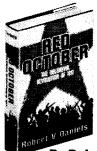
# New views of history



RED OCTOBER The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917

By Robert V. Daniels

What actually occurred in those fateful days of October, 1917, when the Bolshevik Party seized power from the Provisional Government in Petrograd? Using all available sources, Robert V. Daniels vividly recreates this decisive event in world history. He offers surprising new insights that cut away the distortions and hearsay that have kept this period in shadow for many years. "... one of the best books to date on the Russian Revolution of 1917... warmly recommended."

—Library Journal

Illustrated. \$6.95

SARAH



### OF MARLBOROUGH

#### By David Green

The definitive biography of one of the great ladies of English history who played a central role in England's Augustan Age. Ancestor of Sir Winston Churchill, Sarah experienced Queen Anne's favor and disfavor, eminence and exile, in her long and eventful life. Drawing on the entire collection of Sarah's papers at Blenheim and never-before published letters and portraits of the period, David Green has written a distinguished book on a remarkable figure. "A full, new biography, bursting with information."

—Publishers' Weekly \$6.95

**SCRIBNERS** 

#### THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, Editor and Publisher

Executive Editor, Philip Horton

Senior Editor, Derek Morgan

Art Director, Reg Massie

Associate Editor, Kenneth Goodall

Washington Editor, Meg Greenfield

Literary Editor, Nora Magid

Associate Editor, Kenneth Goodall

Copy Editor, Elizabeth Stille

Writers: Claire Sterling, Edmond Taylor, George Bailey, Denis Warner, Martin Nolan

Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (Asst. to the Editor), Louisa Messolonghites (Asst. to Editors),

Ruth Ames (Librarian), John A. Anderson, Jr., Lee Culpepper, Elizabeth N. Layne

General Manager, John J. Borghi

Circulation Manager, George Hinckley

Director of Advertising, Roger J. Lederer

Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander

Controller, Anthony E. Lanza

Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 37, NO. 7

NOVEMBER 2, 1967

#### California Politics

A DEMOCRATIC DISASTER AREA . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . James Phelan 18

How Do You Fight Shirley Temple? . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Julius Duscha 21

#### At Home & Abroad

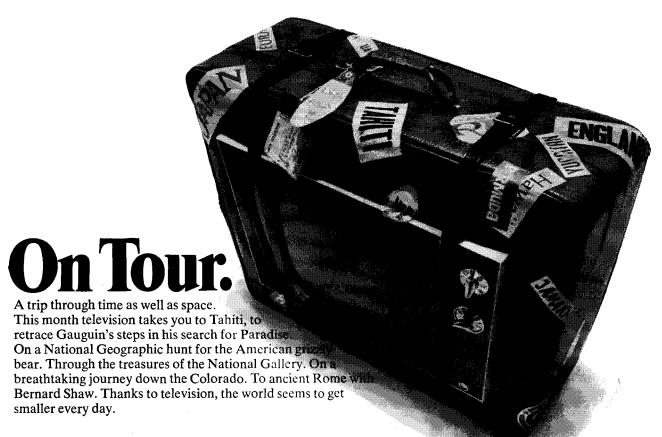
DE GAULLE'S ECONOMIC REFORMS Edmond Taylor 24
CAN THE SOUTHERN NEGRO EXODUS BE STEMMED? Paul Clancy 27
CARTOON
LEE KUAN YEW'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL Denis Warner 36
OKINAWA'S FUTURE AND FAR-EAST SECURITY Martin E. Weinstein 39
GARY'S NEXT MAYOR: WHITE, PINK, OR BLACK?

#### Views & Reviews

A FLAW IN THE CRUST OF THE EARTH (SHORT STORY) Anne Tyler 43
To Nessus (verse)
A WALK WITH GERHART HAUPTMANN Ferenc Kormendi 47
BACK TO THE CASBAH
A Polish Musician for Our Time Roland Gelatt 53
REALISM (VERSE)
Books:
COMMUNICATION GAP
OPENING THE UNIONS TO NEGRO CRAFTSMEN Kenneth Goodall 56
OLD EZ AND UNCLE WILLIAM Daniel Hoffman 59
THE REPORTER PUZZLE

THE REPORTEE. November 2, 1967, Volume 37, No. 7. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021. © 1967 by The Reporter Magazine Company, All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year \$7, Two years \$11, Three years \$14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, \$.50 per year; all other countries, \$1.00 per year. Please give four weeks notice when changing address, sping old and new address. Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, Box 501. Des Moines, lowa 50302. Indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and Public Affairs Information Service.

Manuscripts or attwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork. Editoriol and Business Office: 660 Medison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021; Phone: Templeton 2-8800. Washington Office: 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 298-8186.



Grizzly!—National Geographic Society: A conservation hunt for the grizzly bear. Wednesday, Nov. 1 (7:30-8:30 pm)

Benjamin Britten and His Aldeburgh Festival—Bell Telephone Hour: A study of the composer and his contributions to the celebrated Festival. Friday, Nov. 3 (10-11 pm)

Look Up and Live—Choice, The Imperative of Tomorrow: A four-part series dealing with man's power to affect the world and the radical choices facing him as a result of modern technology. Sunday, Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26 (10:30-11am)

Discovery—State Fair; Monsters of the Ocean Deep; The Island People; The Vanishing Wilderness (conservation trip down the Colorado River with Sen. Robert Kennedy). Sunday, Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26 (11:30-12 Noon)

Directions—Bells; Two Boxes of Wood (dramas of the impact of war on the individual); The Church in Contemporary Life; Religion and National Affairs. Sunday, Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26 (1-1:30 pm)

A Bell for Adano—Hallmark Hall of Fame: John Forsythe and Kathleen Widdoes star in the drama based on John Hersey's novel. Saturday, Nov. 11 (7:30-9 pm)

A Man and His Music + Ella + Jobim-Frank Sinatra special with guests Ella Fitzgerald and Antonio Carlos Jobim. Monday, Nov. 13 (9-10 pm)

What About Ronald Reagan?—Who, What, When, Where, Why, with Harry Reasoner: An analysis of the man and his political rise.
Tuesday, Nov. 14 (10-11 pm)

Androcles and the Lion—Richard Rodgers' musical version of George Bernard Shaw's comedy starring Noel Coward, Ed Ames, Inga Swenson, Brian Bedford and Norman Wisdom as Androcles. Wednesday, Nov. 15 (7:30-9 pm)

Dial 'M' for Murder—Laurence Harvey, Diane Cilento and Hugh O'Brian star in Frederick Knott's Broadway play. Wednesday, Nov. 15 (9-11 pm)

The National Gallery of Art— American Profile: A revealing look at the art treasures of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., narrated by Robert Culp. Friday, Nov. 17 (10-11 pm)

Gauguin in Tahiti—The Search for Paradise: CBS News focuses on the impressionist painter's years in Tahiti, with Sir Michael Redgrave as the voice of Gauguin. Tuesday, Nov. 21 (10-11 pm)

One Night Stands—A tribute to performers who are keeping alive an almost disappearing form of show business. Tuesday, Nov. 21 (10-11 pm)

Thanksgiving Day Parades—The annual events. Thursday, Nov. 23 (10-12 Noon)

Television Information Office 745 Fifth Avenue, New York 10022 Can You Hear Me?—ABC News focuses on the problems of the deaf. Monday, Nov. 27 (9:30-10 pm)

An Essay on Chairs—Who, What, When, Where, Why, with Harry Reasoner: You can tell a man by the chair he sits in. Tuesday, Nov. 28 (10-10:30 pm)

Regularly Scheduled Programs— Monday through Friday: Captain Kangaroo/Today/ Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: CBS News Hour/Who, What, When, Where, Why, with Harry Reasoner

Thursdays: Good Company

Fridays: NBC News Special/Bell Telephone Hour

Saturdays: Captain Kangaroo/ Sunrise Semester/G-E College Bowl/ Wide World of Sports/ABC Scope: The War in Vietnam

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/ Look Up and Live/Bullwinkle/ Camera Three/Discovery/Directions/ Face the Nation/Meet the Press/ The Eternal Light/Issues and Answers/The Frank McGee Report/ Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also the increasing number of noteworthy local programs.



"A remarkably knowing, informative and sensitive portrait of a man who has ... 'future' written on him."\*

#### THE HEIR APPARENT

Robert Kennedy and the Struggle for Power by William V. Shannon

"From the viewpoint not only of partisans, pro and con, but also of anyone interested in the process of modern American Politics...Robert F. Kennedy is easily the most intriguing figure on the political scene.

"Of the 22 books...that have been written or are being written about Robert Kennedy, THE HEIR APPARENT is doubtlessly one of the most honest and balanced. Mr. Shannon, now a member of the editorial board of The New York Times...is an experienced observer.

"He gives a decision-by-decision account of (Mr. Kennedy's) career...position on Vietnam... and along the way, perceptive portraits of some of Mr. Kennedy's aides, allies and opponents."

-The New York Times\*

"More compelling than its predecessors...often severely critical...always dispassionate ...at times sympathetic."

-TIME

\$5.95

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 866 Third Avenue, New York 10022

### $W_{HO-}$ $W_{HAT-}$ $W_{HY-}$

THE MAN most to blame for the shambles in the California Democratic Party was a Republican, and his intentions were to do good. Hiram Johnson, twice governor and five times a Senator of the state beginning in 1911, was one of the great reformminded Westerners who founded the Bull Moose Party. In California, Johnson set about, as he thought, to strengthen democracy by instituting cross-filing, eliminating patronage, and introducing the initiative, referendum, and recall. Theoretically this was fine, but its most lasting effect has been to emasculate the party system. Nor has it been possible to build political cohesiveness in an electorate composed of relatively recent immigrants from all over the nation and from widely diverse backgrounds. A popular leader or control of the statehouse can help, but when these are lacking, as James Phelan relates, the party out of power can fall apart. Mr. Phelan writes for national magazines from a Long Beach base. . . . California is also Hollywood. the supplier of illusions and creator of personalities better known than even a President. And in Hollywood if something is box office, you keep following the formula. With George Murphy in the Senate and Ronald Reagan in Sacramento, the logical sequel was a scenario that would send Shirley Temple to Congress. Julius Duscha is associate director of Stanford University's journalism fellowship program.

The DROP of live points.

Of fifty-two per cent in President by de Gaulle's popularity as measured by the latest French poll may reflect some dismay at his adventures in Quebec and Warsaw but probably owes more to discontent among the peasants hit hardest by his new economic-reform decrees. Edmond Taylor reports from Paris, however, that the reforms will strengthen Gaullism in the long run. . . A root cause of unrest in city slums is the migration of rural Southern Negroes to the urban North. Paul Clancy, a political reporter for the Columbia, South Carolina, State, shows why Negroes migrate and how some programs are attempting to offer them opportunities at home. . . . Fernando Krahn's Atlas gets some atomic spinoff. . . . Before he left for his current U.S. visit, Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime

Minister of Singapore, talked to Denis Warner about his nation's struggle for survival and the importance to him of our effort in Vietnam, . . . Another visiting statesman, Premier Sato of Japan, will soon discuss the future of Okinawa with President Johnson. Martin E. Weinstein, currently in Tokyo on a Ford Foundation grant to do research in international politics, argues for restoring administrative control of the island to Japan. . . . Hal Higdon, a free-lance writer in Michigan City, Indiana, has followed the efforts of a Negro to become mayor of nearby Gary.

TO POSSIBLE FEARS there sometimes seems no end. Anne Tyler, who has lived in Montreal, is the author of two novels, If Morning Ever Comes and The Tin Can Tree, both published by Knopf. An excerpt from the latter, "Everything but Roses," appeared in *The Reporter* for September 23, 1965. . . . A collection of David Galler's poems, Leopards in the Temple, will be published by Macmillan in February. . . . Ferenc Kormendi is a Hungarian novelist whose eighteen books have been published in many languages. Adventure in Budapest (1939) was a best seller in this country. "The Emperor's War Games," part of a larger work in progress to be entitled Atlantis Remembered, appeared in The Reporter for November 17, 1966. . . . Jay Jacobs is a frequent contributor. . . . Roland Gelatt edits High Fidelity. . . . Norman Jackson, a Yorkshireman, is poet-inresidence at Keele University in England. . . . Gordon A. Craig is professor of history at Stanford University, and author of War, Politics and Diplomacy: Selected Essays (Praeger), Europe Since 1815 (Holt, Rinehart and Winston), and From Bismarck to Adenauer: Aspects of German Statecraft (Johns Hopkins hardcover, Harper Torchbook paperback). . . . Kenneth Goodall is a member of our staff. . . . Daniel Hoffman, professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of Barbarous Knowledge: Myth in the Poetry of Yeats, Graves, and Muir (Oxford). Two collections of his own poems, also published by Oxford, are The City of Satisfactions and A Little Geste, and Other Poems.

Our Los Angeles cover is by John R. McDermott.

# When an Avis girl winks at you, she means business.

The Avis Winker Code



1 wink: She has a car ready and waiting.



2 winks: It's a compact.



3 winks: It's a convertible.

There you are. Standing in our competitor's line. And in a hurry.

If the Avis girl at the next counter winks at you, you're in business.

One wink means she can put you into a shiny new Plymouth inside of three minutes.

Two or three winks mean you can have a compact or a convertible.

(See Avis Winker Code at left.)

That is your signal to leave the line, come to the Avis counter and get a car without waiting. We will even accept No.1's credit card.

But if the Avis girl winks more than three times, please disregard the message.

It's strictly against company policy.

# Save Sunday Night!

Give us two hours on Sunday night, November 5, and we'll show you something completely new in American television.

It's the premiere of PBL—the first full-scale experiment in nationwide Public Television—produced by the new Public Broadcast Laboratory of National Educational Television.

PBL's goal is to demonstrate every Sunday night just how inventive, provocative and important Public Television can be. It will offer two hours (or maybe more) of incisive reporting, examinations of the arts and sciences, live drama, strong opinion and probing comment. It will venture into subjects commercial television has not touched. It will be completely free of commercial interruptions and advertiser influence.

PBL will use television as it's never been used before to deepen understanding and to offer new perspectives on the issues and events of our time. It will call upon the best minds in the academic world and public life, as well as proven broadcast journalists and top dramatic talent.

This Sunday, and on the Sundays to come, PBL will offer nationwide television audiences subjects like these—



Vietnam: The House Divided

Members of Congress reconsider the Tonkin Gulf resolution and the President's conduct of the war.

#### George Wallace's America

A look at our nation through the eyes of Alabama's controversial ex-Governor, and a profile of Americans who support his Presidential ambitions.

#### The Anti-Commercials

Exclusive reports on misleading commercials, fake advertising claims and phony testimonials.

#### The Criminal's Best Friend: The Supreme Court?

If a policeman needs a lawyer to make an arrest, how many lawbreakers will go free?

#### **Trading Stamps: Trick Or Treat?**

The FTC report on this multi-million dollar sales gimmick triggers a TV inquiry.



#### **Groucho Goes To Washington**

Lampoonist extraordinaire Groucho Marx in a series of profound conversations with leading public figures. Public figure No. 1: Senator Everett Dirksen.

#### Is Censorship A Dirty Word?

What compels prominent members of the community to suppress some of the most important books of our time?

#### The Son Of Spread Eagle

A biting song-and-dance satire on Washington, D.C. as performed in the nation's capital.

#### The Insight Of Walter Lippmann

One of America's foremost thinkers and critics offers his sharp analysis of the state of the nation.



#### Melina Mercouri's Greek Tragedy

The noted actress applies the drama of the Greek classics to the tragedy of today's Greece.

#### There Auto Be A Law

An unprecedented investigation into the laws governing used cars sales, auto insurance, and auto accident cases.

#### Give My Baby Blue Eyes

The incredible progress made by the science of genetics goes under the microscope. How close are we to full control?

#### is The Roman Catholic Church In Trouble?

Why did 43 nuns recently quit the Church? What progress are priests making in their drive for the right to marry? Is the Church serving its parishioners?



#### The Black Arts

Who speaks for the Negro? *He* does, in starkly revealing new plays like this performance of Douglas Turner Ward's explosive comedy, "Day Of Absence."

#### Are You Eating Yourself To Death?

Dramatic new facts on the relationship between diet and heart disease, based on the recent study by the National Heart Institute.

#### Politics: Sell Me A President

The high cost of television campaigning and Madison Avenue image-makers who market candidates with toothpaste techniques. PBL has a better idea.

#### **Grapes of Wrath**

How farm workers use the potent art of satirical theatre in their strike against the fruit growers.

#### **Psychiatry On The Couch**

A probing analysis of the most criticized science. Or is it an art? New developments from the latest psychiatric conference.



#### Black On Black

A South African Negro offers an ironic view of the plight of Negroes living on Harlem's infamous 125th Street.

#### **Generals In Business**

Exploring the relationship between the military and private industry, including the role of retired officers in defense businesses and missile production.

PBL is the first regularly scheduled Public Television series to be seen nationwide. It will be broadcast live and in color on a network of educational, university and community TV stations.

No matter how much (or how little) time you give to television these days, we ask you to save Sunday night, November 5, for PBL. It may not succeed every hour, every week. But it will do its best to leave a markon the medium Walter Lippmann has called "the most remarkable and the most poorly utilized invention since the coming of the printing press."

## PREMIERE SUNDAY NIGHT NOVEMBER 5

8:30 P.M.EST 7:30 CENTRAL 5:30 PACIFIC

On your local educational, university or community TV station

B

Public Broadcast Laboratory

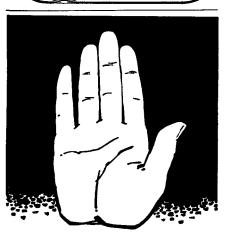


#### ambassador?

Your \$5 sends John F. Kennedy's Profiles in Courage, and nine other carefully chosen American paperbacks, to underdeveloped, book-hungry countries where these books can do the most good. Ed Murrow started BOOKS USA "to help close the book gap." President Johnson says: "I urge all Americans to give BOOKS USA their generous support." Answer the President's appeal; send book packets abroad in your name. Send Food for Thought — Give to BOOKS USA, Box 1960-A, Washington, D.C. 20013.



Make checks payable to BOOKS USA. Contributions are tax-deductible. Space donated by this publication.



# Are you holding up the U.S.MAIL?

YOU ARE if you don't help your Post Office by using Zip Code in the address you are writing to, <u>and</u> in your own return address so others can zip their mail to you.

Published as a public service in cooperation with The Advertising Council

#### CORRESPONDENCE

#### **GREEN BERETS**

To the Editor: John F. Mason's "Whom the Gods Love" (*The Reporter*, September 21) is a vivid portrayal of the daily life of the Montagnard people and the American advisers. The recognition given to this one group is proudly shared by all Special Forces groups from the Delta to the DMZ.

W. C. WESTMORELAND Commanding General, United States Army Vietnam

#### THE OTHER ROCKY

To the Editor: We all respect the talent and perception which Tom Dearmore ("The Rocky of Little Rock," *The Reporter*, October 5) brings to news reporting in Arkansas. Certainly, North Arkansas is fortunate to have a local editor of this caliber.

In my reading of the article, I found it to be a most interesting analysis of the Rockefeller administration and of Governor Rockefeller himself. Mr. Dearmore demonstrates his close observation of the political scene in Arkansas and presents accurately, I feel, the changes occurring in Arkansas politics and state government today.

MAURICE "FOOTSIE" BRITT Lieutenant Governor Little Rock, Arkansas

#### **SLUMS OF ACADEME**

To the Editor: Anything that Rasa Gustaitis ("Columbia's Neighbors: The Slums of Academe," The Reporter, October 5) writes is of great interest to me because she is excellent, but unfortunately, my quote on page 37 was not accurately reported. What I did say was, "I am damned upset. This is the most puzzling use of public land for private interest that I have ever seen."

After stating this, I tried to do everything I could, either to have the project dropped or at least to see that the community got a bigger slice of the pie. In the former I failed miserably. In the latter I believe I helped out.

THOMAS P. F. HOVING, Director The Metropolitan Museum of Art

To the Editor: Several points in Miss Gustaitis's piece are open to question. In the first place, there are walls and gates around the university, it is true, but these are not recent. Further, at normal hours they are open, with signs indicating that neighbors are welcome to enjoy the grounds. Local people do.

On another score, according to the New York *Times*, the crime rate in the area is higher than ever. I know no one who has not experienced it personally. I would say therefore that the efforts of Morningside Heights, Inc., have been unsuccessful. The private

police force of which Miss Gustaitis speaks does not operate in the neighborhood at large, but only in certain spots (institutionally connected property, I assume).

As for one of the major points of the article, the question is raised and not answered: What does a university owe its community? My feeling is that Columbia performs its educational function adequately. There are excellent lectures and there is music, available to all either free or at a token fee. I fail to see where it is the function of an academic institution to overhaul addicts or to rehabilitate a slum.

MARJORIE SMITH New York

To the Editor: Rasa Gustaitis's article deals with an important aspect of the university's changing role. These large schools are no longer isolated sanctuaries; with often heavy remuneration from government and private foundations, they have gone about solving diverse problems all over the country and the world. Thus is it hypocritical of an administration to pretend that it cannot properly be concerned with the problems of its immediate environs—especially when, as in the case of Columbia, it was seeking to demolish a huge section of one neighborhood, Harlem. Miss Gustaitis suggests that Columbia may now have realized that human beings, not just real estate, are involved in any such plans. I hope she is right.

Samuel Legge New York

#### CON THIEN

To the Editor: In the process of editing, some errors crept into my article "Bearing the Brunt at Con Thien" in *The Reporter* of October 19. First, it appeared that I was saying that the 140-mm. rockets used by regular Communist forces were not effective against the blockhouses manned by the South Vietnamese Popular and Regional forces. This of course is not true. The fact is that the rockets were much too valuable to be squandered on such secondary targets.

Again, according to official Marine reports, the losses in wounded during the July 2 action near Con Thien totaled 645, not 170, the figure given by the Pentagon and subsequently included in my article.

DENIS WARNER Mornington, Australia

#### THE GREAT SWAMP

To the Editor: After your reviewer C. W. Griffin, Jr., in The Reporter for October 5, had judged my book Through the Great City "interesting reading," with sections that "illuminate our un-

10

THE REPORTER