

Strassoldo, R.

Report on the book

" IS ANYBODY LISTENING ? "

by William H. Whyte, Jr.

It has been a relief to notice that this book is eleven years old. Had it been written to-day, one might be really scared of the future : because the trends and prospects depicted here are frightening. And I do not think that American society in 1963 is as Orwellian as one might have expected in 1952

This is not to say that the book is outdated; I merely mean that the trend towards conformity is developing much slower than the author thought. On the other hand, this is only a feeling -- a hope -- of mine : my experience is too limited.

Main concern of this book is the effort of big business to shape a new breed of men : men who live for their jobs , like it, feel themselves "integrated" to the corporation, "adjusted" to the team, and are happy to follow the crowd.

As a first conspicuous example of this effort the author cites the N.A.M. campaign for Free Enterprise: "sell America to Americans " . To this first chapter I should relate the chapter 5 (The Myth) which is basically concerned with " selling America to the foreigners" . Towards this subject the author's attitude is , however, quite different than ~~in the~~ towards the preceeding; and as a whole I was not able to understand fully its function in this book.

The rest of the book deals with:

- a. Communication . Difficulty of communication between management and employees ~~(The Great divide)~~ ( "The Great divide"). The effort to make them "partecipa~~te~~te" . The language of business, its vices (monotony, conformity, dullness, etc.) . The Prose engineers : Rudolph Flesh, Gunning

and their yardsticks ; their rules to a "easier" language . The communication within the ~~ix~~ offices : the grapevine.

- b. Office organization, in relationships with the degrees of participation and efficiency : the circle vs. the pyramid.
- c. The wives of the management (chapters 8 and 9). How the family life of the employee is regulated in function and in <sup>interest</sup> ~~behalf~~ of the corporation; how the wives become a tool of public relations, and enjoy it.
- d. The engineering of consent ; how the social engineers' goal is to make people adjust, participate, conform; how <sup>n</sup> individual characteristics are smothered away in the process. In this section -- the last two chapters -- moral issues are openly raised. Is it democratic to manipulate people, even for "democratic" purposes ? Why must people adjust , participate, ~~conform~~ conform?

The standing of the ~~book~~ author is very easy to detect . This book is a cry of alarm ( and nothing is so immediately eloquent as Osborn's cartoons ) . In 1957, Mr. Whyte wrote another book underlining the same danger: "The Organization man"

~~xxx~~ As ~~I~~ <sup>he</sup> said in the beginning, this is a frightening book. The idea that the family life is integral part of the corporation sounds to me like a complete perversion. ~~My~~ I think that one has a job in order to support a family, not a family in order to support the corporation he "belongs" to. Sacrificing individuality and privacy to the Golden Calf of business seems to me much more blameworthy than their sacrifice to the idea of state. There is more nobility in being irregimented by a superstate than, say, a ~~super~~ super - Corporation whose goal is merely to make more money.

To be sure, the organization impact on one's private life is very mild; often is very pleasant; most of the people seem



vidualism<sup>T</sup> had better retreat in the corner: this society is not  
for them.



R. Strasselde

Report on the book

"THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS"

By Vance Packard.

Only part of this book deals with advertising. Its real concern is the importance of Motivational Research in modern society.

It is divided in three ~~xxxxx~~ parts: "persuading us as costumers" which is the one we are more interested in; "persuading us as <sup>citizens</sup> ~~costumers~~" is concerned with the impact of M.R. in political campaigns (chapt. 17) and in other forms of activities (chapters 18-21) The third part puts t the question of validity and morality of the new science.

The <sup>first section</sup> ~~part~~ is basically a long list of cases in which M.R. has been applied to the manufacturing, packaging and advertising of goods.

The conclusion one can draw after reading these pages is that, after all, there is nothing so excitingly new. Motivational Research is but an attempt to approach in a scientific, systematic way ~~the~~ a field which was previously dominated by individual intuition. Advertising ~~xxx~~ appeals were not different before M.R. took over; the difference is that they were the result of blind attempts: nobody ~~xx~~ could really know why and how a certain ad succeeded, while other failed. The new science tries to ~~xxxxxxx~~ answer to this question, with the application of psychological tools. On the basis of its discoveries, it ought to be ~~xx~~ possible to plan more effective advertisements, thus eliminating <sup>a</sup> great deal of failed <sup>ures</sup> ~~attempts~~. The ancient chemists would discover new ~~xxxxxx~~ elements mixing casually their powders, the modern ones know exactl<sup>y</sup>,

what reaction they are going to obtain. To be sure , the "mass mind" is not as easy to handle as a chemical compound, but the "hidden persuaders" think they can use similar systems.

The chapter dealing with politics is, to me, the weakest one. Since politics was invented, politicians tried to manipulate the people's mind. The "new methods" do not seem so new, to me. Author Packard, indignant for the "image building" and "personage selling" forgets many instances of the past; <sup>example</sup> for instance, the Whig campaign 1840 -- <sup>and the service</sup> where similar methods were largely adopted, even without the advice of B.B.D.&O ad agency.

Interesting is the description of some other applications of M.R. -- in assuming personnel, selling homes, treating the patients in hospitals ~~and~~ ( but was there really need of psychological research, to understand that a patient wants to be treated with care and affect, as a child?), etc.

Finally, the big questions: Is Motivational Research valid? Is it moral?

~~It is clearly that~~ it is not -- not yet, at least -- an ~~exact~~ exact science. In dealing with the "mass mind" the number of unknowns is enormous. There is no doubt, however, that its methods can be furtherly improved. In its present state, M.R. is a useful indication of the "probably best way to follow!"

The moral <sup>n</sup> ~~issue~~ as Packard puts it, is the following: is it moral to invade the privacy of our minds?

This seems to me, however, a pretty idle question , since I am not sure that there is such a thing as the privacy of our minds. In any case, I am sure it has always been invaded. Men have always manipulated other men. <sup>All</sup> Our religious, cultural, political education can easily be called manipulation.

The big difference is that now we are being manipulated ~~with~~ by more effective methods and -- as far as advertising is concerned -- for the purpose of influencing our purchasing habits, i. e. for a materialist end. The Church stirred ~~xxxxx~~ Europe to the crusade craze. The governments stir ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ peoples to nationalism and wars. Now, Marlboro stirs people to buy its cigarettes. All employ propaganda, in ~~xxx~~ various degrees of effectiveness, and different methods, but basically all use emotional appeals. ~~xxx~~

It seems to me that not the intrusion in our minds ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~, but the aims are either moral or immoral. What lies at the basis of Packard's worried and alarmed attitude is ~~xxxx~~ the assumption that the purpose to which M.R. is presently <sup>p</sup>more widely employed -- selling the products -- is not a worthy one. This, however, is quite a different problem.

My opinion about the question of the morality of M.R. is that if it is a science, it is morally neutral, by definition. If ~~xxx~~ the axiom that men's mind can be manipulated with scientific methods ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ is confirmed by the results, this <sup>may</sup> ~~can~~ well be a sad discovery but it is altogether futile to argue about the morality of a science just because it leads to disagreeable conclusions. The whole history of science ought to make us aware of the futility of this attitude.

I do not think, however, that men's <sup>h</sup> minds can be manipulated successfully. I do not think that our mind is only an ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ complex of conscious forces that can be influenced as the circuits of an electric device, ruled by rigid laws of cause and effect. I do think that the rational part of our souls can, to a ~~xxx~~ high degree, check and control the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ irrational drives of the subconscious. <sup>upon which M.R. is</sup> In the case, M. R. loses most of its power upon our behavior.

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## THE IMAGE MERCHANTS

by Irwin Ross

This book does not pretend to be a deep, thorough analysis of the PR world. That it is derived from a series of articles appeared on a magazine, is clear from the slightly sensational style of great many pages: specially those dealing with such picturesque figures as Ben Sonnenberg, the whizard - or witch -doctor-~~of~~ of the big business; Bernays, the ideologue; Whitacker and Baxter, the West Coast couple specialized in the manipulation of political campaigns; Newsom, the sage high in the clouds of Madison Avenue. In this section of the book, also examined are some of the biggest firms in the business: Hill & ~~Knowlton~~ Knowlton (210 employees); Carl Byoir & Associates, with more than 260 people in the staff.

The report of some of the activities of these men is sometimes a little frightening, often entertaining, always interesting. Among the most glamorous performers we find Byoir, posing, for PR reasons, the birthday of ~~the~~ Chekoslovakia, and selling Florida to the Nation, fighting the whole trucking industry on behalf of the Eastern Railroads hiding <sup>itself</sup> in the backstage (some of the features of this campaign were so bold as to lead to a suit).

We find Newsom, projecting the image " of Henry Ford II as social- political-economical thinker ; and we find many other instances of PR practices.

Chapter 9 deals with the old -fashioned Press Agents: it is one of the weak chapters of the book, I may add.

PR departments in the corporation are the concern of the next chapter, which is chiefly an analysis of the Ford PR activities ; and it is highly revealing. Speaking of mammoth-size Public Relations, I noticed that in this book there is no mention\* of the AT&T. In chapter II , however, we find a description of three campaigns(chosen at random, I suppose) : one in behalf of Belgium as a state, one for the hat industry, and one for the gas.

One of the most important , in PR, is the non-profit field, which includes not only states, as Belgium, but specially Churches, (amusing is the case of Miss America and the Methodist PRman), Colleges, health and welfare services, federal as well as state governments, etc.

Eventually we find a chapter dealing with the morals and the ethics involved in the Public Relation activity. Among the PR men more concerned with these problems are Ruder & Finner, whose oraculum in ethical matter is dr. Louis Finklestein . Discussions, meetings and round tables seldom lead to clear conclusions; but, if I do not misunderstand, all the PR people admit that a certain amount of misrepresentation is the unavoidable product of this industry: " ... the public is attuned enough to PR and advertising, that a mild misrepresentation does not really do any serious damage".

If this is the most unpleasant feature of the business, it is not the only one to stink a little bit. There is also the sense of inferiority, and often frustration, felt by many PR people because of the

\* Just in a list of clients of ~~the~~ I found its name

constant begging favors to journalists~~and~~. This side of the PR activity seems to be mostly resented by the journalists ~~XXXXXX~~ "manques" which form a good proportion~~s~~ of the entire PR population; the new breed, young men ~~whom~~ coming directly from the college, seem much less fastidious.

There is a third side of the PR business, which is the considerable amount of corruption and bribery involved in the intercourse between PR men and communication men. But, unlike the other two "vices" of the trade, this is quite avoidable, because it is not a logical consequence of the theoretical premises of the art.

The two last chapters deal with the life in the profession (wages, opportunities, etc.) and the results of the PR activity ("One of the most distressing things is that you can never be sure of the results you get").

Despite this uncertainty, there is no doubt that PR has come to stay, because it fulfills a precise need in modern society -- specially in our capitalist and democratic society, of course.

Criticism against it is wide spread and very sound. But did not the same thing happen to the lawyers? There was no need of such a profession, as long as laws were simple. The growing complexity of society caused a growing complexity of laws, and a middle man ~~was~~ was needed to help the individual. In early colonial America there were no lawyers; ~~they appeared~~ when they appeared, in the first half of eighteenth century, they were pretty much frowned upon. Now we have a multitude of publics, a highly complex mechanism of mass media on one side, and an "individual", (which can be a huge corporation) in need to use them, on the other. The PR man is the middle man in the deals with public opinion, as the lawyer is the middle man in the deals with the law. I do not think there is any ground to deny the status of profession to the PR activity. It is only a matter of ethical

standards and professional dignity.

The built-in limitations of this profession, which are mainly the necessity to mislead ~~to a certain degree~~, the public opinion, could be overcome, at least partly, if ~~xxxxxxx~~ its activity were pulled in the light. If every piece of news contained a precise indication of its source (Who released it? Who staged the event?) the public awareness and resistance to manipulation would probably increase. This theory is not mine; I found it in the book. But I think it is one of the most brilliant ideas of a brilliant book.

Report on the book

" Persuade or Perish "

By

Wallace Carroll

This book is <sup>a</sup>the history of the Second World War from the ~~xxx~~ viewpoint of a professional propagandist. The material is treated, more than in a scientific way, in the fashion of a novel; ~~xxxx~~ but what the book loses in accuracy and depth, is amply gained in interest. Moreover, it is well written.

An attempt to summarize its content would merely be an epitome of the war, specially on the American front.

What I can do is to make a brief list of the points which ~~x~~ seemed more interesting to me: the Darlan -De Gaulle affair; the millions leaflets dropped daily on France and other countries; the initial failure in providing film-propaganda; the policies of Goebbels, the Bolshevik bogey and the Katyn affair; the Italian campaign, Pantelleria, and the surrender of the navy; ambiguity in Yugoslavia (Tito versus Michailovitch); the Cassino problem; the success of pushing the Germans out of Rome; the "Gloster Massacre" ; the <sup>p</sup>campaign against the ~~x~~ German air force: "Where is the Luftwaffe?" ; The Atlantic Wall and the tactics of "committing the enemy"; loudspeakers at Cherbourg; the leak of the Morgenthau plan, and ~~xxx~~ its "strength through fear" exploitation by Goebbels; the Unconditional Surrender policy~~xx~~ : did it prolong the war? . Finally, <sup>for</sup>the conclusion: definite but limited utility of propaganda.

It has been extremely interesting , for me , to read this book, because many of these points are still object of passionate di-



scussion , in Italy; they still are political propaganda items, and here at last I here clear, fresh and presumably authoritative words from a first hand source. To be sure, these are not the definitive words on the subject --I think that no word is ever~~x~~ the last, outside mathematics \*-- but it is my feeling that they are pretty well established, since I noticed that in all the important points, the statements of Mr. Carroll coincide exactly with those of Mr. Fraser, in his chapters on the Second World War. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the latter based those chapters mainly on Carroll's book.

\* \* \*

On the other side, I think that the explanations of the outbreak of the cold war are ~~x~~ a little clumsy and weak. This is perfectly natural, since the book has been written~~x~~ in 1947-48, and lacks therefore the necessary perspective.

To say weak and clumsy is not to say wrong. Looking for reason of Russian suspicions as far as in the Darlan and Badoglio affairs, the author~~f~~ fails to stress enough the basic cause of the split ~~xxxx~~ between East and West: I mean the absolute incompatibility of the two worlds, who happened to be allies only because they had a common enemy. But as soon as it was disposed of, the natural hostility between them took over. A second point completely overlooked is the importance of the A-bombing in Japan~~xxxx~~, *in regard of the beginning of the*

About the difficulties in which American policies found themselves in Europe, I think that Carroll hits the point~~x~~ when it blames the European resentment against the well-fed Americans, and ~~xxxx~~ spells out that money can not buy friendship.

Now, after 15 years since the book has been written<sup>n</sup>, we can try to strike the balance.

"Persuade or Perish" , like most of the aut-aut, black and x

white statements , has proved partly wrong. ~~xx~~ The Soviet Union ~~x~~ has not been persuaded, and the U.S. has not perished.

It is true, however, that Western Europe has, <sup>in a sense</sup> ~~really~~, been "persuaded" : ~~though the Italian and French Communists are still as strong as 15 years ago, they could not oppose the pro- America attitude of the majority, in those countries. The Grecian communist isurrection has been checked.~~  
*(ded, after 15 years of propaganda)*  
*(though still impor)*

As a whole, the immediate goals of american policy , in Europe, have been fulfilled. But what about the long- range aims? Russia still stand there, more powerful than ever. Propaganda completely failed to affect<sup>her</sup>, as Mr. Carroll hoped fifteen years ago. Yet, ~~our~~ conceptions are still stubbornly anchored to those conceptions -- persuade or perish.

What was true yesterday, to day might possibly be ~~xxxxxx~~-meaningless. A constant revision of aims and methods is necessary, if we want to keep in touch<sup>x</sup> with the ever- changing reality of ~~xx~~ History.

Report on the book

The Soviet Cultural Offensive  
The Role of ~~Soviet~~ Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy

by Frederick C. Barghorn

Princeton University Press,

1960

Chapter I. Cultural diplomacy and East-West relations. - After Stalin's death, the Kremlin launched a cultural offensive. This kind of offensive was first adopted by France in 1883, with the foundation of the "Alliance Française." Great Britain organized her cultural diplomacy only in 1934 (British Council). The U.S. followed in 1938, with the "Division of cultural relations," in the ~~Theroux~~ Department of State. In 1946, a big program of cultural exchange was promoted by the Fulbright Act. A Soviet relations committee was established in 1955 in order to control Soviet offensive.

As a whole, American cultural influence all over the world is much more extended than Soviet's, but the latter began only after 1953, and has achieved great importance, mainly among the under-developed nations. But also the tourists movement to and fro Russia has amazingly developed. And we can hope that these cultural relations will further increase, because they involve a deeper understanding among nations.

Chapt. II : Soviet cultural diplomacy under Lenin and Stalin - ~~After~~ After the Revolution, Russia closed ~~her~~ her borders, and the contacts with western world were rare. Only few, outstanding personalities could visit it. During the Depression, a few workers and peasants went to U.R.S.S. (among them, "hon Scott, who wrote the book "Behind the Urals"). More important is the American scientific and technological support ~~to~~, during the thirties, to Russian economy.

The only soviet citizens who could visit foreign countries were politicians, athletes, and artists, ~~organized in delegations~~ organized in delegations.

Chapt. 3 : Change and continuity in post Stalin policy - After 1953, entrance visas from Soviet authorities became much ~~easier~~ easier to obtain, and their validity extended. The first visitors had a ~~good~~ rather good impression of Russia, but there was universal complain about the strict pre-planning of the trips. 1955 was the more liberal period, but also ~~during~~ during and after the 1956 crisis the cultural exchanges continued to improve. In 1956-57, about 2500-3000 Americans visited Russia; ~~7000~~ 7000 in '58. In the same year, about 3000 foreign delegations visited Russia, of which 1500 came from the Western World. In 1957, in occasion of Youth Festival, 500.000 visitors crossed Soviet borders. According to this big movement of tourists, also the communications (trains and airlines) have much improved.

The movement of soviet visitors in Western countries is still very restricted, and carefully organized. ~~A~~ A remarkable ~~group~~ group of Russians visited ~~Brusselles~~ Bruxelles in occasion of the World Fair. <sup>under</sup> But the Soviet cultural offensive does not lean on tourist exchange, but ~~more~~ more on exhibitions like the one of New York in 1958 (whose counterpart was the American exhibition

Chapt. 4 : Barriers and Controls - Despite the increased access of visitors to Russia heavy barriers still exists to cultural exchange. Tourist groups, as a rule are strictly chaperoned ; western culture is difficultly accessible to Soviet people; exchange of information is carefully censored; jamming of "western radio persists; western publication , in the libraries, are controlled. Soviet cultural delegations abroad are well indoctrinated, and more eager to to get than to give informations. As a whole, Soviet culture is much more available in the West than western culture is in U.R.S.S.

Chapt. 5 : Patterns of communications, guided and misguided - This chapter is a collection of impressions of the people who have been in the Soviet Union , or have had personal contacts with Soviet scientific and cultural delegations in the West. A point of general agreement is that Russian people is a warm-hearted, friendly people , eager to know about the capitalistic countries; but they have no special sympathy ~~xxx~~ for our social system, as they see it. As far as Soviet delegations abroad are concerned, they usually give a good impression of Soviet sciences, but they are too selected and indoctrinated, and conversation with soviet citizens abroad is often sterile .

Chapt. 6 : Organization and training - The expenses that Soviet Union is dedicating to cultural relations and foreign communications are remarkable; 375000 full-time propagandist have to be maintained, and there are some two millions odd-time propagandists to be trained and payed. The organization which superintends to these activities is described in the first pages of this chapter, while the main part of it is dedicated to the educational system. Soviet students dedicate long time to the foreign languages (english, German, French). Particular importance is given to oriental languages and studies. Two schools train specialized propagandists: the Institute of World Economy and International Relations , and the Diplomatic School.

Chapt. 7 : Cultural strategy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America - The patterns of cultural penetrations in the underdeveloped countries are exposed in this chapter. Soviet strategy consists in two main points: first, to show sympathy and admiration for the culture and civilization; second, to demonstrate the achievements ~~xxx~~ and advantages of Soviet system. All this implicates friendly attitude of Russia towards underdeveloped , ex-colonial countries, in contrast with the past behavior and present suspicious attitude of ex-colonialist ~~xxxxx~~ Western Powers. of the country involved

The same technique is more or less applied in all the countries examined in this chapter: India, Indonesia, Arab nations, African nations, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, etc.

Russian effort in this direction is impressive, but cultural penetration and economic assistance do not mean Russian domination. The experience of Turkey during the '20s twenties and thirties, and of Egypt in these latter years is a good example of this assumption.

~~Chapt. 7 : Soviet cultural penetration in Western Europe~~

Chapt. 8 : Soviet culture an Western Europe.- Soviet cultural penetration in Western Europe is much ~~xxx~~ less effective than in other countries, because of her high and ancient civilization and good standard of living. Still, the by far greater part of Soviet cultural effort is dedicated to these countries (in 1955, of 412 soviet delegation abroad, 337 went to Western Europe). Russian attitude toward these countries is more favourable than towards U.S.

This chapter is ~~xxxxx~~ a survey of Soviet cultural exchanges with each of the European Countries (students, artists, scientists, athletes, etc)

Chapt. 9 ; Patterns of Soviet -American Exchanges. - Relations between Soviet Union and the United States are difficult and complex, because the ~~xxxx~~ former fears the impact of American wealth and political freedom, while the

latter is reluctant to open his borders to Communist ideology and Soviet cultural penetration. The chapter is a long and careful list of the cultural exchanges between the two countries: American politicians, industrialists, educators (Kenneth Holland) athletes, artists, and simple tourists, who visited U.R.S.S., and, on the other side Russian agriculture experts, journalists, writers, artists and art critics, scientists, doctors, students, etc.

#### Conclusions and suggestions

The free world needs not fear the cultural contest, because Soviet penetration is not so effective as it is ~~presented~~<sup>looked</sup>: "Soviet political advertising features attractive packaging, but no price tag". And the price is heavy: the loss of freedom.

Moreover, as long as cultural exchanges are reciprocal, mutual understanding will improve, and this one of the few hopes we have.

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In my opinion, the basic defect is a certain confusion between analysis and synthesis.

On one side, it does not give (to me, at least) any wide, all-involving, synthetical idea of the Soviet Cultural offensive; it seems that not even the author knows what to think of it, as a whole.

To be sure, I could find some judgement and personal proposition, scattered here and there; in the conclusion, a few pages are dedicated to personal ideas and suggestions; but the rest of the book is weakened by the lack of a firm standpoint, which could enlighten and give shape and unity to the raw material, ~~that is~~ i.e., facts, actions and impressions of several people.

On the other side, this book is not ~~as~~ fully satisfactory as a mere collection of informations, either: to be useful -and interesting- such a collection must be as complete as possible, ~~while~~ while the amount of facts reported here is rather meager and arbitrary.

the most useful part of the book, in my opinion, is the last chapter, where the cultural relations are widely and carefully examined. As far as other countries are concerned, the quantity of information supplied is positively insufficient.

## THE GREAT CONTEST - RUSSIA AND THE WEST

by Isaac Deutscher

Chapter I - The Khrushchev interregnum . At the time of Stalin's death there were in Russia strong reasons of discontent, which could not find means of expression. The situation of agriculture was harsh. The peasants- nearly half of the population- suffered enormous loss in the war (about 20 millions of them died because of it) . The industrial development had been possible only thanks to peasants' sacrifice. Now they were silently claiming for higher prices of their products and more freedom in farm management. The workers in the industries were tired of the inhuman Stalin's labor code, and wanted more power in their syndicates, more control on factory management and better standard of living - the housing problem was very serious. These two classes had no means of expressing their request. The class that more consciously was tired of Stalin's despotism, the dull censorship and rigid orthodoxy was the "Intelligentsia" but it had not the slightest means of action. The only class which could act was that of "bureaucrats". <sup>they were</sup> Though the most servile among Stalin's servants, the over centralisation and autocracy of the despot discontented the subordinate and peripheral organisation; which wanted more power. Thus all over Russia a need of reform was strongly felt. In fact, as soon as they could, bureaucrats began to act. Beria was shot, Stalin's hated Secret Police lost many of its powers. A new Labor Code was issued. Better prices were paid for farm products; state-owned agricultural machinery was sold to farms; more freedom was given to them. At last, an open (though not to <sup>European</sup> people) repulsion of Stalin's methods and politics was sanctioned at the XX Congress. Khrushchev, popular hero of the de-Stalinisation, had to fight against extremists in both directions, right and left. The Polish and Hungarian revolution nearly interrupted his task, but ~~XX~~ he succeeded against Molotov and Kaganovich. Against the right wing he launched the anti-revisionism campaign. His policy succeeded, and now he is alone in the Kremlin, but another Stalin-style dictatorship ~~seems~~ seems inconceivable, because the circumstances in Russia are too different. His economy is enormously increasing, and so is the need for freedom.

Chapter II- The moral and intellectual climate . Soviet Russia's educational system has developed even faster than his economy, <sup>also</sup> even during Stalin's rule. But universities are not yet ready to accept the millions youth out of High School. Major emphasis is put on polytechnical training, but a certain ~~philosophical~~ philosophical view of the world around us is not forgotten. In 1960 three millions graduated, in 1965, the <sup>college</sup> preview is ~~for~~ four and half millions. Besides this huge student body, millions of workers study after work hours. Reading good literature is a common hobby. More freedom is now enjoyed by scientist and scholars in their researches. Marxism is still the official ideology, but ~~in~~ its dogmatism in fact is softened. A remarkable change in Soviet Law has been achieved, by the ~~dropping~~ dropping of the Stalin' principle <sup>of</sup> "presumption of defendant's guilt".

~~Chapter~~



Chapter III - Foreign Policy. Subsequently to the new internal situation, also foreign policy has been changed. Economical development, which Russia strongly needs, wants quiet borders and cut of military expenses. Russia will welcome an agreement with the West; ~~but~~ they do not show any sympathy with our social and economic system. They are also suspicious of West's real goal. They remember the American and British intervention against the Revolution in 1918-19-20; they fear West Germany; they remember the aggressive American speeches about "preventive war"; they know to be surrounded by American bases. All this, of course, occurred during Stalin's times, but now circumstances have changed in Russia, Khrushchev retired from Austria, ~~Russia~~ did not push too far the Civil War in Indochina, ~~and~~ it has gone in ~~Paris~~ ~~Western~~ most of Western capitals, breaking Stalin's grimy isolationism. They have shown their good willingness: what have they achieved? Western Policy did not change a single item. Their Achilles' heel is Berlin that, from their viewpoint, is a menace to Eastern Europe; they do not feel safe until Western Powers are there.

Also in the relationships with Communist nations Moscow policy has changed. There is no longer economical oppression, as in Stalin's times. Stalin occupied these nations following the retreating tide of German armies; and did ~~not~~ so much to expand the Communist ideology (Stalin was basically an isolationist, as he showed both before and after the war) but sooner to support Russia's ~~ruined~~ ruined economy. Now Russia needs not this support; in a year of peaceful production, she achieves more than she could with the conquest of a medium-size ~~European~~ European country.

A Committee of Economical Mutual assistance has begun to work as an international organization for economical planning; a huge Communist Common Market is ahead.

Economical planning needs maintenance of "Status quo", and this sure is Khrushchev's immediate goal. Besides Berlin, there are other menaces to the "Status quo". Arab nationalism, African countries movements against the Whites are useful until they weaken the West, but Russia ~~is not~~ is not directly interested. A real trouble is red China, who is unwilling to accept the "status quo" and "Pacific coexistence" policy, and Moscow's leadership. But Communist parties in South-east Asia, i.e. India, Indonesia, are under direct Russian control, and have been forced to accept Russia's policy.

Khrushchev wants to maintain the present "status quo" at least for ten or fifteen years. By 1980-75 Russian economy ought to have reached and matched West's; Russian standard of living <sup>ought to be</sup> equal to the American one. Then the Communist appeal to underdeveloped nations will be irresistible. Until this time, Russian economy will be protected by barriers, her borders will remain locked; when it will be strong enough, the policy of international "Laissez faire" will be adopted, and Capitalistic economy will be submerged by Soviet plenty of goods. The deceived labor masses of the West will ~~join~~ join the international Communist movement, and the world will be peacefully ~~conquered~~ conquered. Therefore, the power of armies is no more needed; moreover, the elimination of military expenses would enormously speed up the Soviet economic development. So Khrushchev's proposal of general disarmament are not mere propaganda.

Chapter IV - Implications of coexistence. Marxist-Leninist theory of world armed revolution seems to have been dropped. Circumstances have greatly changed, for Capitalism has shown himself much more strong and vital and ductile than they ever thought. Modern Communists think it will be matched in peaceful competition, because Communism is a better economic as well as social system. Indeed, Soviet achievements have been tremendous. Can western nations maintain their superiority in the race for prosperity, during next fifteen or twenty years? An answer to this question might involve a further and deeper revision of our economic theory and practice. Can private enterprise ~~survive~~

~~with state-enterprise~~ compete with state-enterprise, in technical innovation? Can free economy compete with planned economy? Indeed, state-ownership of the means of production seems to offer some advantages; ~~even in the West~~, atomic power - the power of the future - is a child of State-enterprise. The "great contest" is an economic contest. But, ultimately, the challenge is also a spiritual one. Until now, the most important Western advantage was freedom. What will then happen, when Socialism, besides material wealth, will be able to offer also an acceptable degree of freedom? Western nations may face the future with fear and panic, or with courage and enterprise. Will they be able to offer a better society? The great hope in this era is that peace could be maintained, and coexistence get along, until ~~the Soviet Russia~~ Soviet Russia develops in a relatively wealthy free, and un-aggressive nation.

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I realize that I have summarized this book from a standpoint fairly favourable to U.R.S.S., but I could not help to emphasize what struck me more - that is, the completely new way to consider and write about Soviet reality. For nearly 17 years we ~~have~~ have been told that Russian people are slaves, longing for political freedom; that socialism economic system is source of starvation; that aggression and world conquest is Kremlin's only aim. Now there comes Deutscher, and, backed by good reasons, demonstrates that in a <sup>relatively</sup> few years, Communist bloc will be as wealthy as ~~the~~ America is; and that Khrushchev's only aim is peaceful coexistence; and that freedom is enlarging among Soviet people, and more and more will in the future.

George Orwell wrote that the best books are those which say what you already know. Well, I did not know all this - I felt it. I hoped it. And many, many young people I met feel the same way.

I do not agree with everything Deutscher writes: for instance, Soviet economy is still meeting bad difficulties (meat ~~and~~, butter and other consumption goods prices have been raised as much as 30 % ~~in~~ this summer). Moreover, I do not think that Stalin did not start the World War III because he was an isolationist. I think he did not only because he knew he would have been defeated and destroyed. I can not believe that Soviet education gives a philosophical "Weltanschauung" to the students. As a whole, I think that this book is a little too optimistic about Russia of yesterday and of today ~~and of the future~~, but I hope it is not when speaks of the future.

If Communism is really evolving towards economical and social welfare, if freedom is enlarging, what then have we to fear? Khrushchev's proposal of disarmament achieve new meaning. Peaceful coexistence seems to be the only chance we have. The competition will be between two economic and social systems, and no doubt that the more efficient one will be the winner.

~~Perhaps~~ Perhaps mankind is really at the beginning of a new, wonderful era. Never the hopes have been so strong, because never the horrors of a war have been so inconceivable. I hope that one day we shall build monuments to "H" bombs and to ICBM missiles: they made war impossible.

If it will not burst out by mistake, of course. Which would be a sad end to mankind's stupidity.



STRASSOLDO

PUBLIC OPINION

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

*You are very right in  
putting the totalitarian  
implications of the book  
Lippmann identifies himself with the elite  
competent to think for everyone else*

Public Opinion is, or should be, the basis of democracy. But democratic theories always took it for granted, as if to have an opinion ~~was~~ about every public affair <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ an instinct. In this book, Lippmann analyzes the process by which a public opinion is actually formed ~~(parts I - V)~~ ( parts I - V ) and criticises the short ~~comings~~ <sup>comings</sup> of ~~those~~ those democratic theories which do not give adequate importance to the formation of a correct public opinion.

Parts I - V : How the mass of information is restrained and distorted at the source: censorship, privacy. How the opportunity to be in contact with the outside world is also thwarted : lack of time, lack of attention. Difficulties inherent to the form of the message: necessity of brevity, inaccurate use of words <sup>which</sup> can lead to misinterpretation. But even if the message survives these difficulties, other distortions arise when it reaches the target. Stereotypes, cliches, <sup>though</sup> ~~which~~ ~~are~~ having a precise economic function, are misleading when taken for real entities. Interest is another way the message is distorted in the target's mind. Empathy. Role of economic interest in the determination of opinions, and criticism of the Marxian doctrine.

Building a common will out of ~~the~~ the enormous variety of individual opinion is a matter of tactful vagueness.

Parts VI : ~~Short~~ Shortcomings of the classic image of Democracy; futility of the new doctrine, as formulated by the Guild - socialist, in that neither one provides a satisfactory mechanism for the formation of a realistic public opinion; inworkability of Democracy in moments of emergency.

Part VII : role of the newspapers -to day we would say "mass-media" - in the formation of public opinion, and pessimistic conclusion: distortion is inevitable.

Part VIII: the proposed "entering wedge" is "the interposition of some sort of expertness" between the public and the world. The role of these social scientist is to gather pure information ("intelligence work") ; public opinion should not be created by the newspapers - papers, but for the ~~new~~ newspapers, by a class of experts working on the material gathered by ~~the~~ the intelligence ~~work~~ activity.

The consequences of these preceeding statements could reach very far ; the role of the press in totalitarian states could be decribed in similar terms; but even in our democracies a ~~similar~~ trend, ~~is~~ ~~undoubtedly~~ ~~extending~~ to pre-cook news to create the desirable publi opinion, is undeniable.

On the whole, this is a remarkable book. There is the sometimes wonderful vividness of Lippmann's style: I could indicate many passages which gave me real esthetic pleasure, because of the felicity in the choice of words, functionality of imagery, smoothness and boldness of logical developement. It is not only an enjoinable reading, but a very interesting one, specially in the parts dealing with psychology (the main source seems to be William James) and history :

there are analyses of the American Constitution and of many aspects of the First World War.

Lippmann's ideas on Democracy are also most interesting. He sees that in the classic formulation, it can not work in the complexity of modern world; but he sees a possible remedy in education, and a system of impartial, accurate, ~~scientific~~ "scientific" communications. I think that to day even this solution is unworkable. Lippmann himself states that ~~xxx~~ "democracy is not possible in a period of emergency": and we are living in a period of constant emergency.

What we need is to face the reality, ~~and~~ drop the good, romantic idea of "government by the people" and accept the ~~new~~ new definition of Professor J. A. Schumpeter: "Government for the people, by a class of politicians who acquire the power to make decision, through free ~~xxx~~ competition for the popular vote." "Politicians are not representatives of the people, but business men who deal in votes". I think this is a fair definition of the contemporary situation.