

As Others See Us

LONDON:

Manila and Beyond

THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE for Asia is starting to pay off. It has not yet passed its decisive test, which is the test of the battlefield: The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong can be expected to make another attempt this winter to demonstrate that they are willing to go on fighting in South Vietnam longer than the Americans and their allies are. . . . But Mr. Johnson's policy is paying off in another way, and in the end this will determine the result on the battlefield. . . .

What is happening in and around Southeast Asia in 1966 is exactly what happened in and around Southeast Europe in 1947. . . . President Truman . . . gave the non-Communist forces in the region a center of power to rally around. And he started a fierce argument in the Communist camp. . . . A similar process is now visible in Asia's crisis. On the non-Communist side Mr. Johnson is building up a Pacific consensus. On the Communist side the gap between China and Russia is getting wider by the minute. . . .

The most important thing about the communiqué issued at the end of the Manila conference . . . was not the terms it offered for a timed withdrawal of allied troops from South Vietnam. These will become important later on, if and when the North Vietnamese revise their calculations about their chances of vic-

tory. That has not happened yet. What is important now is Mr. Johnson's success in collecting the makings of a non-Communist consensus in the Pacific. . . .

Five years ago a stable Southeast Asia looked like a pipe dream. Now there may be a chance of bringing peace to that shattered region. . . .

-The Economist.

Contradictions in Vietnam?

THE LONG COMMUNIQUE issued . . . after the Manila conference between President Johnson and his Asian allies underlines the basic contradiction in present American policy in Vietnam.

President Johnson wants a negotiated peace leading to an early withdrawal of American forces . . . but the kind of settlement he envisages can only be obtained, if at all, by an outright military victory . . . and can only be maintained by a long-term commitment of American troops. The President clearly has in mind the creation of a South Vietnamese state free of Communist activity, on the lines of South Korea. . . .

At the same time he has pledged that American forces will be withdrawn from South Vietnam not later than six months after "the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides." This pledge may be intended to convince Hanoi and the Communist powers that the United States genuinely means to

withdraw . . . but it is only likely to have that effect if it is coupled with a decision to stop the bombing of North Vietnam and with an indication that the United States would be prepared to accept something less than the virtual surrender of the Communists in the South.

-The Observer.

MANCHESTER:

Needed: A New Warren Report

THE AWFUL BLEND of outrage and patriotism that shook the country in the months after the assassination [of President Kennedy] has dissipated. . . . The fear that the institutions of American government would topple before the truth is no longer lively. . . . It should be possible now to see the thing steadily and see much more of the whole.

Probably there was not (as the new President Johnson was the first to fear) a Cuban or right-wing plot against the American executive branch. . . . Perhaps there was no conspiracy at all. . . . Perhaps Oswald's incredible marksmanship can be made credible. Perhaps some seer can be found to explain the inexplicable Tippit episode. . . . Perhaps it was merely a gruesome coincidence that the only two reporters who went to Ruby's flat just after he shot Oswald were murdered, one in Dallas, one by a police officer in California. Perhaps there was no other assassin.

The Warren Commission fulfilled its second aim: to dispel a welter of alarming rumors and protect the republic. It signal failed in its first aim: "to ascertain, evaluate, and report on" the truth deducible from the facts. Sooner or later, it will have to be done. . . .

*-Alistair Cooke in the
Manchester Guardian Weekly.*

EDINBURGH:

Black Power and the Backlash

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING may be proved right in his prophecy that the Senate's rejection of the latest civil rights bill will help those Negroes who believe in violence and Black Power. The so-called white backlash, after many false alarms, has now become important in American politics. If Dr. King's forecast is correct, and Negro militancy and violence do increase, then there is likely to be a further hardening of white resistance to the idea of having Negro neighbors. The concentration of the Negro population in tumbledown ghetto areas is, of course, one of the primary causes of the frustration and feeling of inferiority which give rise to the racial riots in the Northern cities. Sooner or later a way must be found to escape from the present vicious circle.

-The Scotsman.



As Budapest's Ludas Matyi sees Vietnam.

The Fortune Teller: "You know what the stars say? Quit!"

PARIS:

Bridge-Building Suspended

CERTAIN TRUSTS across the Atlantic . . . are already turning toward the "non-orthodox" Communist countries, which are soon to become industrial powers. But Vietnam prevents the leaders [of these countries] from reciprocating their advances. . . .

Everywhere in Eastern Europe, much more than in Western Europe, the Vietnam affair haunts people's minds. For several years, hope for a lasting coexistence with the United States has constituted [what is] probably the single ray of light on a dark horizon. It was generally thought that President Johnson would put into application the great plans that his predecessor had not had time to realize, notably, "bridge-building" toward Eastern Europe. . . .

Nevertheless it would be false to believe that the United States has once and for all struck the hopes of Eastern Europe from its list. If the governments of these countries see themselves obligated to make harsh statements on Washington policy, they neglect nothing to indicate to the United States that their attitude toward Americans would change once this miserable war in Vietnam is finished.

—Le Monde.

MADRID:

Foothold in Asia

SINCE THE OCCUPATION of the Philippines at the turn of the century, the United States has been a power in the Pacific. Following the two great wars, it has become an Atlantic and European power. But at no time has it been a power in Asia. The broad doctrine of the State Department is consecrated to forging the U.S. into an Asian power by ever more intense physical penetration into the heart of that continent. . . .

For the Chinese there is one fact that is both historically and psychologically insupportable: The United States has set foot on the Asiatic continent. . . . In the same way that the U.S. Asian policy is still "in diapers," so China also is very new to the idea of coexistence with the United States, which they consider totally alien to the continent. It's a sort of Monroe Doctrine in reverse. . . .

The irrepressible rise of the Chinese extremists to power has been accelerated by some very precise psychological conditions. In the same way that the United States has suffered great frustrations, having come to realize, after twenty years of effort, that world peace has fallen apart, so the Chinese have suffered an equivalent frustration. After seventeen years of frenetic industrialization, seventeen years of effort and count-

less sacrifices to find a place in the world of the future and to rescue the masses from their misery, they now find themselves threatened by Yankee bombs and escalation that has no more logical end than the domination of Chinese skies by U.S. aircraft. . . .

Meanwhile, many miles away, in the subcontinent of Europe, the Soviet Union will be able to take all the advantages which it could not up to this time.

—SP.

WARSAW:

Thompson in Moscow

ONE CAN AGREE with President Johnson that from his point of view Llewellyn Thompson will be the right man in the right place in Moscow. Even the best ambassador cannot deviate from the policy of his government or make good the mistakes of this policy. If Washington continues to speak . . . about the will to improve relations with the socialist countries, and at the same time sends further tens of thousands of troops to Vietnam, then even the most experienced diplomat, such as Thompson, will not do much.

—Zycie Warszawy.

MOSCOW:

Mythical War on Poverty

WHEN SETTING FORTH [the] program of the "Great Society," the President promised that "war on poverty" would be its main part. But this broadly advertised war against poverty fell victim to the criminal war waged by the Pentagon in Southeast Asia. . . . The rapidly escalating war in Vietnam pumps more and more funds from the expenditure items under the "Great Society" program into war allocations. . . . The broadly advertised "abundance for all" promised by the "Great Society" program has remained an elusive myth for the majority of the American people.

—V. Lukyanov in Pravda.

SYDNEY:

America's Works for Peace

DO WE in Australia fully realize what we owe to the United States? It is fashionable in many quarters to deride America. . . . But without the vast strength of America the free world today would fall like a ripe plum into the hands of Communism. . . .

Almost in a minor key, mention has to be made of America's help in education, research, health, libraries, and technical training. And although she has millions under arms, she is working for peace as demonstrated by her proposals on disarmament, a nuclear test-ban treaty . . .

and the work on peaceful uses of atomic energy. The tasks and responsibilities of the United States are almost terrifying in their magnitude.

—Sydney Sunday Telegraph.

PERTH:

Johnson's Symbolic Visit

THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON should have chosen Australia, New Zealand, and Southeast Asia as the first countries outside the American continent to visit as President, dramatizes his Administration's belief that the United States is primarily a Pacific power. While Britain has been disengaging itself from an area which it long regarded as its special sphere of interest, America has been extending its responsibilities. . . . The purpose of Mr. Johnson's visit is largely symbolic—to demonstrate to Australians his Administration's gratitude for the military and diplomatic support in Vietnam and to proclaim to the world that the security of the Pacific area is of the highest American concern.

*—Randal Heymanso
in the West Australian.*

PEKING:

Article of Faith?

THE 700 MILLION Chinese people are 700 million soldiers. . . . The Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible. We solemnly and sternly warn U.S. imperialism: No matter how frantic you become, you can never intimidate the Chinese people who have withstood long tests of war; you can never shake in the least the firm and strong determination of the Chinese people to assist Vietnam against U.S. aggression.

—Hsinhua.

LUCKNOW:

Student Vandalism

STUDENTS are on the rampage all over the world. Whether the country concerned is affluent or poor does not seem to make any difference to student behavior.

In the United States, for instance, where the young people never had it so good, school vandalism has increased to a point where it is considered a national menace. The causes for such senseless destruction are being probed by both sociologists and criminologists. Meanwhile, the nation has to pay an astoundingly large bill for insensate destruction by teen-agers.

—The Pioneer.





Maazel's Return—The New Carnegie

HARDLY had the sound of Leonard Bernstein's abdication as music director of the New York Philharmonic subsided (the most notable event of its kind, to judge from the press coverage, since King Edward chose Wallis Warfield over the throne of England) when the first of the pretenders to the succession appeared. This was in no way the result of prearrangement, but to the circumstances that made Lorin Maazel the first of this season's guest conductors.

Some might ask: Is he interested? Some might counterquery: Do fish swim? Like the others to come, Maazel will be studied, and restudied. The question—if one view of the situation prevails—is: Will not Maazel be too old (at thirty-nine) when the die will be cast? Or, if another view prevails, perhaps not yet old enough? In terms of his treatment of an evening of music that included two works of Beethoven (the *Egmont* Overture and the Violin Concerto), Ravel's *Ma Mère l'Oye* Suite, and Bartók's *Miraculous Mandarin*, there would be justice in both points of view. What he did well, such as the Overture, which was brisk and businesslike, he did not do well enough to make himself immediately eligible for the keys to the kingdom; what he did not do so well made one doubt that he would ever unlearn what he has already learned unwisely.

A prime reason to anticipate Maazel's return was that it brought with it the reappearance of the admired Belgian violinist Arthur Grumiaux, who has been absent far too long (fourteen seasons) since his first gratifying introduction in the early Fifties. That the two were concerned with the greatest work of its kind raised hopes that it was a terrain on which a soloist of almost any school and a conductor of almost any background could find common ground.

Grumiaux, whose art is fine-grained and of the utmost refinement, was at an initial disadvantage in having to wait the usual length of time through the lengthy symphonic introduction, in which Maazel staked out first claim on the listener's attention. The treatment was, of itself, rather full blown and oversized for the best interests of the soloist, who sounded somewhat flustered when he made his entry. It took a while for him to settle down to the kind of easy, artistic effort of which he is capable, no simple matter in view of the campaign for attention Maazel was waging with the orchestra. This was replete with minor details made major, subordinate

lines converted into dominant ones, a kind of musical inside on the outside—like a tailor showing the customer what the seams look like when his real interest is in the cut and fit of the jacket.

Grumiaux had the stage to himself, finally, in the Kreisler cadenza and played it superbly, moving on to a beautifully phrased Larghetto, where the orchestral writing is so low keyed that the soloist's claim to supremacy can hardly be disputed. In the finale, however, Maazel was up to his overstress on the unimportant again. If, for charity's sake, it may be assumed that Maazel's purpose was to make the most of an embracing knowledge of Beethoven's score, rather than to focus attention on his own part of what should be a joint enterprise, he should, at the least, reconsider his scale of dynamic values.

The proportions were much better in the Ravel and Bartók, where he was not only on his own, but on his own ground. What is at issue here is not competence, but judgment: Maazel has a marvelous command of what he sets out to do, but not so compelling a logic in why he is doing it. The whole program, including the Concerto, was directed from memory, which is evidence that Maazel knows the notes, but not that he knows the music.

There will be time in the future—something like thirty months of it—to appraise Bernstein's years with the Philharmonic. For those who have followed his career from the earliest to the latest of the 736 concerts he has now conducted, it is not surprising that he will retire in 1969, but, rather, that he has lasted so long at an occupation which has occupied, at best, his divided attention. Now that the novelty of Lincoln Center has worn off, so, too, has the appeal of the opportunities and challenges he freely accepted as Dimitri Mitropoulos's successor in 1957. It is now the cares and complications that go with opportunities and challenges that have asserted themselves, for he is that restless, that unsatisfied by conducting the music of others, that much conditioned by self-interest.

While vitalizing the Philharmonic, especially in its economic being, Bernstein has not effected much improvement in its artistic status. While alienating more than a few old subscribers with his flamboyant ways, he attracted new ones, who may or may not be as faithful in the Bernstein-less future. Gone are the efforts to make "previews" of the Thursday concerts, and the friendly "chats" with

the audience. Soon, gone will be the cumbersome concept of treating concert audiences as participants in "review" courses. What lingers is the memory of his occasional demonstrations (in response to a Beethoven *Missa Solemnis*, a Mahler Eighth, or Verdi's *Falstaff*) of the greatness that was within his grasp. They almost but not quite obliterate the more numerous recollections of the tiresome bounds and leaps when simpler methods might have sufficed; the occasions (especially at Friday matinees) when his mind has seemed far from the task in hand. What the Philharmonic needs is not only a man for all seasons, but for all audiences. It particularly needs not only a man big enough for the job, but for whom the job is big enough.

Other events of a crowded week included visits of the Detroit and Pittsburgh Orchestras, which provided opportunities not only to listen to the music they made but also to the hall in which they made it. As the venerated surroundings of Carnegie are currently the object of a seventy-fifth anniversary celebration, this may be reckoned as somewhat belated. They are, however, not quite what they used to be.

Most consequential of the changes is the extension of the stage, at the center of its curve, three feet closer to the audience. This was designed to provide more floor space when a chorus performed with orchestra, but it may have a pernicious effect on the balance of values struck by architect Tuthill.

On the occasion of the Detroit Symphony concert, pianist Malcolm Frager accepted the opportunity of being "closer" to the audience by having his instrument far to the front on what is now an apron. This, however, put it out beyond the frame of the proscenium (which provides for a mixing and blending with the orchestra) and may have been responsible for some of the over-loud, percussive sound that was heard in Frager's treatment of the Beethoven G-major Concerto. Sixten Ehrling, the present Detroit conductor, is hardly a reticent man, which made rather heavy going of the orchestral part of the Beethoven as well as of Lutoslawski's Concerto for Orchestra which followed.

What to do? One thing would be for the management to post a HANDLE WITH CARE sign at the artist's entrance to the stage. Another would be for others to follow the sound practice of William Steinberg, who had the Pittsburgh Symphony arranged in normal relation to the proscenium, his soloist in Mahler's *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* (Beverly Wolff) firmly at his side, and the apron totally unoccupied. It was, in any case, a beautifully proportioned Mahler, in which Miss Wolff performed with warmth and understanding.

—IRVING KOLODIN.