

WHY U. S. IS LOSING THE 'COLD WAR'

Governor Dewey, After Far Eastern Trip, Says Russia Outspends and Outsmarts This Country on Propaganda

Bullets and armed might are not the only forces in this world-wide conflict. We are also engaged in a death struggle of ideas, and ideas can be more important than bullets in the grand decision.

In Hong Kong last summer I was told a story I did not fully believe, but it is one of the most important stories I have ever heard. An American who has spent many years in the Far East said that the Russian budget has equal appropriations for the armed forces, for propaganda and for revolutionary activity in other countries. He firmly believed that to be true. Some others that I know believe it is true. Nobody can analyze the Russian budget so, of course, nobody knows for sure.

But we do know one thing—there is enough truth in the story to make it clear why America is taking such a terrible beating all over the world on the propaganda front. I do not believe we have to take this beating. I refuse to admit that Communists are smarter than we are at anything if we will only apply our brains to a job.

If the story about the Russian budget is true, and it is certainly partly true, how does the American budget compare with it?

We have a 58-billion-dollar defense budget. We are spending thousands of millions in assisting the free nations to defend themselves. The Marshall Plan has worked and is working in country after country. There has been a general stiffening of the backbone of the free world.

Yet we spend practically nothing to win the world to our side in the field of propaganda. We move in with our physical strength, with our economic assistance, but we pay little attention to the spiritual strength of our allies. So the Russians, posing as liberators, have extended and consolidated their position to the point where the Kremlin now controls over 800 million people, or one third of the world, and they have done it without shedding the blood of a single Russian soldier in the last six years.

Now I am not asking that we increase our propaganda appropriation to 58 billion dollars. That would be ridiculous. I am not asking that we increase it to even 1 billion. I want to start using our brains. What I want is to see America start winning back the minds and hearts of people all over this world who have been successfully lied to by the Kremlin propaganda machine. First of all, we have got to put a lot of old ideas behind us.

In the past, where our information services were not actually in the hands of left-wingers who tried to stab us in



GOVERNOR DEWEY

the back, they were in the hands of sincere bunglers who tried to sell America as a commodity and not as an ideal. They presented an America which was a glittering picture of how wealthy and comfortable life could be under freedom and democracy. They boasted that we had more automobiles than all the rest of the world put together, more telephones, more radios, more electric toasters and more electric dishwashing machines.

They told the simple facts of how every American had shoes and how the standard of living on public relief was far higher than the average standard of living of others who work for a living in the rest of the world—as it surely is. They painted pictures of average American homes with two-car garages, gas stoves, refrigerators and even green tile bathrooms.

Now what was the effect of this in Asia? The average Asian never saw a gas stove. He doesn't have enough dishes even to want a washing machine. He never hopes to have a telephone. He and 12 or

14 members of his family live in four or five small rooms. He never saw a bathroom, particularly a green tile bathroom.

The average Asian knows he will never own an automobile. He hopes most earnestly that tomorrow he will have enough rice and fish to feed himself and his family. That is almost the limit of his personal ambition because his struggle is to stay alive.

So what has been the effect of our propaganda on our Asian friends? It played directly into the hands of the Communists. They would have paid us to spread it and they were delighted to help spread it for us. They told the Asians:

"Look how rich America is. See how all the people have shoes and clothes and coats and automobiles and telephones and paved highways and hospitals and radios and even a new, expensive thing known as television."

Then the Communists added the crusher:

"You see, everything we have told you about America is true. They exploit the rest of the world and rob Asia for their own comforts. They are rich and you are poor. Down with the Americans."

With the aid of our own propaganda the Russians succeeded in making us hated by millions of people who have always liked and admired us. We have played the Russian game for them. I propose that we stop it and never again do it so long as we live.

After all, hate is the easiest emotion to arouse. And the Communists deal in simple terms. In many hours of conver-

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sations in many countries of the Pacific this summer I sought the answer to this problem. How can we combat this simple, evil propaganda of greed, envy and hate?

How can we convince them that only in the free world can their living standard rise—that killing Americans, or British or French—or their own landowners and merchants will not create any more wealth for anyone?

Most of all, how can we convince them that we Americans do not want one acre of their ground or one single slave in all the world? How can we convince them that all we want is to have a free and peaceful world in which we can all exchange goods and services to the advancement of mankind?

The best answer I received in all the Pacific countries was from a wise Chinese on Formosa. He has spent his life first as a teacher, then as a soldier, now as an important government official. He pointed out that for centuries the white men of Europe have occupied Asian territory and they have often exploited the Asian people. This was easy to do because the Europeans had superior weapons and a few could conquer many. But, he points out, the day is gone when a gunboat can be sent up a river and thousands of native Asians will peacefully surrender.

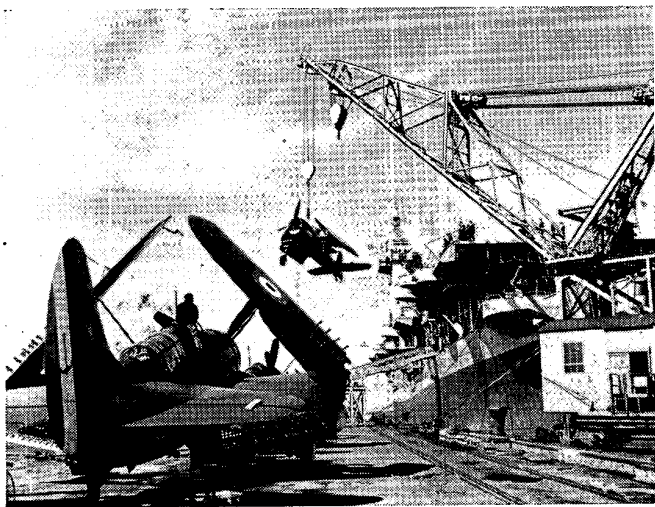
Today the Asian insists on running his own country but he is still an easy prey for demagoguery and falsehood. The Communists know the masses of Asia have admired America in years past, so the Reds spend most of their time painting America as the source of all evil.

"But," my Chinese friend pointed out, "what has been Russia's strength can become Russia's weakness. Every Communist movement in Asia has Russian masters. The people are beginning to see it. America's great opportunity," he said, "is to point out to Asia in words of one syllable that the Russians are taking them over, and hammer it home day after day after day."

"The way to appeal to the hearts of the people of Asia," he continued, "is for America to champion Asia for the Asians—not for the Russians. Korea for the Koreans—not for the Russians. China for the Chinese—not for the Russians. Japan for the Japanese—not for the Russians. Indo-China for the Indo-Chinese—not for the Russians. Indonesia for the Indonesians—not for the Russians."

Here is the greatest, simplest opportunity we have ever had. People can understand it. And it is true.

Today, Soviet Russia is the only European empire or



U. S. ARMS AID: "Ideas can be more important than bullets in the grand decision"



STALIN POSTER: "America is taking a terrible beating all over the world on the propaganda front"

Asian empire which is seizing and running Asian lands and imposing imperialistic, unequal treaties upon their helpless Asian satellites.

The Chinese can understand it. It is said there are 200,000 Russians running the government of Mao Tse-tung in China today. Others calculate the figure to be higher. No one knows the exact number. The Russians are smart. They stay in their compounds and do not show themselves on the streets much. But with such an enormous number, and most of them young, they appear increasingly. Moreover, they drink too much. The people are slowly becoming unpleasantly conscious of the Soviet occupation.

You don't have to draw any pictures for the Japanese. The Russian threat has hung over their islands all their lives and they understand the danger very clearly.

But the people of the critical areas of Southeast Asia have no knowledge of the Russians. They do not know what it is to live under the heel of Moscow. Their most skillful native Communist revolutionaries are Moscow-trained, but the people don't know it.

I propose that our country start telling them the ugly truths and stick to that and little else. We believe in "Asia for the Asians—not for the Russians." Let's start saying it and proving it and let's start winning back the friends we have lost for the cause of freedom.

I have another basic proposal to make concerning our relations to other nations of the Pacific. It involves not only our propaganda but the highest Government policy. It is this: We must stop trying to make the rest of the world over into our own image. Nothing has made us so many enemies and nothing ever will. Nothing has cost us more dearly than the proud but childish assumption by our people and by our Government that the rest of the world must copy us.

To be perfectly blunt about it, the peoples of Asia do not want to copy us. Moreover, they cannot be made over into our likeness and it is time we stopped trying it.

If we are going to have any friends left in the Pacific it is time we began recognizing that they have a totally different background from ours. It is time we began recognizing that they intend to keep on having that background. They like their culture. They like their music, which is utterly alien to our ears. They like their family tradition. They like it even as we in America love every tradition of our own and every one of our precious liberties. They want a govern-

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ment of their own people—good or bad—and not one run by or for any other country.

It was very interesting to me that in eating the food of many countries I visited this summer, most of it had the most curious appearance, often appearing to be quite inedible. Yet I found that I liked almost all of it very much. The only really bad food I had in two months was at a place where they tried to imitate American food in our honor. And believe me it was awful.

I think the same thing is true of all Asia. When they are themselves, in their own best tradition, they are superb. When we expect them to try to imitate us, we are digging our grave. It just won't work and we'd better stop it.

The cultures of Asia are very old. While many of our ancestors were still primitive, many of the peoples of Asia were enjoying their third thousand years of cultured literary and



SOVIET TROOPS: "They have done it without shedding the blood of a single Russian soldier"

artistic tradition. We in the West made immense progress in a few centuries and have now passed all the world in both technical and material achievement. But we can't make people like us just because of that.

The greatest mistake we have made in the past is to expect nations whom we hope will be our friends to pattern their systems of government, of justice, of education, and of social relations after ours.

"If you don't mind," they say, "we like our own system very much. If we can't be your friend under our system, then we're sorry, we shall have to forego the pleasure."

When I consider how deeply we Americans have resented past European criticism of our own manners and institutions, I can't say that I blame the Asians in the least for their reluctance to accept us as their model.

The truth is, of course, that there is deep beauty and richness in Asian culture. We have much to give to each other. But we will never give each other anything unless we start

off with a genuine respect for the culture and the traditions of those we expect to be our allies.

Nothing is more infuriating to them than the smart-Alex news reports that are filed from so many Asian countries criticizing their form of government or poking fun at their leaders, their habits and their customs. It takes the patience of a Buddha to submit peacefully to the abuses and the falsehoods which have been heaped not only by individuals but even by our own Government upon the leadership of many Asian countries which are our friends. Some of them are our friends even to the point at this moment of fighting and dying on our side.

Surely their customs are different and surely their governments are not the best of all governments in the best of all possible worlds. But with complete impartiality I venture the suggestion that there is nobody within the sound of my voice who is willing to suggest that we in America have the most honest, the most competent, and the best of all possible governments.

In 10 short years Communism has increased its sway from 180 million people of Russia to 800 million people. It does not intend to leave a single spot of light, a single area of freedom on all this earth. There is no use denying the fact that whatever temporary retreats or changes of policy they may announce, the Soviet Union intends to wipe us out and the rest of the free world with us.

In the face of this menace and unending challenge we need every friend we can get. We need them whether they are black, brown, yellow or white. We need them whether they are Christian, Moslem, Buddhist or Confucian. We need them as equals, as friends and allies.

The only possible way we can save our civilization is to win World War III without fighting it because an atomic world war would destroy everything. The only possible way we can win World War III without fighting it is to have overwhelming strength and overwhelming numbers.

There are 270 million free people in the Pacific today, almost the same number as there are in Western Europe. Added to the population of North and South America and Western Europe we would total 870 million strong. That is more than Stalin's 800 million. For the first time the free world would have not only superiority of industrial power and resources but also more people.

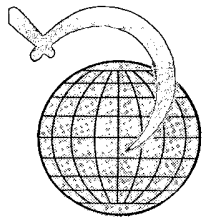
This is one reason I have advocated a total Pacific Alliance similar to the North Atlantic Alliance. But if we are to get a Pacific Treaty, we must deal as equals with proud people of the Asian nations. We must respect them. We must stop the condescending attitude that America knows better than they do how their own affairs should be run. If we will use the brains God gave us, we will treat others as we would like to have them treat us. If we will accept them as they are and help them develop their own traditional talents and skills, we have a right to hope that they will respect us as we are and be glad to join us in equal partnership for the protection of the free world.

In this period when world leadership has been thrust upon us, we must grow rapidly to an intellectual maturity. We must develop a wisdom and patience in dealing with others that we have never known. To preserve our very existence, we must do it fast.

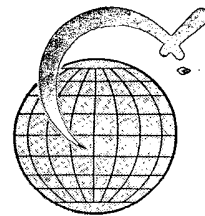
With new-found respect for our friends and allies and with a high degree of competence in our relations with them, I am confident we can win through this dreadful period of trial without total war.

Let us dedicate ourselves to a better understanding of the free peoples of the world. Let us unite in a mighty company in the common defense of our liberties. Let us be so strong and so numerous we can win the peace without war.

(From an address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York at Hartford, Conn., Oct. 16, 1951.)



WORLD WAR III, RUSSIAN STYLE, IS HERE



New Strategy Conquers 600 Million People, Rolls On

World War III, Russian style, is being lost by U. S., won by Russia, hands down.

Conquests to date are among history's greatest—600 million people in five years.

Fifth column, revolution, assassination, propaganda, purges, satellite wars are Russia's weapons in the world's new World War.

Atom bombs may never be used.

U. S., preparing for imaginary war of the future that Russia will not start, is losing real war Russia now fights in her own way.

Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary are gone. China is, too.

India is wobbly. So are Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia. Iran totters. So do Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Morocco.

In U. S., Britain, France, Italy, elsewhere, fifth columns are at work, trouble is exploited.

Russia, winning, knows where she's headed.

U. S., losing, seems bewildered, punch-drunk, moving toward eventual inflationary crack-up.

World War III may be lost by default.

World War III is here. It has been here for five years. In the real war to date, Russia, definitely, is winning, U. S. losing.

U. S., arming, is getting set for an imaginary war of the kind Russia will avoid at almost any cost. Russia is actively waging war of the kind that pays returns, war fought in the name of peace for conquests that enrich a conqueror.

War that U. S. prepares for would blow up much of the world, if started. Nobody wins, all lose, that war. War, as Russia is waging it, aims at conquest of earning assets, not of bomb-blasted rubble. Russian strategy is that of a modern imperialism.

War, Russian style, is proving highly profitable to Russia.

In Eastern Europe, at no cost in Russian life, modern war has yielded Russia the second largest industrial complex in all Europe.

In Asia, without cost in Russian lives, World War III has brought China, with its man power and industrial potential, into the Communist empire.

All but the fringes of the great Eurasian land mass today are within that empire. Through Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, even in Western Europe, those fringes are being prepared for eventual conquest. In the Western Hemisphere, advance units of Communism are busy scouting the ground, preparing for the day, maybe distant, when war, as Russia's strategists conceive it, can be carried forward successfully.

War preparation, U. S. style, aimed at some imaginary war that Russia will not fight unless attacked, is geared to yield disaster for all.

If this imaginary war of the future is fought, it promises to blow up everybody and everything. Its conception is that of horror and obliteration. Its aim, as officially outlined, is to leave the world a shambles that nobody but a Communist would want to try to run.

If the U. S.-style war is not fought, there is the prospect of economic disaster when preparation for that imaginary war slows. Communists plan to be around to pick up the pieces.

Either way it goes, so far as anyone can learn from this country's planners, the end product of American planning is something like chaos.

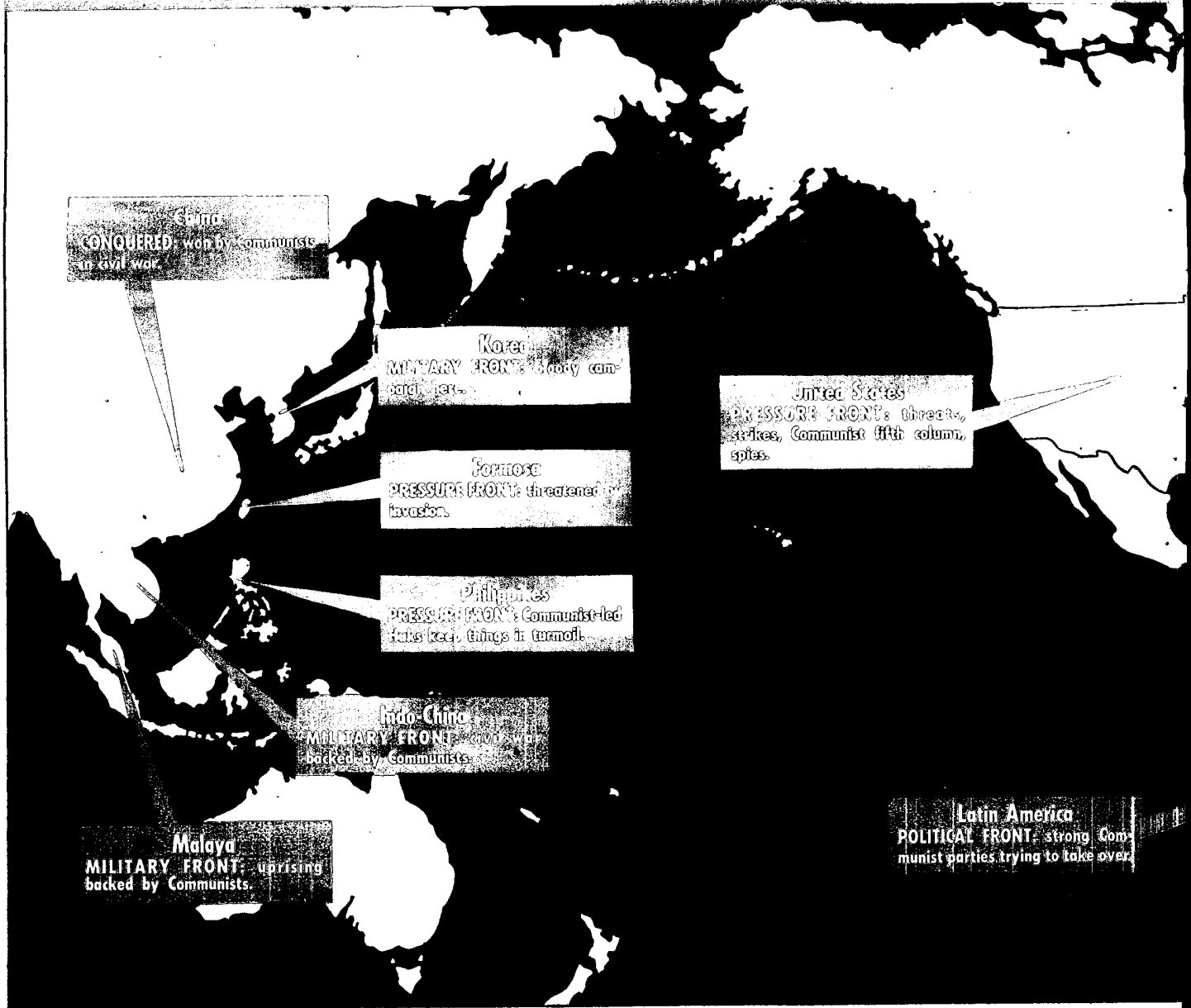
Strategists for U. S. are only now starting to fathom World War III as Russia actually is waging it, for profit.

Ideas, they discover, are a major Russian weapon. Propaganda commands as much, or more, thought and effort in Russia's warmaking as does armament. Peace, as an idea, is paying off through preparation of the ground for conquest more handsomely than scores of divisions of troops could do. Fifth columns are on hand to exploit trouble, to grab power where opportunity offers. Communists grabbed Eastern Europe, with 150 million people and strong industries, through this method.

Assassination is encouraged as a trouble brewer. A Puerto Rican radical tried it on President Truman. Assassins can prepare the ground for revolution, as in Iran, or Pakistan, or Jordan.

Shooting war itself has its place—guerrilla war, civil war, international

Where World War



war. China was taken in civil war. Indo-China is threatened in guerrilla war. Malaya is, too. Korea is waged as international war. All are Communist-planned, Communist-directed wars. None costs a Russian soldier. Vast conquests are made without sacrifice of Russian life, at small cost in Russian resources and armament.

Using modern weapons, modern techniques, Joseph Stalin, directing World War III from the Kremlin, is making it pay—in peoples, raw materials, industries brought into his new empire.

U.S., slow on the uptake, its officials bewildered by new-style war, is back on its heels, out of ideas, able to think of

nothing but armament for the imaginary war that Communists are determined not to fight. The one-track strategy of present American planners calls for getting armed to the teeth.

The catch is that Communist strategists, retaining the initiative after five years of war, are in a position to call reverse signals if danger really seems to threaten. One bright morning they can be all sweetness and light, smiling, talking business, making concessions, agreeing to arms cuts. Inflated by vast armament effort, the bubble in U.S. could burst, and then there would be more pieces for Communists to pick up in different parts of the world.

That's as the Communist strategists plan it—inflation and bust—for U.S. before the big coup.

World War III, the real war and not imaginary war, started in earnest on March 12, 1947.

President Truman on that day proclaimed the "Truman Doctrine," calling for U.S. effort to check the expansion of Communism. Before that day, Stalin had moved cautiously to expand his empire. He accepted the Truman Doctrine as a declaration of World War III and shaped his strategy accordingly.

On the chessboard of the world, move followed move as the Russians maneuvered to exploit any opportunity for

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is Being Fought



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gain. U. S., countering, pushed the Marshall Plan of gifts to friendly nations in Europe. This plan was supposed to stop the Communists. Stalin then countered for Russia by a coup that took Czechoslovakia. A Russian general took over in Poland. Purges went forward in Rumania and Bulgaria to strengthen the Russian hold. Bids for power were made in elections in France and Italy. Communists lost, but proved themselves the largest single party in each of those countries—a fifth column of major size and importance.

U. S. planners, frightened, turned all attention to Western Europe. Stalin, who is smart, shifted to Asia.

Communists took China while U. S. officials looked on, unmoved. A war was fought by U. S. to save China from Japan. But U. S. then found China in Russia's empire four years after the war supposedly was won. Top officials were unimpressed, assumed the attitude that nothing could be done. War flared in Indo-China, tying down important French forces, placing an economic drain on France. Guerrilla war flared in Malaya, tying down important British forces, placing an economic drain on Britain.

Still unimpressed, with all U. S. official attention centered on ways to bolster Western Europe, the hint came that U. S. interests no longer extended to

Korea. Formosa and Korea apparently were to be had for the taking. Stalin moved in June, 1950. Through a puppet regime in North Korea he acted to stake his claim to South Korea.

The U. S., resisting, joined Britain and France, tying important forces down in Asia, where top American officials had been determined they never would be tied down. The drain of World War III on American resources was in two directions—toward Western Europe and toward Korea in Asia. In U. S., feverish churning started to prepare for an imaginary war of all-out destruction.

Stalin now is moving again to shift the battlefield and to prepare the ground



STALIN'S PAWNS: COMMUNISTS RIOT IN ROME



POSTERS IN PRAGUE



PARADERS IN PARIS



—Acme, European, Dept. of Defense

CHINESE COMMUNISTS DO THE FIGHTING IN KOREA
The technique pays off—in peoples, raw materials, industries

for what he expects to be new victories in the real, modern-type world war that he is fighting.

Revolt against the West has struck Iran. Assassination was used in Jordan and Pakistan to prepare the way for trouble. Revolution of a sort stirred in Egypt. Rumbblings of trouble began to be heard in French Morocco. New fronts were being opened, as 1951 moved toward a close in the fifth year of World War III. American strategists still had their eyes glued to Western Europe and their plans geared to the imaginary war that Russia would never fight. In the fifth year of war, Russia still could wage war in the name of peace.

The United States, leading industrial power of the world, at this point admittedly remains on the defensive, outsmarted, outmaneuvered at every turn. Everything is geared to the one-track idea of a war to blow up the world. As a few officials outside the central planning ground see it, U.S. is busy losing the world in a war its leaders cannot see or understand.

Victory, to date, is going to a nation and a system that is highly vulnerable to counterattack of a modern variety, waged with modern weapons.

Communist Russia, besting the United States in World War III, is a weak nation.

Stalin holds power only through control over secret police and the Army. Nearly 10 per cent of Russia's population is in political prisons, working on a slave-labor basis. In 30 years, the Russian people have enjoyed no chance to blow off steam. Periodic purges eliminated dissenters, leaving bitterness behind. Peasants are turned into day laborers, land is nationalized. There is no single language, no common bond for discordant nationalities that make up Russia.

Industry remains primitive, compared with U.S. Transport is weak, very vulnerable. Armed forces, while large, are of uncertain reliability in war that might carry them to other parts of the world. The whole Russian empire is filled with disgruntled people—held in virtual slavery—working for a relatively few privileged Communist rulers who get all the gravy, held in bondage by secret police and armed guards.

Counterattack, geared to exploit the weakness of Russia, is beginning to be considered by officials in U.S. who recognize World War III for what it is, but who are not now in power.

Ideas are seen as the most potent weapon in U.S. hands. Present propaganda methods of the U.S. Department of State are viewed by experts in mass psychology as highly unrealistic. An appeal to slaves, offering the chance of

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BLOW BY BLOW—Russia Still Gaining After Five Years of War

freedom, and sold by Americans who are trained in putting across mass appeals, might prove explosive. That, at least, is the view of those who know how to reach masses of people. What is needed, in their view, is a positive type of "crusade" to sell freedom in practical terms.

Sabotage, too, is a wide-open field of operations. With no support from the West, against hopeless odds, workers in several countries of the Communist empire already are carrying on effective sabotage. In Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, there are slowdowns in industry. Peasant revolt is reported from many areas, even from isolated parts of Soviet Russia herself. There are ways to encourage and aid sabotage of Communism.

Fifth-column opportunities appear to be wide open in many areas. In China there still is a chance to promote civil war in some areas. Parts of Eastern Europe are described as ripe for local revolts. Assassination is a two-edged sword that not only Communists but also local partisans can use. Dollars have paid off in more than one instance when dealing with Communist leaders who love the good things the West offers. Methods to stir trouble are many. Yet American officials, to date, have frowned upon their use.

Pressure for revolt, obviously, is seething in major sections of the new Russian empire. Living standards are being ground down. Peasants are losing land. Purge and threat of purge are developing desperate men who are not afraid of chance taking. Those who are advocating a counterattack against Communism insist that a tiny fraction of effort and money going into arms, if devoted to weapons for revolt, could produce startling results. Russia, with nothing to sell but slavery, without real strength to challenge the West, has won control over 600 million people and vast territory by exploiting dissatisfaction.

The degree of unhappiness and discontent within the Russian empire is pictured as more intense than in any other part of the world.

A promise to blow up the unhappy people of the Russian empire is not calculated to encourage them to look hopefully to the United States. A chance to do some revolting on their own, with the hope of freedom, might get results. To win World War III, instead of losing it, the United States is to be forced to turn against Russia's Communists the weapons that Communist Russia uses against the West.

As things are going now, U. S., arming to the teeth, is losing the war. Russia, without committing troops of her own, is winning with ideas, propaganda and revolution.

- **Communist coups grabbed most of Eastern Europe by 1947.**
- **Attack on Greece then was made to flank Turkey, control Eastern Mediterranean.**
- **U. S. countered with the Truman Doctrine. Money, arms, officers went to Greece.**
- **War was on, as Russia saw it. It was U. S. vs. Russia in March, 1947.**
- **Arms aid started to Turkey. U. S. vowed to "contain" Communism.**
- **Marshall Plan for economic aid to U. S. friends was proposed.**
- **Czechoslovakia fell to Communist coup February, 1948. Czechs had wanted Marshall Plan aid.**
- **Berlin was blockaded in March, 1948. Aim was to get the West out.**
- **"Air lift" was begun to beat blockade. U. S. won after 14 months.**
- **Communists were jolted by election defeats in Italy in April, 1948, in France in November, 1948.**
- **Bloody uprisings, Communist directed, broke out in Malaya.**
- **Tito was denounced by Communists for deviation in June, 1948.**
- **Coup in Hungary brought all-Communist Government in May, 1949.**
- **Drives stepped up as Communists shifted strategy to Asia.**
- **China fell to Communist armies. Chiang fled to Formosa in October, 1949.**
- **War in Indo-China flared more actively.**
- **U. S. Navy plane was shot down over the Baltic in April, 1950.**
- **Attack on South Korea was launched in June, 1950. U. N. resisted.**
- **Chinese invasion of Korea followed defeat of North Koreans. Korean war flared anew.**
- **Defense for Europe, under General Eisenhower, was set up in skeleton form April, 1951.**
- **Tibet was conquered by Communist invaders in May, 1951.**
- **Setback in Japan was suffered by Russia when the West signed a separate treaty.**
- **Uprising in Iran, with Communist backing, forced out British in October, 1951.**
- **Assassinations foretold more trouble in Jordan and Pakistan.**
- **Norway was threatened by Russia in October, 1951.**
- **Shooting war began in Egypt.**
- **Truce talks in Korea, on and off, brought no results after 125 days.**
- **Communist drives, in five years, gained a vast empire, 600 million people.**

Iran Is Seen as an Example Of Too-Late U. S. Planning

State Department Early Aware of Thorny Oil Issue, but Hewed to Daily Tasks

By JAMES RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30—The delicate job of trying to find a solution to the Iranian oil crisis has now been given to two young and energetic members of the State Department, Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee, and the head of the Department's Policy Planning Staff, Paul H. Nitze.

Mr. McGhee is an able geologist and former oil company official from Texas, a protégé of former Under Secretary of State Will Clayton and a wealthy former Rhodes scholar, whose area of responsibility now covers every critical point from Morocco to Pakistan.

Mr. Nitze took over the Policy Planning Staff from George F. Kennan a couple of years ago after a distinguished academic career at Harvard and an equally successful career in Wall Street and various branches of the government.

So far, they have made some progress, but the general feeling here is that the United States intervened in the problem too late and cannot now be expected to find any compromise that will satisfy the United States, Britain or Iran.

The arrival of Mr. Nitze in the current negotiations illustrates at least one aspect of the problem. He is head of one of the newest and most important sections of the State Department, created several years ago so that there would be at least one area in the department where men would be free to concentrate, not on the immediate problems of the moment, but on problems that could be seen on the horizon.

Iran Case No Surprise

Iran was such a problem. The crisis that developed there was not a surprise. When the Soviet Union resorted to the use of force in Korea almost everybody, including Mr. Nitze and his staff, agreed that more trouble was to be expected elsewhere on the perimeter of the Soviet Union, and particularly in Iran.

Mr. McGhee discussed the problem with the British many months before the crisis really broke, but neither Mr. McGhee's office nor the Policy Planning Staff really went to work urgently on the implications of the situation until it had reached a point where United States intervention was seriously, if not hopelessly, hampered by events.

Nobody here is prepared to say today that early intervention by the United States would have over-

ing that detailed planning by Mr. Nitze, when his staff recognized the problem more than a year ago, would at least have been a more hopeful enterprise than intervention by Mr. Nitze now.

Mr. Nitze, however, was spending a good deal of his time then on short-range problems rather than on long-range planning, just as he is spending a great deal of time now negotiating with Premier Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran, and just as his deputy, John Ferguson, is off in Paris working on other immediate problems.

This is not, of course, Mr. Nitze's fault. He does what he is told, and he was assigned to the Iranian negotiations by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who is the man who has argued with more eloquence for a State Department ivory tower than anybody else.

Negotiations Displace Planning

The best critique of the Policy Planning Staff was prepared under the direction of Mr. Acheson himself. This was just before he became Secretary of State, when he was a member of the Hoover Commission: in that job, he supervised the commission's report on the State Department, which included the following:

"The Secretary of State should continue the present high-level planning activity under a Planning Adviser, with special emphasis on freeing him and his staff of current problems, upon providing him with a broad-gauge staff, and upon utilization by him of competent advice from inside and outside the Government.

"The present Policy Planning Staff has been a valuable aid to the top command of the State Department, especially as an 'anticipator' of problems. At present, however, its effectiveness appears to have been lessened by a tendency of the top command to utilize it on day-to-day problems.***"

Far from being removed, this criticism is more relevant today than ever before. Even after Greece, Palestine, Korea and Iran, there is still no clear understanding, even within the United States Government, let alone with London, on the basic interests of the United States and Britain in the whole Moslem world.

And the point of the criticism being heard here on Iran is not so much that the planning staff was negotiating rather than planning in the past, but that, as Mr. Nitze's weeks show, it is still spending much of its time negotiating today.