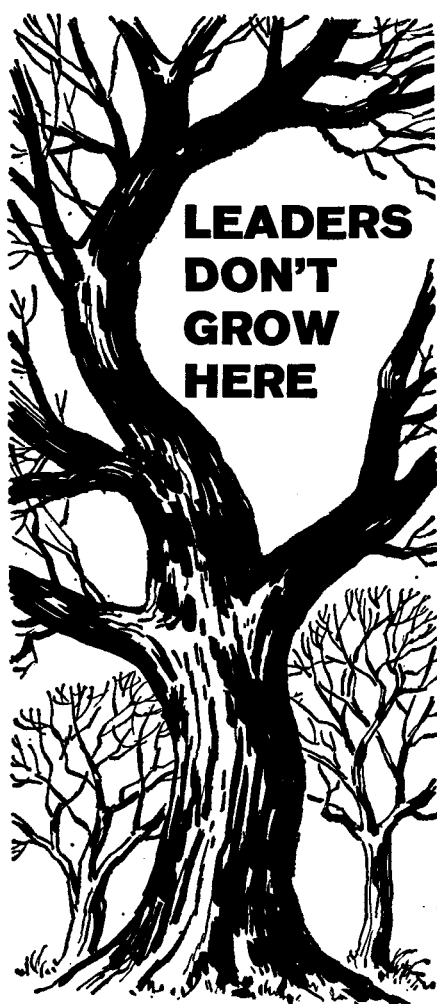
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person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any conversation and divulge or publish" the contents of any such conversation. The Federal government—and indirectly the state governments—are thus blocked from introducing evidence in court that has been acquired through a wiretap. But the law-enforcement agents at both levels felt, and to some degree still feel, that they are free to listen and follow up on the leads produced. In the summer of 1965, President Johnson prohibited all Federal wiretapping and eavesdropping not approved by the Attorney General.

Aside from a fleeting look at the problem during a set of Senate hearings last year on a wide range of criminal laws, there have been no legislative hearings on wiretapping or eavesdropping in Congress since 1962. At that time Attorney General Kennedy sent up a bill that would have prohibited all wiretapping—eavesdropping was not yet a concern—by private persons and required Federal and local agents to obtain court permission to tap a phone. But Federal agencies would have been allowed to employ wiretapping in cases involving murder, kidnapping, extortion, bribery, narcotics dealings, and organized crime such as gambling, in addition to matters of national security. Moreover, local police would have been free to tap phones in the same kind of cases with the exception of those involving organized crime.

As in the past, the legislation was presented as a bill to check invasions of privacy, but actually was designed to legalize many uses of wiretapping. As Kennedy told a House Judiciary Subcommittee on May 22, 1962: "Indeed, one of the major reasons we are proposing this legislation is because under existing law the privacy of telephone users is not adequately protected." He then added: "But this right of privacy, like most other individual rights in our society, is not absolute or unqualified. Society also has a right to use effective means of law enforcement to protect itself from espionage and subversion, from murder and kidnapping and from organized crime and racketeering." Congress refused to buy the package and the legislation never

reached the floor of either chamber.

The Johnson administration has not yet sent its own proposals to Congress. But in his message, Johnson indicated a far more restrictive approach. "We should outlaw all wiretapping—public and private—wherever and whenever it occurs," he said, "except when the security of this nation itself is at stake—and only then with the strictest governmental safeguards."

Chairman Emanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee said he would introduce a bill that would make it "unlawful across the board" for anyone to plant a bug or tap a phone and Senator Edward Long (D., Missouri), indicated that he would offer comparable legislation in the Senate. And Representatives John Moss (D., California) and Cornelius Gallagher (D., New Jersey), who heads a special invasion-of-privacy subcommittee, have already introduced severely restrictive legislation. In all the proposals, Federal agents would be permitted to tap a phone line or bug a conversation in a matter of "national security."

Despite the optimism of those pushing for controls, the passage of such legislation is far from assured. The libertarian spirit may overtake more legislators this year than before, but perhaps not enough to overcome the die-hards who believe that the local police—and the FBI—should be armed with every available weapon to combat crime. It is conceivable, however, that the Presidential guarantee of government action in other areas of crime prevention and reduction will be enough to assuage them.

Intestinal Fortitude

As we go forth bravely into the New Year in a welter of tax returns for the past year and amid promises that 1967 is going to cost us even more, we are grateful to Wallachs clothing store in New York for an advertisement announcing that we, as flesh-and-blood creatures, are keeping pace with whatever financial crises the future may hold. The value of the human body, Wallachs tells us (judged by the price of the chemicals it contains), has risen from 98 cents to more than thirty-five dollars.

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Titoism's Failure

GEORGE BAILEY

IN SAMUEL JOHNSON'S philosophic tale *Rasselas*, a great astronomer in desperate search of a successor reveals to a friend that he has been entrusted with the regulation of the weather and the distribution of the seasons: "The sun has listened to my dictates and passed from tropic to tropic by my direction; the clouds, at my call, have poured their waters, and the Nile has overflowed at my command; I have restrained the dog-star and mitigated the fervours of the Crab. The winds alone, of all the elemental powers, have hitherto refused my authority, and multitudes have perished by equinoctial tempests, which I have found myself unable to prohibit or restrain." The astronomer admits that "nothing but the consciousness of good intention could have enabled me to support the weariness of unremitted vigilance."

An ambitious regulator of our time made a similar declaration not long ago: "I am responsible not only for industrialization and agriculture but also for culture," explained Josip Broz Tito. "As the Secretary General of the party I am responsible to history and to our people for a straightforward course in the development of our country." Like Samuel Johnson's astronomer, Tito, too, has had trouble restraining the winds. It was criticism of his attempt to regulate cultural matters that prompted this expansive statement of responsibility.

And it is small wonder that criticism should have mounted. Tito's attempt to create a seemingly workable substitute not only for Stalinist Communism but also for bourgeois social democracy—his desire to pose as the possessor of a panacea for the modern world's sociological and

foreign-policy problems—has led him into a morass of politico-economic nonsense.

THE PROCLAMATION of the Workers' Councils self-management system in the early 1950's as the "Yugoslav way" of decentralizing economic and social enterprises was the outgrowth of the break with Stalin's totalitarian Cominform. There was nowhere else to go while maintaining public ownership of the means of production. However, the two ideologues among the country's political leaders, Edvard Kardelj and Milovan Djilas, were the first to realize that the new system could not work, since introducing the councils would inevitably mean stripping the party of its regulatory functions.

Nevertheless Djilas, in his ideological zeal, was deceived by the promise the innovation seemed to