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MARK

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HE SUFFERS, SPEAKS, AND SERVES

~~XXIII~~

Again, ~~Mark~~ <sup>Mark</sup> was happy to get back to his job on the papers, but almost immediately he suffered a violent attack of hives, <sup>which</sup> ~~The hives~~ came on suddenly when he got ~~the news~~ <sup>word</sup> at the office that ~~Nikolai~~ <sup>September 23, 1947</sup> Petkov, that most courageous Bulgarian, had been executed by the Communists. He left the office immediately to tell me the news and by the time he reached home his whole body was covered by jumbo hives, so fierce he had to be rushed to the Baptist Hospital. Whether Petkov's death brought on the <sup>attack</sup> ~~hives~~ or whether it was coincidence, he was not sure.

For four weeks he was tested for every allergy the doctors had ever heard of and was put on practically every sort of diet they could think of. For ten days he had nothing but rice, which almost cured his devotion to that cereal. (In Mississippi, when a child, he had <sup>had</sup> rice daily; sometimes twice, even eating it for breakfast with milk and sugar.) The doctors' final verdict was that he was suffering from nervous and physical exhaustion. Mark claims <sup>sch</sup> he could have told them that before he went to the hospital. Those weeks in Greece and other Balkan countries, capped by the tragic news of Petkov's death, had been a terrible strain.

We were glad to see the new year, 1948, dawn. Mark prayed it would not be as hectic as 1947 <sup>so</sup> and he could give his undivided attention to the papers and kindred matters. But that was not to be. The year was crowded with a variety of activities that had little to do with newspapering.

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*President* *Truman*

In late March ~~Mr~~ Truman appointed ~~Mark~~ to a three-man board to investigate a nationwide soft-coal strike that had been going on for some ten days. The other two members were George W. Taylor, former War Labor Board chairman, and Sherman Minton, former senator from Indiana and judge of the United States Court of Appeals. It wasn't as arduous a task as it sounds; in five days they had wrapped it up. And they would have done it faster if John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, had shown up on the day they had called him to testify. Lewis's mutinous absence stirred up some excitement for the newspaper photographers, who happily took pictures of the committee with Lewis's empty ~~seat~~ <sup>chair</sup> in the foreground and the next day they appeared on the front pages with a large white arrow pointing unnecessarily to the unoccupied chair. Lewis defied the board, however, only that one day. The board got out a federal court order and the next day he appeared. Not meekly, Mark ~~recalls~~ <sup>said</sup>; still, he came and gave the miners' side of the strike.

*What did it say?*

By noon the board had its report ready and went to the White House to present it to President Truman. ~~Three days later, the United States District Court for the District of Columbia issued an injunction forbidding the continuance of the strike.~~

*Pick up sheet*

~~One trivial, <sup>fairly</sup> amusing incident that had nothing to do with the work of the Commission, happened on one of <sup>Mark's</sup> trips to Washington during this period. He arrived in Washington on Sunday morning, November 20th, a day ahead of the scheduled meeting of the Commission because it was Mary Snow's twenty-fifth birthday and he had asked her to come to Washington from New York where she was junior editor of Harper's Bazaar so he could have a birthday dinner for her. He also invited Maynard Barnes, the United States minister to Bulgaria who had entertained him so graciously on his two visits there --~~

*How do you get from March to the previous November?*

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Ethridge

The report accused Lewis of causing the strike by personally urging the miners to stop work. ~~Three days later~~ Three days later, on April 3, ~~President~~ President Truman directed attorney general, Tom C. Clark, to seek an injunction against the miners' walkout. Officials of the Department took the order to justice Mathew F. Mc Guire, who that very night ordered Lewis "To instruct forthwith <sup>the</sup> striking soft coal miners to return to work."

Ethridge


In August President Truman appointed Mark chairman of the newly created United States Advisory Commission on Information of which the Voice of America was an integral part. The Commission came about after Congress had enacted the Smith-Mundt bill, setting out the peacetime roll of international information as one way of increasing "mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." Under the new law the State Department organized The Office of International Information (OII) for mass media of mass functions and the Office of Information Exchange (OIE) for the exchange-persons program and the support of libraries and institutions abroad. Over both offices was the assistant secretary of state, George V. Allen.

Mark ~~I~~ didn't want to take on another government job; but every since <sup>his</sup> ~~my~~ trip to Rumania and Bulgaria and Russia in 1945 <sup>he</sup> ~~I~~ felt ~~we~~ the United States needed to do a vigorous world-wide information job. He saw then that foreigners didn't understand American's aims, purposes and manner of living. ~~Foreigners~~ Those countries and others were really starved for knowledge about the United States. As things stood, they thought of ~~Americans~~ <sup>the United States</sup> as fat cats, imperialistic ~~country~~. The United States needed desperately to step up <sup>its</sup> ~~our~~ propanganda through radio broadcasts, moving pictures, news reels, reading rooms in foreign cities with magazines books and papers about the United

States and good good press officers. There was a great deal that needed to be done and so I accepted the appointment.

The President selected an excellent group of men to serve with <sup>Mark</sup> ~~me~~: Mark A. Hay, director of Yale University Institute of Human Relations; Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters; Edwin B. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor; and current president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors; and Philip Reed, president of the General Electric Company.

They met ~~we~~ met regularly in Washington and saw eye-to-eye on practically every problem. Mark bragged that he never served on a commission or committee that worked as harmoniously and diligently.

During this period on one of his trips to Washington, a trivial, fairly amusing incident, that had nothing to do with the work of the commission happened. Mark arrived in Washington on Sunday morning, November 20th, a day ahead of the scheduled meeting of the Commission because it was Mary Snow's <sup>twenty-fifth</sup> birthday and he had asked her to come to Washington from New York where she was junior editor of Harper's Bazaar. so he could have a birthday dinner for her. He also invited Maynard Barnes ~~was~~ the United States Minister to Bulgaria who had been ~~we~~ entertained him so graciously on his two visits there 

and me, too, on the most recent one <sup>was then</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>now</sup> in the Capital on leave, <sup>he and</sup> and his niece, Mary Walker Gatewood, who worked for the government in Washington, <sup>rounded out the party</sup>

From Mark's account when he returned home, the dinner was a great success, but afterwards, when they went <sup>at</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> Maynard's apartment <sup>where they stopped</sup> for a night <sup>cap,</sup> ~~he and Mary Snow~~ <sup>there was</sup> got in <sup>#</sup> the "God Damndest argument" over the State Department's policies in China. Mary Snow opposed them violently while Mark approved them 100 percent.

"Mary Snow wouldn't listen to reason," he reported. "With her eyes snapping, she kept insisting the United States was letting China go down the drain. If she said it once, she said it twenty-five times: 'Down the drain... down the drain... down the drain.'"

"We argued, with Maynard getting in a few words on my side every now and then, until it was time for Mary Snow and me to go to our hotel. In the taxi, she was <sup>still</sup> so mad she didn't say one word, and when we reached ~~the sitting room of~~ our suite she headed straight for her room, hesitating at the door only long enough to fling over her shoulder, 'Good <sup>#</sup>night, you old bastard.'"

"The next morning, as I was dressing to attend the meeting of the Commission, the phone rang," Mark continued, his blue eyes twinkling and his <sup>R</sup> ~~w~~ <sup>aglow</sup> face ~~aglow~~ with relish at what was to come.

"It was Dr. May, that very distinguished head of Human Relations at Yale, remember? He had just arrived for the meeting from New Haven and wasn't able at <sup>that</sup> ~~this~~ early hour to get into his room.

"May I come up to your room, Mr. Ethridge," he asked, "and freshen up a bit?"

"By all means," I said, "and have breakfast with me. I was just getting ready to order some sent up."

"So the learned doctor came up and shortly we sat down to

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the meeting from New Haven

breakfast. And right then, <sup>at</sup> that very moment, Mary Snow, still half asleep as she always is, you know, when she wakes up with her hair over her face and her sheer nightgown half off one shoulder, stumbled into the room. Not even seeing Dr. May, she muttered, 'Good morning, you old bastard.'

↓ ↓ Doctor May, my daughter, ↓ I said casually with a straight face.

"Mary Snow gave one horrified gasp and disappeared."

Mark loved <sup>that</sup> the incident and recounted it many times and every time, if Mary Snow was present, she shook her head regretfully and mourned, "Oh, if I had only had the presence of mind to retort, 'Your daughter, ha-ha!'"

That year Mark was invited to make a great many speeches, including the Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in June. We worked ~~more~~ diligently on that speech than on any he had ever made before. ~~From the moment he received the invitation~~ He felt the occasion was important and that feeling was intensified when he received a letter from Mr. Jordan T. Shaplin, assistant dean of Harvard, giving him his instructions. Among other things Shaplin said:

"The Literary Exercises will be held at 11:00 a.m. in Sanders Theatre. The procession will form outside of Harvard Hall at about 10:45. The Society marches to Sanders Theatre to the accompaniment of fife and drum in keeping with an old tradition."

The "fife and drum" got Mark!

His subject was a <sup>"</sup>Prelude to World Power. <sup>"</sup> It seemed <sup>timely</sup> to him, a ~~timely subject~~, for World War II was just three years behind us and the United States was beginning to be recognized as the Number One nation. He said in part:

"In his remarkable book, Our Plundered Land, Fairfield Osborn tells of the dead cities of Northern Syria that stand stark upon their

rock foundations. Once they were trading capitals of a fertile plain, but the erosion of wind and water have left them ghost cities, rising high out of a desert of monuments to the folly of man.

"There is something in the image of those cities that we of the United States may ponder. We, too, stand stark and alone upon a summit <sup>at</sup> the summit of power. We have reached a height in world history, not so much because we climbed it, but because the hills and the plains around <sup>us</sup> have been leveled by the erosion, the destruction, and the devastation of war. The United States is in a <sup>position</sup> ~~position~~ in history that it has never occupied before. We are the trustees of both the physical and ideological forces of Western civilization.

<sup>capt?</sup>  
"After the first World War, we had the strength, but neither the will nor the urge to lead. History will record, perhaps, that we, more than any other nation or even more than any dictator, were responsible for World War II because we did not, in the twenties, abdicate an international responsibility. But the choice is no longer ours. Time and history have doubled back upon us. We are trapped into a position of leadership of Western civilization because neither Great Britain nor any other country is strong enough to defend it and because, if it is not defended, it will be lost. As little as we may like the role, we are not only the spiritual inheritors of all of our civilization's past; its trustee of the present, but also the reluctant architects of its future...<sup>ok with?</sup>

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Then, after more introduction, Mark got down to the body of the speech: What kind of leader should the United States be? What image should we present to the world? As he said, "Until we know what we really are and what we want to be as a nation, we can not expect others to follow...."

"If there is to be stability in what we do, it must have a



philosophical basis. What is ours? What is the American way?... <sup>W</sup>

To answer that question he began with what we were not. We did not stand for "industrialism symbolized by both our labor unions and by the National Association of Manufacturer<sup>s</sup>es."

"Industrialism has been grafted upon the tree," he claimed, "not the tree upon industrialism. And it has created as many problems as it has benefits. Its greed has created human derelicts and slums; it has devoured our natural resources at a frightening rate. It has brought into being a vast bureaucracy of regulatory bodies necessary to protect the rest of us from its exploitation. Worse than any of that, however, it has brought upon us what Toynbee calls one of the degenerating forces of society, class warfare, which he warns is capable of 'irrevocably disintegrating society.' It has split our population into three main sectors: the capitalist, the laborer, and the man in the middle, who must exercise eternal vigilance to see that he does not get crushed in the struggle.

"I do not decry industrialism. I only say that it is not the central core of this country, not even the most <sup>W</sup>pholosome force. Quite the contrary. Ever since we became industrialized it has been necessary for the American people to bring into play their chief intellectual survival from the revolution: the spirit of resistance to undue power wherever concentrated....

"We must have goods, we must have production, but we must not let the philosophy of business dominate American life or American policy. Nor must we let the philosophy of labor unions or the Farm Bureau or any other special interest be our guide. The functions all of them perform are ancillary and subordinate to the concepts by which we live. Businessmen, farmers, laborers, white-collar

workers, professional people <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> all of us <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> are good Americans only to the extent that we share the common heritage and the common ideals and desire the general, rather than the special, good.

"...What I am saying is that America must go before the world with character such as the British nobly illustrated in their 'finest hour' and with a sure sense of what they are and where they want themselves and the world to go. The Russians think they have a dynamic that will defeat us because we have none. We have one as old as the aspirations and determination of man to be something more than an animal, or a serf, or a slave, but it must be given national expression if it is to be a weapon for us."

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Then Mark took up his second point in planning for world leadership <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> the necessity of taking stock "of our physical strength in relation to the task...". He said, "Nature has been good to us, but our treasures are not inexhaustible...."

"We ravage America when we consume our forests at twice the rate at which she replaces them or when in forty years we reduce our woodpile by <sup>44</sup>forty-four percent. We ravage nature and impoverish ourselves when we send almost four billions of dollars of topsoil a year down our rivers and create new deltas. We spend our ingenuity building levees so that rivers may run above our heads, but the end of that is to build only higher and higher levees. We ravage nature and impoverish ourselves by mining land that should be cultivated and plow up land that should never be plowed, or overgrazing land that should not be grazed at all. In our own time we have witnessed the suicide of a region and almost created a dust-bowl desert out of plains that once were covered by grass <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> plains that fed fifty million bison...."

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"We cannot replace minerals, ~~he said,~~ but the sheerest common sense would suggest that we restore to nature what we can of what we have taken from her. We can plan to protect and expand our natural resources. We can harness rivers and turn them and their watersheds to man's benefit, as the TVA <sup>[Tennessee Valley Authority]</sup> has proved. We can restore the forests and in most cases the land that has been despoiled. We can reclaim dust bowls; we can irrigate sandy fields into fertility... We can husband the reserves of oil that lie off our coasts instead of turning them back to the states so that pressure groups may greedily devour them. We can preserve the <sup>r</sup>virgin forests of the West and use them by proper timbering instead of turning them back to modern 'robber barons.' We can assert that destruction of our land by overgrazing in the West is a national, rather than a local, ~~interest,~~ <sup>interest</sup> and demand that it be stopped lest all of us become Hopi Indians.

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 ✓ [Tennessee Valley Authority]  
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"Even the lowest of all considerations, preparation for war, would suggest that we use more of our public moneys than the one <sup>1</sup> percent we now appropriate to build our resources so that our sinews may become even <sup>st</sup> stronger than they are now. Even that low consideration would suggest, too, that since so many of our young men were found to be unfit for war, public health measures should be taken to make another generation fitter, even if the mere suggestion leads to the frightening bogey of socialized <sup>3</sup> medicine. That low consideration would suggest, too, that if we are to use all the resources of all our minds, a greater subsidy of education must come from the federal government. Another Einstein may be playing barefoot in a Mississippi tenant farmer's backyard."

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A third consideration in our thinking for <sup>1</sup>orientation for world

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leadership should be, he said, a clear understanding, "realistically rather than hysterically," of the other major force of the world by which, of course, he meant Russia. He continued:

✓ "... We seldom take the trouble to make the discrimination that should be made between the elements of the force that we oppose. We are actually engaged on two fronts: one of them the physical effort of the successor to the old Russian Empire to expand its borders, the other the ideological force of Communism and its attempt to capture the imagination and loyalty of the people of the world. We have the force, perhaps, through <sup>the</sup> U.N. <sub>(or L)</sub> or through a group of nations, or even by ourselves, if it becomes necessary, to stop the physical expansion of Russia and we should be prepared to do it.... But we can gain the victory in the physical field and lose the war in the battle of ideas.

"The Russian geopolitician and the military strategist may think in terms of land masses, bases, and the movement of forces, but the Russian Communist <sup>just</sup> substitutes ideas for the naked force of armies, navies, and marine corps that were the hallmarks of the old imperialism. His promises come with a siren voice as silken as those that lured Ulysses. He tells the worker in the words of Marx, 'Arise! You have nothing to lose but your chains.' ✓ He tells the poor that in exchange for allegiance he will guarantee a better standard of living. He stirs the national ambitions of minorities everywhere. He tells the Gypsy in Romania, the untouchable in India, and the Negro in America that he will abolish class in society. He tells the landless that he will give them land. He tells women who have been used only for procreation and as pack animals that they will have a share in making and running their governments. He tells the young that at eighteen

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they have acquired sufficient wisdom to make them eligible to vote. He tells labor that it will own the factories and run them. He promises colonial peoples that they will be free in a new Communist world. Indeed, he promises the freedom that the American Revolution brought, the equalitarianism the French Revolution asserted, and the benefits that have flowed from the industrial revolution.

"They are powerful promises and should not be underrated. That they are not fulfilled or that there is a catch to them is another matter. They still fit the aspirations of all those segments of mankind that have been too little recognized; indeed, too long held down in the distribution of the benefits of civilization. Not every Communist is the direct agent, even if he is the stooge, of Moscow. He may be merely a little man who wants some of the things Communism promises and cannot understand political systems that do not give them....

"It is well for us to understand that the Russian revolutionists have delivered upon some of the promises they made to their people. Although the Russian standard of living is appallingly low, it is higher than it was when the revolution was made....

"It is not sufficient for us to say that a promised Utopia has become a hell for the civilized man, the more civilized, the deeper the pit of his agony. That, too, is a negative answer. It gives neither satisfaction nor hope to anybody. It will not stop Communism, for as long as people are hungry they will trade their souls for bread; as long as they are naked they will follow those who promise to clothe them. As long as they are under the heels of masters, they will follow him who promises liberation. As long as people are denied civil rights of our Constitution or their

constitutions we can expect them to beat upon our consciences, the doors of our courts, and the Congress. We cannot close our ears to all voices that call from the world of the dispossessed and underprivileged for those privileges that we value as an attribute to civilization without endangering both our leadership and the very possession of those privileges. We delude ourselves if we think that for long we can live on an oasis inured to the needs and wants of the world.

"If we are the inheritors of the spirit of freedom and tolerance, we must exemplify it. We must convert, not jail, deviationists. We cannot go upon witch hunts without betraying the natural rights of men. We cannot fire professors for what they believe and pretend to academic freedom. We cannot fire men from government because their grown children exercise their minds to believe what they believe and not what they are told. I know no idea that can be stopped by a musket. I do know that every Communist leader in Eastern Europe, every man who heads the minority that now enslaves the majority, was the victim of jailing because of his beliefs. All he added to his philosophy was the knowledge he gained from his oppressors of how to use tyranny. Every effort in modern history to stamp out free thinking has set a fire somewhere else. Nor can we support repressive governments and make the world believe that we are passionate disciples of Paine and Jefferson, Mason and Madison....

"We cannot, nor do we have any right to try to bully those whom we help into embracing a free capitalistic system. We are not doing what we are doing with measures of help out of any humanitarian feeling; let us get over the notion that we are. We are trying to create economic and political stability, so that people whom we help may make up their own minds....

in phrasing + punct in 'y? exact quote

"Nor should we expect gratitude out of those whom we help.

The most we should expect and hope for is that they will again become stable, strong, and self-supporting to the point where they will blunt the policies of both Russia and ourselves and make major contributions to the peace of the world through the United Nations or whatever organization there is for peace. Gratitude is the last thing we should want; it is we who should be grateful, if we do bring about stability and peace, that we have had the opportunity and the wisdom to use our resources in such a cause.

"And, finally, there is one thing we must learn above all else: There is a fallacy in our thinking that is more likely to plague and even destroy us than all the rest. It is the idea that we can have a domestic policy of one hue and a foreign policy of another. In the end there can be no foreign policy that does not reflect the domestic policy of the people of the United States....

"In hammering out our course as a world power, let us say that we shall defend and enlarge, rather than abridge, our civil rights at home; forge a sense of national interest rather than special interest; plan to, and do, restore and develop the sources of energy and food production; strengthen our physical and mental fiber with better health and education facilities; and cast the bread of our help and encouragement upon the furthest waters of the world. Then, perhaps, Whitman's prophesy may come true;

Long, too long America

Traveling roads all even and peaceful, you learned from joys and prosperity only, But now, ah now, to learn from crisis of anguish, advancing, grappling with fiercest fate and recoiling not,

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And now to conceive and show to the world  
what your children enmasse really are."

Mark probably shocked a good many of the who's who of Harvard with that speech; but, no doubt, shocked them even more when he announced, "I'm pretty sure I'm the first recipient of a Phi Beta Kappa key who was a drop-out after his freshman year in college."

(Two years later Harvard awarded Mark an honorary doctor-of-laws degree, so he claims the Phi Beta key "legitimate.")

In August, President Truman appointed Mark the chairman of the newly created United States Advisory Commission on Information of which the Voice of America was an integral part. The Commission came about after Congress had enacted the Smith-Mundt Act, setting out the peacetime role of international information as one way of increasing "mutual understanding between the people of other countries."

He didn't want to take on another government job; but ever since his trip to Bulgaria, Rumania, and Russia in 1945 he had felt the United States needed to do a vigorous worldwide information job. At that time he saw that foreigners didn't understand our aims, our purposes, our manner of living. Those countries and others were really starved for knowledge about the United States. As things stood, they thought of us as a fat-cat, imperialistic country. Mark believed we needed desperately to step up our propoganda through radio broadcasts, moving pictures, newsreels; reading rooms in foreign cities with magazines, books, and papers about the United States; and good press officers. A great deal needed to be done, and so he accepted the appointment.

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