

THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF THE UNITED STATES
AS DEPICTED BY ITALIAN COMMUNIST TRADE-UNIONISM:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

By

Alexandra Ann Rolland

AN ABSTRACT

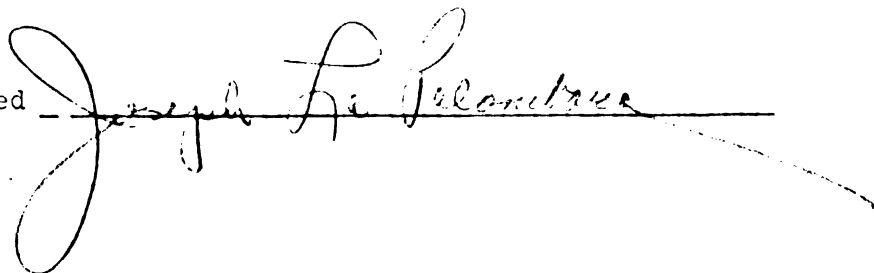
Submitted to the College of Business and Public Service of
Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

Year 1 1955

Approved

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Joseph H. Reardon", is written over a horizontal line. The signature is fluid and extends to the right of the line.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS:

THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF THE UNITED STATES
AS DEPICTED BY ITALIAN COMMUNIST TRADE-
UNIONISM: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

Because of Italy's strategic location in Southern Europe, the strength of the Communist Party in Italy has been of concern to the United States. This study was undertaken in an attempt to ascertain the attitude of one of the Communist organizations, the General Italian Confederation of Labor (CGIL), toward the United States. It was felt that a knowledge of the method and substance of this one facet of anti-American propaganda would give some insight into the techniques of this propaganda and, at the same time, give some indication of how the United States could best formulate a campaign to counteract its possible effects.

Given the nature of this study, content analysis was selected by the most useful method of analysis. A combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches to content analysis was chosen as it was felt that this combination would give a more accurate picture of the source material than either of the two systems utilized alone. The source selected for analysis was Lavoro, a weekly magazine published by CGIL and the official publication of the organization.

Over the period of this study -- January, 1953 through June, 1954 --, a total of 11.5% of the space was devoted to a treatment of the United States. As was expected, the overwhelming majority of the material involved negative treatment of the United States by the Lavoro staff. However, a fair amount of Lavoro's content included positive statements about the United States as well, although such favorable comments were usually qualified in nature. For the most part, the material was presented by the use of a combination

of factual reporting and distortion.

Thesis Abstract

Those aspects of United States' policies and actions which received the greatest amount of attention in Lavoro were (1) foreign policy; (2) the economic situation; (3) labor problems; (4) the Rosenberg case; and (5) McCarthyism. Each of these were treated in detail, with the Rosenberg case and American foreign policy in the Far East and in Italy receiving the greatest emphasis. Those themes usually employed in conjunction with these subjects were violence against individuals, restraint on individuals, political persecution, fascism, corruption, and political imperialism.

Throughout the analysis, the competence of the Lavoro staff was one of the most impressive features of the magazine. A sense of perspective was very neatly maintained in each item and, at the same time, most of the items were presented in an interesting manner. And no opportunity was lost to exploit any of those policies and actions of the United States which seemed to be conducive to anti-American treatment.

Perhaps the major limitation of this study is that it was not possible to determine the reaction of the Italian worker to Lavoro's treatment of the United States. However, it is the opinion of the writer that the presentation of this material was, in most cases, quite effective. If so, the United States is faced with a real problem in determining the most effective methods of propaganda to be employed in counteracting the anti-American sentiment among the Italian workers.

**THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF THE UNITED STATES
AS DEPICTED BY ITALIAN COMMUNIST TRADE-UNIONISM:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS**

**By
Alexandra Ann Rolland**

A THESIS

**Submitted to the College of Business and Public Service of Michigan
State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS**

Department of Political Science

1955

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author hereby expresses her deep gratitude to Dr. Joseph G. LaPalombara, upon whose suggestion this study was undertaken and without whose constant guidance, assistance, and encouragement it would never have been completed.

I would also like to thank Dr. Wesley R. Fishel and Mr. Bruce L. Smith, both of the department of Political Science, for their valuable suggestions and interest in this study.

For his greatly-needed assistance in translation of the source material, I am indebted to Sergio Talacchi, graduate assistant in the department.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this study to my father whose cogent comments on the Italian political situation were invaluable to the successful completion of this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Chapter I. Introduction to the Study	1
Rationale for the Study	
Method of Research	
Limitations	
Chapter II. American policies and actions	19
Far East	
Rationale for U. S. Foreign Policy	
Western Europe	
The Rosenberg Case	
Labor	
McCarthyism	
Chapter III. Quantitative aspects of the data	34
Results of Classification of Data	
A Few Cross-Tabulations	
Chapter IV. Quantitative Analysis	48
Major Categories	
Major Themes	
Some Cross-Tabulations	
Chapter V. Qualitative Analysis	69
Imperialism and Foreign Policy	
Economics and "Democracy"	
An Appeal to Labor	
"Legal Assassination"	
Attempts at Political Conformity	
Major Themes -- All Negative	
Approbation of the United States	
Further Remarks	
Chapter VI. Summary and Conclusions	98
Bibliography	109
Appendix	111

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Type of Item on Size of Item	42
2.	Type of Item on Prominence	43
3.	Type of Item on Direction	45
4.	Type of Item on Method of Presentation	46
5.	The Number of Mentions per Month of Each Category and Theme ...	50
6.	Category or Theme on Type of Item	63
7.	Category or Theme on Size of Item	64
8.	Category or Theme on Prominence	65
9.	Category or Theme on Direction	66
10.	Category or Theme on Method of Presentation	68
11.	Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Foreign Policy	73
12.	Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Economic Situation	76
13.	Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Labor Problems	79
14.	Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on the Rosenberg Case	82
15.	Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on McCarthyism	86
16.	Approbation on Terms of Approbation	93

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Frequency over Time of the Total Number of Mentions of the United States	35
2.	Relative Appearance of the Types of Items	36
3.	Relative Appearance of the Size of Items	37
4.	The Use of the Types of Prominence	38
5.	Direction of the Items	39
6.	Methods of Presentation	40
7.	Frequency over Time of Foreign Policy	51
8.	Frequency over Time of the Rosenberg Case	52
9.	Frequency over Time of McCarthyism	53
10.	Frequency over Time of Labor Problems.....	54
11.	Frequency over Time of the Economic Situation	55
12.	Frequency over Time of Approbation	56
13.	Frequency over Time of Violence Against Individuals	57
14.	Frequency over Time of Restraint on Individuals	58
15.	Frequency over Time of Political Persecution	59
16.	Frequency over Time of Corruption	60
17.	Frequency over Time of Fascism	61
18.	Frequency over Time of Political Imperialism	62
19.	The Relative Percentages of the Use of the Six Major Themes With the Five Major Categories.....	89

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Communist Party today holds a position of importance and influence in several nations of Western Europe, especially in France and Italy. Despite the relatively rapid rate of economic recovery experienced by most of these nations since the end of World War II, the party has continued to gain strength rather than to lose it.¹

In June, 1947, George Marshall proposed economic aid to war-torn Europe for three major reasons: first, to attempt to forge some type of economic co-operation among the nations of Europe; second, to assist them in recovering from the destruction the previous years of war had brought; and, third, to halt the spread of Communism throughout Europe by means of promoting a faster rate of economic recovery. For some time, the United States had been convinced that the Soviet Union was doing everything it could to impede European economic recovery for its own political reasons; as a result, when Russia refused to join the Marshall Plan or to let its satellites participate in the Plan, the United States needed no further indication of the aims of the Soviet Union in Western Europe.

Then, in 1949, the United States committed itself to the defense of the European Continent when the North Atlantic Treaty was ratified by the Senate. NATO was developed as a collective defense mechanism against possible Soviet aggression and was to provide the basis for another type of co-operation among the nations of Western Europe. With the putting into

1. For example, compare the national election returns for France in 1946 and 1951 and for Italy in 1948 and 1953. See Carter, Ranney, and Herz, Major Foreign Powers, p. 311; and J. G. LaPalombara, "Left-Wing Trade Unionism: The Matrix of Communist Power in Italy." The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 7 (June, 1954), p. 202.

operation of these two projects, American leadership of the continent was recognized in the struggle against future possible Communist domination.

However, not all groups in these nations wanted American leadership. It was not only the Communists who opposed our leadership; several of the Socialist and Right-wing parties opposed it as well. At the same time, those political groups which were friendliest toward the United States were somewhat antagonistic toward several of our policies such as, for example, our desire to see Franco Spain in NATO. Also, dread of a possible war in the future -- atomic or other -- had led many groups to espouse the policy of "neutralism" in the hopes of preventing such an occurrence.

In order to win the friendship and co-operation of these nations, it is necessary for the United States to work with all of the social, economic, and political groups. One of the most important of these groups is the rank and file of European labor; these workers are on the periphery of the society and are largely politically oriented toward the left.

Prior to World War II, the Socialist parties in Western Europe held the allegiance of the majority of these workers. However, since the war they have shifted in great numbers to the Communist-led trade unions. One of the reasons for this shift has been the apparent failure of the Socialist parties to provide the workers with the kind of dynamic leadership they obviously desired.² In France and in Italy, the Communist-dominated trade

2. For an excellent discussion of this situation, see Charles A. Micaud, "Social Democracy in France," World Politics, Vol. 7 (July, 1955), pp. 532-545.

union confederations have the largest and, in many instances, the most devoted membership. And, in the case of Italy at least, the confederation no doubt provides the bulk of the membership for the Communist Party.

The Italian Communist Party (PCI), with a claimed membership of over two million,³ is the largest outside the Soviet Orbit at the present time. It is the largest single party in Italy, second only to the Christian Democrats (DC), and gained 22.6% of the total votes cast in the 1953 general election. If one joins to that figure the 12.7% won by the Nenni Socialists (PSI), we find PCI and PSI with 35.3% as compared to the 40.1% of the Christian Democrats. Bearing these figures in mind, it is no wonder that many persons are concerned about the political future of Italy. From the viewpoint of the United States, it is vital because of Italy's strategic location.

Many explanations have been offered for the strength of the PCI at the present time. However, perhaps the most plausible is that

...barring some sort of effective amelioration of population pressure, unemployment, and social rigidity, Italian Communism...will continue to attract distraught Italians who have waited long and without apparent satisfaction for democracy to correct economic and social disequilibrium.⁴

Even when one considers the effect of American economic aid through the Marshall Plan to Italy, the main economic problem -- that of unemployment -- still remains. It has been estimated that at least 2,000,000 persons are unemployed at the present time with the number continually rising as the economy is unable to absorb all those who enter the labor market each year.⁵

3. The New York Times, June 7, 1953, Section 4, p. 2E.

4. J. G. LaPalombara, "Left-Wing Trade Unionism: The Matrix of Communist Power in Italy," Western Political Quarterly, June, 1954, p. 223.

5. Ibid., p. 206.

One of the groups which has profited by these economic problems has been the Italian General Confederation of Labor (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro -- CGIL).⁶ CGIL's present membership is about 4,819,000; this number comprises 69.2% of all organized workers in Italy at the present time. The Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions (Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori -- CISL), the Christian Democratic trade union confederation, has 24.9% of the organized labor force while the Italian Union of Labor (Unione Italiana del Lavoro -- UIL), the Social Democratic Union, has 5.9%. Among these groups of workers which are organized, CGIL has 68% in industry, 71.3% in transportation and communication, 76.2% in agriculture and forestry, and 44.4% in public employment.⁷

Given the predominance of CGIL on the Italian labor scene, its importance cannot be underestimated. With its control of many of the major trade unions, CGIL is often in a position to determine trade union policy within a particular factory despite the presence of the other two confederations. And CGIL is an important adjunct of the Italian Communist Party; therefore, neither can its importance on the political scene be underestimated. The leaders of CGIL are also influential in PCI, as shown by the fact that "Three members of CGIL's national secretariat, five from its executive committee, and ten from its national directorate hold positions in the national governing organs of the Communist Party."⁸ And, as nearly as can be determined, PCI is dependent to some extent upon the co-operation of CGIL in furthering its program.

6. Hereafter referred to as CGIL.

7. These unofficial figures were received from Mr. LaPalombara who told the writer that they were probably exaggerated.

8. J. G. LaPalombara, "The Political Role of Organized Labor in Western Europe," Journal of Politics, Vol. 17 (February, 1955) p. 70.

CGIL has shown during the past few years that it is politically tied to PCI. For example, when the Soviet Union declared its opposition to the Marshall Plan, to NATO, to the European Defense Community, to the Schuman Plan, etc. CGIL followed PCI's opposition to each of these measures. By means of strikes, demonstrations, and propaganda it attempted to influence the legislature and public opinion against these programs.⁹ While it is true that CGIL did not succeed in any of these endeavors, it probably did manage to disrupt the economy to a certain extent, thus hampering economic recovery for purely political reasons. Another example of CGIL's close ties with PCI is that it supports only those candidates for the legislature who run on either the PCI or PSI tickets. One could go on at length giving similar examples, but these should be sufficient, especially when it is realized that the domestic policies of CGIL and PCI are, for all practical purposes, identical.

These attempts of CGIL to influence public opinion are of extreme importance. Its demonstrations, strikes, and propaganda are bound to influence the general public as well as the union members; and its popularity among workers cannot be discounted by any means.

One of the main reasons for CGIL's popularity among the workers is its Secretary General, Giuseppe DiVittorio.¹⁰ DiVittorio rose from a beginning in a family of illiterate agricultural day-laborers to become the head of one of the most influential politico-economic groups in Italy at the

9. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

10. The material on DiVittorio was taken from J. G. LaPalombara, "Left-Wing Trade Unionism: The Matrix of Communist Power in Italy," *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218; and CGIL, DiVittorio, una vita al servizio dei lavoratori e la rinascita dell'Italia, Rome, 1952; and CGIL, Giuseppe DiVittorio per l'unità dei lavoratori e la rinascita dell'Italia, Roma, 1952.

present time. He has been a fervent member of PCI since shortly after it was organized and he gained prestige in the party during the first years of his membership. It was DiVittorio who perhaps more than any other single person was responsible for the 1944 Pact of Rome which brought CGIL into existence. According to the provisions of the Pact of Rome there was to be one large confederation of trade unions encompassing all organized workers; this remained the case until the advent of the Marshall Plan in 1948 which brought about a schism in the confederation. Perhaps the main reason for this schism, which resulted in the formation of both CISL and UIL in 1950, was PCI's following the Soviet Union's adamant opposition to the Marshall Plan. Therefore, when the Communist-led trade unions followed suit in opposition, the split was more or less inevitable.

CGIL has lost no opportunity to extol the virtues of DiVittorio. In one sense, he is a charismatic leader. It is impossible to measure his popularity in numbers, but he is the person who draws enormous crowds when he speaks; he is the man who is looked to by many workers to solve their problems. An excellent example of his personal appeal can be found in one of the articles cited above:

It was also frightening to hear this crowd chant "Di-Vi-to-rio, Di-Vi-to-rio" for endless minutes following the termination of his verbal marathon. One had visions of another era and another man.¹¹

Another example of the high esteem in which DiVittorio is held is shown by the week long celebration held throughout Italy on the occasion of his 60th birthday in August, 1952. DiVittorio was praised over and over again by both CGIL and PCI leaders such as Agostino Novella, Secretary of

11. LaPalombara, "Left-Wing Trade Unionism: The Matrix of Communist Power in Italy," op. cit., p. 218.

CGIL: Fernando Santi, Secretary of CGIL: and Senator Pietro Secchia, Vice-Secretary General of PCI. There were also other speakers worth noting here. One was Louis Saillant, Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, of which DiVittorio was president at that time. The other was Dr. A. C. Rocchi from CISL, one of the men who, supposedly, is working around the clock to defeat the aims of CGIL. Yet, here he was, praising DiVittorio in as laudatory terms as those who are ideologically aligned with PCI and CGIL.

In the plans for the festivities, one of the reasons given for such a celebration was:

...di dare così un tangibile segno della riconoscenza del popolo per l'opera svolta, durante decenni di attività da Giuseppe DiVittorio per l'emancipazione della forza del lavoro, nell'interesse dell'Italia e della pace.¹²

Rationals for the study

This type of activity is typical of the propaganda campaigns carried on by CGIL. By propaganda here is meant essentially the following:

...an attempt to influence opinion and conduct -- especially social opinion and conduct -- in such a manner that the persons who adopt the opinions and behavior indicated do so without themselves making any definite search for the reason.¹³

Propaganda can be contrasted with education which also attempts to influence thinking and behavior but in a way that persons attempt to reason out exactly why they are reacting in a certain manner.¹⁴

-
12. CGIL, DiVittorio, una vita al servizio dei lavoratori, op. cit., p. 6.
 "...to give thusly a tangible sign of the recognition of the people for the job done, during decades of activity, by G. DiVittorio for the emancipation of the forces of labor, in the interests of Italy and of Peace.
13. Daniel Katz et al, Public Opinion and Propaganda, New York: The Dryden Press, 1954, p. 464.
14. Ibid., p. 465.

1

The dissemination of propaganda is considered to be of major importance by CGIL leaders. The confederation publishes 30 monthly, 3 bi-monthly, and 2 bi-weekly newspapers and one weekly magazine plus distributing thousands of plant and local union newspapers each month.¹⁵ These have a total monthly circulation of approximately 854,000 copies, which, when added to the over 600,000 daily circulation of the PCI and PSI newspapers, means that millions of pieces of anti-American propaganda are made available to the Italian people regularly.¹⁶

The weekly magazine, Lavoro, published by CGIL, is an excellent example of the type of publication put out by anti-American groups in Italy. It is published exclusively for the trade union members as is shown by the fact that it contains reminder after reminder to the workers that they should buy the magazine since it is published for them and is concerned with their problems. As to what impression this campaign has had on the CGIL members, the only figures on total sales that could be located were those for 1952. During that year over 6½ million copies were sold according to the January 4, 1953 issue of Lavoro. The first issue of 1954 stated that the number of sales had increased considerably during 1953, but no figures were given. Assuming that the figures are approximately correct, this means that about 150,000 copies are sold per week or an average of 1 copy per 32 members. Again assuming that the contents of Lavoro are discussed by CGIL members and/or that copies are passed around, the magazine probably reaches a large proportion of the members in one way or another.

Lavoro is set up somewhat along the lines of Look or Collier's, but

15. J. G. LaPalombara, "Anti-American Propaganda in Italian Trade Unions: A Preliminary Report," Unpublished manuscript, 1955, p. 18.

16. Ibid.

with the format the similarity ends. The subjects are multitudinous; they range from the activities of CGIL to those of the World Federation of Trade Unions, from the domestic and international policies of the Italian government to those of the United States and other nations, from the latest fashions to a children's page, movie reviews, book reviews, descriptions of the best vacation spots, etc. But, in each and every case, the purpose is the same --indocctrination of the Italian worker with the ideology and intentions of the Communist movement. It is obvious that CGIL is adhering to Lenin's contention that a trade union is only an instrument to be employed in achieving the ultimate power of Communism rather than an organisation devoted merely to simply bettering the lot of the worker.

Therefore, it was felt that a study of one of the subjects that Lavoro covers at length would prove valuable since it would give some insight into the tactics of CGIL, and thus into the tactics of PCI as well. And, since the United States has been playing an important role in the economic recovery of Italy -- as well as taking an interest in her internal political affairs -- this study is concerned with Lavoro's treatment of American domestic and international policies.

Method of Research.

For such a study to be meaningful, it was felt that some type of systematic analysis would have to be employed; content analysis seemed to provide such a method. Other factors also influenced this decision. For one thing, there was a desire on the part of the analyst to be as objective as possible in determining exactly what were Lavoro's attitudes toward the United States. Also, after a survey of several of the articles dealing with the United States, it was decided that the material would lend itself

readily to this type of analysis.

There are two types of content analysis -- quantitative and qualitative.¹⁷ Berelson's orientation seems to be toward the quantitative aspects of content analysis, although he spends some time discussing the possible merits of qualitative analysis. It is Kracauer with whom the writer tends to agree, whose orientation is that of qualitative analysis. At the same time, both authors recognize the merits of combining the two approaches, although Kracauer seems to place more emphasis on the value of such a combination.

Berelson defines content analysis as ". . .a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."¹⁸ He then makes three general assumptions about content analysis. The first is that inferences can be made about relationships between content and intent and effect. The second is that a study of particular content would be meaningful and the third assumption is that quantitative description of the content would also be meaningful. The author maintains that one of the most important factors in determining whether or not the content is meaningful is that it be

...accepted as a "common meeting-ground" for the communicator, the audience, and the analyst. That is, the content analyst assumes that the "meanings" which he ascribes to the content, by assigning it to certain categories, correspond to the "meanings" intended by the communicator and/or understood by the audience. In other words, the assumption is that there is a common universe of discourse among the relevant parties, so

-
17. The material in this section was taken from Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952., and Siegfried Kracauer, "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis," POQ, Special Issue on International Communications Research, Winter, 1952-53.
18. Berelson, op. cit., p. 18.

that the manifest content can be taken as a valid unit of study.¹⁹

In his discussion of qualitative content analysis, Berelson reiterates his position that studies qualifying as content analyses do so through their use of quantification. Then, throughout this chapter, one gets the feeling that qualitative analysis is little more than a "step-child" discussed simply because it might have some merit as a supplement to quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis is little more than "pre-quantitative" analysis; in other words, it is the selection of the content to be analyzed and the formation of categories of reference.²⁰

Berelson devotes a good deal of space to what he considers to be the general characteristics of qualitative analysis, pointing out that this allows us to grasp the similarities and differences between quantitative and qualitative analysis. Generally, these characteristics are: (1) much of qualitative analysis is actually "quasi-quantitative"; (2) it is often based not on relative frequencies, but on the presence or absence of certain content; (3) it is undertaken only on small or incomplete samples; (4) it is more concerned with content as a reflection of another occurrence than with the content per se; (5) it uses less formal categories than does quantitative analysis; and (6) it employs more complex themes than does quantitative analysis.²¹

In his discussion of each of these characteristics, Berelson carefully points out that very often the differences are only a matter of

19. Ibid., p. 19.

20. Ibid., p. 115.

21. Ibid., pp. 116-128 passim.

degree. For example, in the case of the first characteristic mentioned, he states that "Just as quantitative analysis assigns relative frequencies to different qualities (or categories), so qualitative analysis usually contains quantitative statements in rough form."²²

In his article on qualitative content analysis, Kracauer begins by stating three reasons justifying the use of qualitative analysis that bear quotation:

1. One-sided reliance on quantitative content analysis may lead to a neglect of qualitative explorations, thus reducing the accuracy of analysis.
2. The assumptions underlying quantitative analysis tend to preclude a judicious appraisal of the important role which qualitative considerations may play in communications research....
3. The potentialities of communications research can be developed only if...the emphasis is shifted from quantitative to qualitative procedures.²³

He continues by stating that quantitative analysis is atomistic; and, as a result, it is likely to miss the interrelationships which more often than not make the data meaningful to the analyst. The notion that only quantitative analysis can be objective, reliable, and systematic Kracauer dismisses as inaccurate. He does not deny the value of quantitative analysis in certain cases, but maintains that in most instances it is inadequate. He also points out that those who maintain the superiority of quantitative analysis tend to ignore the fact that the formulation of categories, the decision as to which category a bit of information fits into, etc. are qualitative in nature. Impressionistic feelings are bound to enter into an analysis and Kracauer feels that this fact should be

22. Ibid., p. 116.

23. Kracauer, op. cit., p. 631.

recognized and the resulting limitations taken into account by the analyst.²⁴

Kracauer, as well as Berelson, points out that quantitative and qualitative analysis are not diametrically opposed to each other; in fact, they actually overlap in many instances and have "...complemented and interpenetrated each other in several investigations."²⁵ The main difference is that qualitative analysis does not pay special attention to frequencies; it is much more concerned with the condensation of the substance of the particular text under investigation, although some quantification is often necessary to achieve the desired result. In the latter case, there would be little difference between quantitative and qualitative analysis; however, qualitative analysis does not stop with the "counting," rather it uses this method in an attempt to dig deeper into the meaning of the material being analyzed.

Kracauer continues in this vein explaining how qualitative analysis actually puts frequency counts to better use than does quantitative analysis. Then he states that "...by virtue of its ability to use non-quantifiable frequencies, qualitative exegesis also penetrates textual dimensions which are completely inaccessible to quantitative techniques."²⁶ The impressionistic nature of qualitative analysis is openly admitted but, at the same time, the author seems to realize the limitations of subjectivity in content analysis. Yet he does go on to say that very often one topic can be interpreted in many different ways by several analysts and that no

24. Ibid., pp. 636-7.

25. Ibid., p. 637.

26. Ibid., p. 639.

amount of quantification can eliminate this difference in interpretation. Therefore, if subjectivity is properly disciplined, the accuracy of the analysis need be no less if qualitative rather than quantitative methods are employed.

In the opinion of the writer, the highest accuracy is attained when quantitative and qualitative analysis are combined in a study. As Kracauer pointed out, merely "counting" is not enough as frequencies alone are often misleading. The number of times a particular subject appears in a text does not necessarily give a precise picture of the data; it is necessary to discuss at length the context in which the material was written, by whom it was written, and for what type of audience it was intended.

However, quantitative analysis is valuable in many instances. The desirability of "counting" is shown in the following instances: (1) when a high degree of accuracy is desired; (2) when the analyst wishes to be more objective; (3) when categories appear in relatively large amounts; and (4) when the data are to be related to other data not specifically included in the content surveyed.²⁷ It is not necessary that all of these conditions be present before "counting"; and, at certain times, "counting" is not necessary even when these conditions do exist. In each case, the special circumstances of the study will dictate the extent to which the data should be quantified.

In the case of this study, several of the characteristics of qualitative analysis that Berelson discussed are present. The sample is relatively small; it covers a period of only 18 months, but this was not

27. Berelson, op. cit., pp. 129-32.

"...because of the amount of energy devoted to the counting procedure,"²⁸ but rather was due to the availability of the material. Berelson also states that qualitative analysis is more concerned with content as a reflection of something else than with the content as an entity; this again is true in this case. And his statement that less formal categories are employed than in quantitative analysis also holds to a certain extent in this study. But does this necessarily mean that the results of the study are less valid? Not at all, because, as Kracauer pointed out, the methods employed in a study must be a reflection of the problems involved in the particular content being analyzed. In this particular case, as previously discussed, it was decided that a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis would best reflect the characteristics of the content of Lavoro dealing with the United States.

Although the primary emphasis of this study was to be placed on its quantitative aspects, shortly after its inception it was found that this emphasis would be inadequate. It was evident that the amount of attention paid to the policies and actions of the United States reflected a major aspect of CGIL policy -- and possibly of PCI policy as well -- which was to attempt to instill dislike and fear of the United States in the mind of the Italian worker. Therefore, a predominantly qualitative analysis was undertaken in order to attempt to determine the techniques employed by the Lavoro staff in achieving this policy. Here, 'techniques' is being placed on the substantive aspects of Lavoro's treatment of the United States as well as on the mechanics of this treatment.

28. Ibid., p. 122.

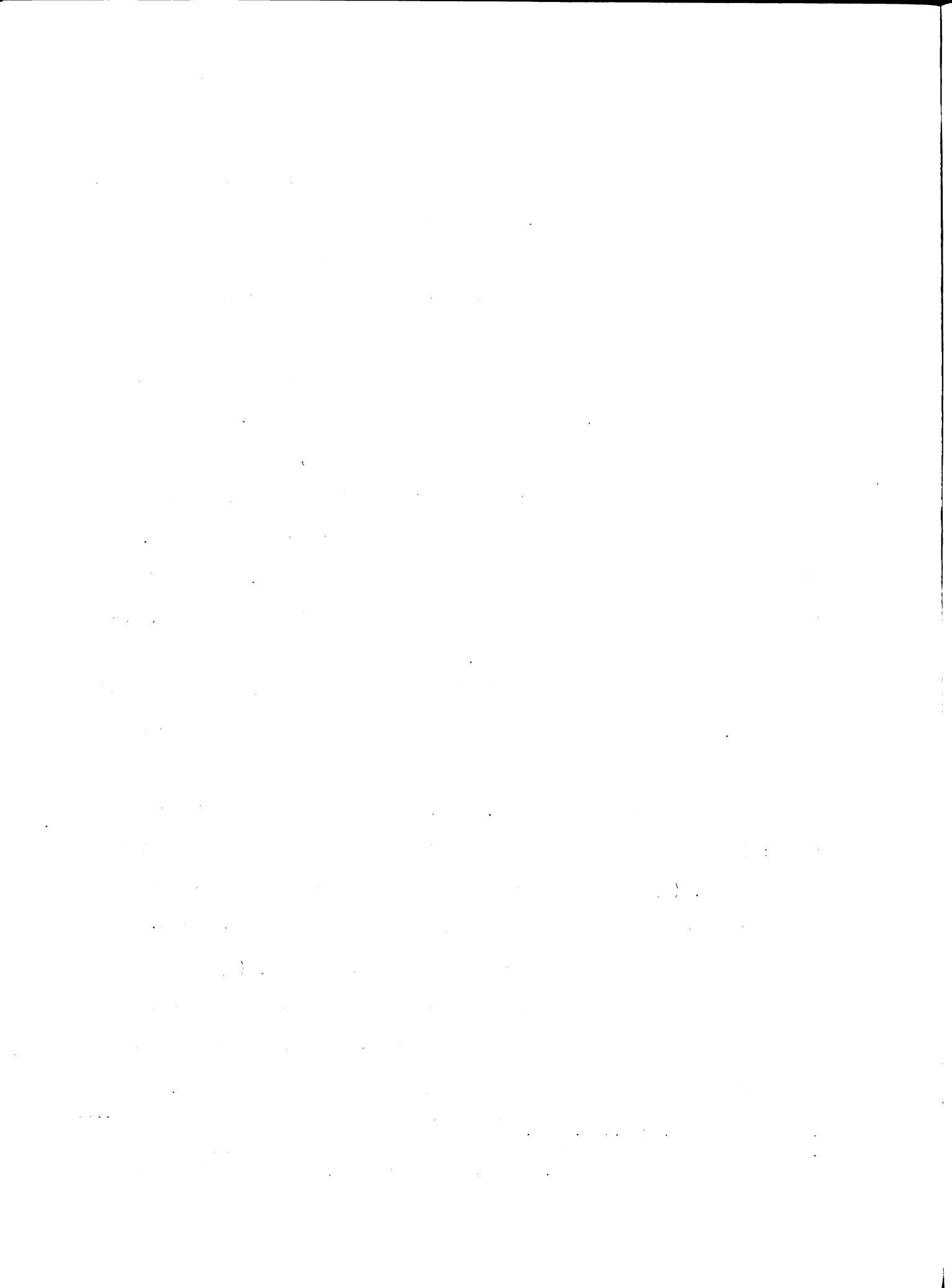
Limitations

There are several limitations on the use of content analysis generally, and in this study in particular. One of the most important of these is the necessity of drawing somewhat arbitrary lines of distinction between various subjects in the formulation of categories; in the opinion of the writer, this would tend to give a distorted picture of the data in many instances as it becomes necessary for the analyst to reshape a portion of the data to fit a particular category. Although the setting up of rigid, narrowly defined categories might aid in eliminating this problem, this method could also lead to a reduction in the accuracy of the analysis as major trends might be ignored due to the multitude of categories which would result.²⁹ In this study, broad categories were used in most instances. It was felt that in this manner distortion would be limited and, at the same time, major trends would be easily recognized.

However, the major limitation in this study was perhaps the problem of translation. A certain amount of distortion is bound to occur as a result of having to fit words and phrases which are peculiarly Italian into categories which were set up in English. This distortion may occur for several reasons: (1) Words in one language often translate into phrases in another and vice versa. (2) Similar words in two languages often do not have the same meaning; for example, *simpatico* does not necessarily mean sympathetic; it may also mean congenial, a predisposition to like someone, etc. (3) The cultural background of the analysis and the readers of the material being analyzed often differ and literal translations will give an entirely different meaning to the analyst than did the statement in the original to the reader.³⁰

29. Kracauer, op. cit., p. 638.

30. For an excellent discussion of the problems involved in translation, see Susan Ervin and Robert T. Bower, "Translation Problems in International Surveys." POQ, Winter 1952-53, pp. 595-604.



In an attempt to reduce the amount of distortion resulting from the translation problems, a method which the writer terms "over-coding" was devised and employed. What this means, simply, is that when a particular item did not fit neatly into one category it was placed in two or more categories in order to encompass what were considered to be its fullest meanings. It was necessary to employ this method in only a few instances; the results of "over-coding" will be discussed later in the chapter dealing with quantitative analysis.

In a study which employs qualitative analysis as one of its methods, the way in which the material is presented takes on major significance. For this reason, a brief discussion of some of the aspects of what were termed the "methods of presentation" may be of assistance in leading to a clearer understanding of the results.³¹ The only method of presentation which presented any difficulty was that of "distortion." In an attempt to gain reliability, distortion was coded from the viewpoint of the analyst; it was felt that, in this way, the place of subjectivity could be recognized and accounted for more easily. For the purposes of this study, distortion was defined in two ways. First, it was defined as the ascribing to the United States actions and/or statements which did not take place. Secondly, distortion was employed when the Lavoro staff seemed to have manipulated actual events in such a way as to give them a significance which would suit their own purposes. Actually, in the latter case, this was coded as a combination of factual reporting and distortion in order to indicate this manipulation.

In summary, this study attempts to indicate one of the aspects of present

31. See Columns 13-14-15 of the code in the Appendix 1.

CGIL behavior in Italy. Its purpose is to place the attitudes toward the United States, as evidenced by the material analyzed, in a broad framework in order to be able to evaluate the possible implications of this type of propaganda on the future political course of Italy; at the same time, some attempt will be made to evaluate the implications of this anti-American propaganda for future United States policy both in Italy and in the broader area of combatting anti-American propaganda in Europe. However, since it is not possible at this time to subject the readers of Lavoro to interviews to determine their reactions to the material analyzed, any evaluation of this sort must, of necessity, be purely speculative.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN POLICIES AND ACTIONS

As previously discussed, there are two methods of content analysis which could be employed in a study of this nature. One is that of quantitative analysis which emphasizes the content with little attention being paid to outside factors which may have influenced the writing of the content originally. The other is that of qualitative analysis -- in this case, including several quantitative aspects -- which attempts to tie the content to other phenomena not specifically contained in the material being analyzed.¹

In my opinion, propaganda analysis is valuable only insofar as the propaganda being studied is tied to the factors which influenced its content, and its intent and approach. A mere analysis of the content of the propaganda while ignoring the above factors cannot be of value since the content was not written in a sterile setting. Those groups which rely on the dissemination of propaganda as a major element of the achievement of their goals must, of necessity, relate the propaganda to the events which have taken place in the past or will take place in the future.

Then the analysis should, if handled properly, give us some insight into the way in which various ideologies can be promoted or challenged. To be more specific, a study of Communist propaganda, for example, should not only give us ideas about Communist ideology and about Communist methods, but it should also give us clues as to how to set up our own propaganda to combat theirs effectively.

1. One point which should be clarified in this distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analysis is that "latent" content is not being measured here. By outside factors, in this case, the writer simply refers to occurrences which, when described, assist in placing the "manifest" content in a socio-political setting.

In order to accomplish this aim, a general outline of the United States' domestic and international policies during the period surveyed would be valuable as providing a framework upon which to base the material presented in Lavoro. The period covered by the study extends from January, 1953 through June, 1954.

One reason for the inclusion of material not actually present in the content being analyzed has already been discussed. However, there are other considerations to be taken into account in order to justify the use of outside material in a study of this nature.

An outline of the foreign and domestic policies of the United States is of invaluable assistance in determining whether or not the Lavoro staff based their articles on factual information. Very often they do, although, as previously mentioned, the staff also manipulates the facts in order to twist the meaning to their own purposes. One could speculate as to whether the information obtained originally by the Lavoro staff was factual or not; however, the probability is that directives sent to the staff from either the leaders of CGIL or those of PCI are the determining factors in the decision as to how to present material about the United States.

Another reason for the use of background material in an analysis of this nature is that Communist leaders often study other systems in an attempt to tie domestic and foreign policies to the same causes. This has been pointed out in the case of the Soviet Union when it was said that

...one of the major tasks of the Soviet scholars and propagandists has been to study the internal economic and political situation of capitalist countries and to demonstrate the connections between their domestic situation and their foreign policies.²

2. Frederick Barghoorn, The Soviet Image of the United States, A Study in Distortion. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950, p. 20.

Although this example deals with the Soviet Union, there is little reason to doubt that Communist parties and groups throughout the world operate on somewhat the same assumptions. As Barghoorn points out, one of the reasons for this orientation is that Lenin's statements at various times that the policies of capitalist countries are but a reflection of their internal economic and political situation and beliefs. If this be the case, it would logically follow that Lavoro would attempt to show that what it considers to be the negative aspects of American foreign policy were reflections of the domestic situation.

A third reason for the inclusion of material of a background nature is the consideration that certain American policies and actions might be particularly conducive to negative interpretation or to distortion. Those policies and actions which could be considered as conducive to such interpretation are of two types: (1) those which are contradictory in nature; and (2) those which seem to point to a behavior which is not in agreement with our stated values. The necessity of avoiding the latter predicament was pointed out in the following statement:

A democratic nation that expects others to follow it must present to the world an example of democracy in practice, a democracy which not only advocates the doctrine of human rights and individual liberty but also lives up to that doctrine.³

Any actions or policies which do not take this admonition into consideration would be tailor-made for anti-American propaganda by a group which is looking for ways to discredit the United States. That there are examples of this will be brought out later in this chapter.

3. Elmer D. Graper, "American Influence on the Attitudes of Western Europe," Annals. November, 1951, p. 17.

Also, the use of material which is not specifically contained in the content under study allows one to place the data in a broad enough framework to be able to draw some conclusions as to the efficacy of Lavoro's propaganda. In other words, is the treatment of the United States by Lavoro plausible? Is it likely that the reader will have the desired reaction? As previously stated, it is not possible to conduct interviews of the readers in order to determine their reactions to what they have read about the United States. However, certain events which have taken place during the past few months have given some indication of how well its propaganda has been received; these will be discussed in some detail in the concluding chapter.

American Policies and Actions

The period from January, 1953 through June, 1954 was a fertile one as far as Lavoro was concerned for furthering its anti-American policy. In the United States, there was a change of administration, the Rosenberg case was reaching its climax, truce talks were being held at Panmunjom, McCarthy had begun his widely-reported "book-burning" campaign, the International Longshoremen's Association was undergoing investigation, the McCarthy-Stevens episode became a topic of conversation, and so on. Following is a brief outline of American domestic and foreign policy during this period with emphasis on the topics of the Rosenberg Case, the Korean War, the Berlin riots, EDC, McCarthy, the ILA, and policy statements by top government personnel.

Far East

During the first few months of 1953, action on the Korean front was

limited to skirmishes, while the truce talks continued at Panmunjom. Talk was of exchange of sick and wounded prisoners and of an eventual armistice between the United Nations' forces and the North Korean and Chinese Communist armies. The United States continuously reiterated its position that this was not a national action, but an international one with troops of several nations taking part; this was done in the face of Communist charges that we were the aggressors and that the North Koreans were only defending their country against the imperialism of the West.

Then, just at the moment when it seemed that a truce would be signed, Syngman Rhee decided that the North Korean prisoners of war should be freed by the South Koreans so that they would not be "forced" to return to their homes. This was done during the week of June 15-21, accompanied by loud cries of anguish by the United States, the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Communist China. The latter three countries maintained that the United States had a hand in the freeing of the prisoners and that this episode was proof of the fact that we were not really interested in a truce. However, the talks continued and a truce was signed on July 26, 1953 at Panmunjom.

The war between French Union forces and those of Ho Chi Minh continued throughout this entire period. The United States contributed a great deal of aid to France for use in Indochina, maintaining that the preservation of the Associated States was of extreme importance to the Western Bloc due to their strategic location in Southeast Asia. Although attacked as supporting a colonialist government in this case, the United States defended its action on the basis that nothing should be done to

antagonize France in Europe.⁴

Rationals for U. S. Foreign Policy

In a speech delivered to the nation one week after he became the Secretary of State, Dulles gave several other guiding "principles" for the formulation of American foreign policy. In general,

President Eisenhower has often used a phrase, "enlightened self-interest." That is going to be the guide as we go on to make our foreign policy. In our own interest, our enlightened self-interest, we have to pay close attention to what is going on in the rest of the world.⁵

He went on to give a brief description of those areas of the world whose future is of concern to the United States. Those included were Korea, Indochina, the Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, and Latin America. Korea and Indochina were important because of their strategic locations. A Communist conquest of South Korea would put Japan in a precarious position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the loss of Japan would seriously hamper American policy in the Far East. A Communist victory in Indochina would mean that the rest of Southeast Asia was threatened. Nationalism in the Middle East and Africa was described as little more than Communist pressure to take control of the oil and other natural resources in these areas. In South America, Communist infiltration posed a threat to "traditional" inter-American friendship. And, in Western Europe, the problems were those of the implementation of NATO and the passage of EDC; the United States desired the unity of these nations so that, if necessary, they would fight a common enemy rather than each other.

Throughout this speech, one idea stands out above all others: The

4. See the reprint of a speech by John Foster Dulles in the State Department Bulletin of February 9, 1953.

5. Ibid., p. 212.

interest of the United States is paramount and never mind about the others except insofar as they affect us. This seemed to be especially true in the case of those peoples who are trying to rid themselves of colonial governments and attain independence. When Dulles said that these movements were not really nationalistic but only a result of Communist infiltration and propaganda, the members of these groups, many of whom are as yet uncommitted to either the West or the East, must have wondered about the real position of the United States vis-a-vis the Declaration of Independence. For example, a statement such as this:

And throughout Africa the Communists are trying to arouse the native people into revolt against the Western Europeans, who still have political control of most of Africa. If there should be trouble there that would break the contact between Europe and Africa, Africa being a large source of raw materials for Europe.⁶

Perhaps Dulles did not mean to be so unsympathetic to nationalistic movements, but the impression a statement such as this can give to others is bound to be detrimental to the very outcome that Dulles is striving for, namely, friendship for the United States by other nations.

Western Europe

Another aspect of American foreign policy during this period was that in Western Europe. We were pushing EDC as the only hope for an effective defense against possible Soviet aggression: over and over again, statements were made by persons in the State Department that NATO was not enough. Unless Germany could be rearmed, our defense plans would be seriously limited because of the commitments other European nations had elsewhere in the world; and, because of France's dislike of Germany, re-

6. Ibid., p. 214.

armament on a supranational scale would be more practical to all the nations concerned. Again, this policy was pushed on the basis of the needs and interests of the United States.

Economic aid to Europe had to be continued in order to enable these nations to continue to gain the stability necessary to permit them to take part in defensive arrangements against possible Soviet aggression. Also, American economic aid must be given to other nations of the world for the same reasons. In the State Department Bulletin of June 29, 1953, the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Livingston Merchant, stated:

We will ask whether the economic systems of Italy, and Iran, and India, and other countries are strong enough to permit the people of these countries to resist the appeals of Communism and to make a positive contribution to the security of the free world.⁷

Merchant made this statement in the same context as had Dulles: it was to the interest of the United States to see that these nations were economically stable. It cannot be denied that it is to our interest to see other nations of the non-Communist world economically strong and stable; however, anti-American feeling can be easily aroused by this apparent lack of concern for other nations and other peoples, irregardless of their strategic locations.

On June 16 and 17, 1953, riots took place in East Berlin; these seemed to be spontaneous outbursts by the workers against the increased work norms issued by the Communist government. However, at mass meetings, the workers called not only for the lowering of the work norms but also for reduced prices, the resignation of the existing government, and free

7. p. 911.

elections.⁸ Although the Communists insisted that the outbreaks were due to the provocation of United States agents in East Berlin, the American government stated several times that it had played no role in them, pointing out that unarmed men do not face tanks and machine guns unless they believe in what they are doing. However, we welcomed the riots as an example that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are not as satisfied as Soviet propaganda would have us believe.

The Rosenberg Case

By January, 1953, the Rosenberg case was nearing its climax. All over the world, the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was being discussed and people were divided on the issue of their guilt. And even among those who believed that they were guilty of espionage, there was a division as to the justification for the sentence of death handed down by Judge Kaufman.

This was the first instance of anyone having been sentenced to death during peacetime for the crime of espionage. Following the original trial, appeals had been made to all possible sources to have the sentence commuted. And each court, including the Supreme Court, had either denied the petitions presented by the Rosenberg's attorney, Emmanuel Block, or had refused to hear them. By the first of June, the only avenues open to the Rosenbergs were either that the Supreme Court would decide to hear their petition or that Presidential clemency would be granted, both of which had been denied previously. During the second week of June, President Eisenhower denied their appeal for clemency and a date for the execution was again set. On June 14, the Supreme Court adjourned, having once again refused

8. The New York Times, June 18, 1953, p. 1. State Department Bulletin, December 28, 1953, p. 889.

to hear the couple's petition. However, on the morning of June 16, with the execution scheduled for the 17th, Supreme Court Justice William Douglas ordered a stay of execution as there was some doubt in his mind as to the validity of the sentence; the problem was under which law should the Rosenbergs have been sentenced -- The Espionage Act of 1917 or the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The Supreme Court was urgently reconvened at the request of Attorney General Brownell and Douglas' stay of execution was revoked by a 6-3 decision of the court. The execution took place the evening of July 19.

Even among those who felt that the Rosenbergs were guilty, there was some doubt as to the propriety of the sentence of death. One of the reasons for this doubt was that the relatively light sentences given to others who had been convicted at the same trial: Harry Gold received 30 years; David Greenglass received 15, and his wife was acquitted. Also, many were resentful of the statement made by the Department of Justice that the sentence would be commuted if the Rosenbergs would confess their guilt and tell all they knew. This last was particularly resented in Europe where it was felt by many that the death sentence was being held over the couple's head as a "club."

In the February 22, 1953, issue of the New York Times, several reasons were advanced for the large number of protestations from Italy -- by both Communists and non-Communists -- against the sentence given to the Rosenbergs. Among these were (1) that the Italians are opposed to capital punishment; (2) that the idea that a woman was to be executed was distasteful to many; (3) that, as the Italians love family life to such a great extent, the knowledge that two children were to be left orphans aroused sentiment in favor of the parents; (4) that many believe the Rosenbergs were innocent; and (5) that doubt still existed among many as to whether they had been

proven guilty beyond a shadow of a doubt. As we shall see later, the Communists used each of these points during their campaign against the United States' actions and policies regarding the Rosenberg Case.

In the United States, many were disturbed over the world-wide attention being paid to the case. There was some discussion as to the advisability of commuting the sentence because of the anti-American feelings that were being manifested in other nations. Some felt that the sentence should not be commuted for this very reason; if this were done, it could be looked upon as a great propaganda victory by the Communists. Those who took the opposite view maintained that commutation of the sentence would be a moral victory for the United States in the propaganda battle then in progress as this would show that we were not insensible to the feeling of others.

Another argument advanced in the favor of the Rosenbergs not being executed was that of the place of the courts in the entire case. There were many who felt that too much outside pressure had been exerted on the judges in the form of domestic public opinion; therefore, it was impossible for the judges to have been impartial in their decisions. (In fact, after Douglas had issued a stay of execution, a Congressman from Georgia stated that he should be impeached for his decision.)

Labor

On the Labor scene, attention was devoted mostly to the International Longshoremen's Association during 1953. The New York State Crime Commission was investigating racketeering on the waterfront and held numerous hearings with members of the ILA testifying. There were attempts to tie the leaders of the ILA with "Murder, Inc."⁹ and thus to discredit the

9. "Murder, Inc." was an organization which, reportedly, would remove permanently from the scene anyone it was asked to -- for a fee.

union since it had been causing a great deal of difficulty on the waterfront. At the same time, the American Federation of Labor was making plans to organize a longshoremen's union under its own jurisdiction. This attempt eventually failed as the longshoremen voted to retain ILA as their official representative for collective bargaining purposes, etc.

Also , during this period, there were further signs that an eventual unification of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations would take place. No-raiding pacts have been signed between several unions in both groups; talks of unification were being held informally. Otherwise, the labor scene was a peaceful one. The only strikes of any consequence were those of the tugboat operators which necessitated several of the large ocean liners docking by themselves.

In a speech before the American Federation of Labor's national convention in 1953, Secretary of State Dulles congratulated the labor unions for their vigorous struggle against Communist infiltration. He pointed out that the Communist Party usually attempts to gain power through control of mass groups, especially trade unions. This is done on the theory that Communism leads to a "workers' paradise" and, therefore, everyone should join the Communist dominated trade union rather than any other. Then, Dulles quoted a statement by Dr. Marek Korowicz, political exile from Poland, who stated that:

Trade unions which by nature are designed to safeguard workers' rights have become in fact the organs of official Communist control and oppression. Membership is obligatory; meetings are rubber stamps for "resolutions" dictated from above and objections cannot conceivably be raised. In short, the trade union is a mechanism for exacting the greatest amount of labor out of the worker.¹⁰

10. State Department Bulletin, October 5, 1953, p. 446.

Although he didn't state that this was one of the paramount reasons why the United States supports non-Communist trade unions in Europe and elsewhere, the implication was there. One of the most important segments of a democracy is a free trade union and without this organization there is a little less freedom; this was the conclusion of Dulles' address.

In June of 1953, federal economists made the prediction that there would be no economic decline during the fiscal year of 1953-1954. They predicted a leveling-off in many industries and rises in others; but in no case was there to be any sort of decline. However, by the beginning of 1954, unemployment figures were beginning to rise, farm prices had continued to fall while farmers had to pay more for their goods, and a number of small businesses had failed. In June of 1954, there was little doubt that this would be a campaign issue in the November congressional elections.

McCarthy

With the Republicans taking over control of Congress in January, 1953, Senator Joseph McCarthy was assured of somewhat of a free hand in continuing his investigations into Communist infiltration in the government. His first announcement was that he intended to make a full-scale investigation of the Voice of America; he believed that this organization had many pro-Communist employees and, as a consequence, was broadcasting material which he did not consider to be in the best interest of the United States.

At the same time, he began attacking John Foster Dulles and the State Department. His notion that the Democrats had allowed many Communist

sympathizers to remain employed in that Department led to an attack on Dulles for not instituting an investigation of the employees as his first project as Secretary of State. The New York Times of February 22, 1953, mentioned this as a major problem for President Eisenhower; he would be forced to defend Dulles which would antagonize McCarthy and he needed McCarthy's support as the Senate was almost evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats.

As the year progressed, McCarthy began his "book-burning" campaign. His two assistants, Roy Cohn and David Schine, were sent on a trip through Europe to investigate the libraries of the United States Information Service to see if there was any "subversive" literature available to the nationals of that country. President Eisenhower spoke out against "book-burning" at a commencement address which he delivered at Dartmouth in June of that year; he mentioned that freedom of the press was one of America's prize possessions and that a suppression of literature could only lead to loss of freedom in other areas.

As time went on, McCarthy and Eisenhower became more antagonistic toward each other. The break finally came when McCarthy began his investigations of United States' Army installations; then David Schine was drafted and charges of preferential treatment were levied at certain officers who maintained that this had been done at McCarthy's "request." McCarthy denied that he had interfered in any manner and, in the process, Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens was attacked. This led to the celebrated "Army-McCarthy Hearings" which quickly became the topic of conversation throughout the country.

What has preceded has been only a brief outline of United States' domestic and international policies and events during the period of this study -- January, 1953 through June, 1954. In the two succeeding chapters, these occurrences will be tied in with the propaganda of Lavoro and an attempt will be made to evaluate the efficacy of this propaganda in the light of events that have taken place in Italy since the period of the study.

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS OF THE DATA

During the period of the study, 78 issues of Lavoro were published by CGIL; of these 78, seventy-four were available for analysis. The four missing issues were those of August 16, 1953, August 23, 1953, September 13, 1953, and April 25, 1954. The 74 available issues contained a total of 1916 pages, of which 217.5, or 11.4% dealt with the United States. However, only sixty of the 74 issues surveyed mentioned American policies and actions.

Within these 60 issues, there were a total of 282 items dealing with the United States, or an average of about 4 items per issue during the 18 month period. Each photograph, article, cartoon, editorial, or letter to the editor constituted an item; however, each item was broken down into mentions. Mentions refer to the use of one of the themes or categories by the Lavoro staff in dealing with the United States; for example, within a particular item, there may have been four mentions; (1) Far Eastern foreign policy; (2) persecution of political minorities; (3) fascism; and (4) interference in internal affairs. It should be pointed out that a mention is not necessarily a single word or a sentence but rather the classification of a thought which falls into one of the categories or themes employed in the study.

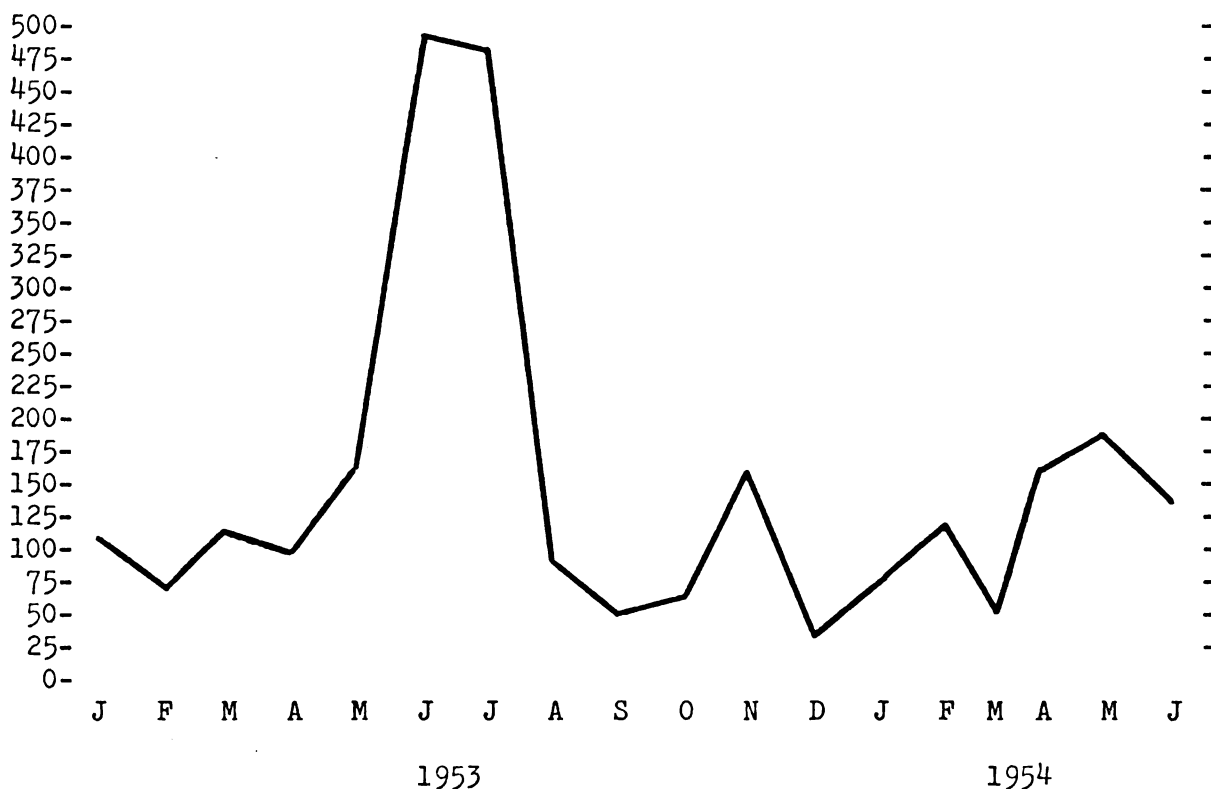
On breaking down the 282 items, it was found that there were 2714 separate mentions of American policies and actions. The period of heaviest treatment was June-July, 1953, with 35.7% of the total mentions appearing during this period. Figure 1 gives the frequency over time of the 2714

mentions for the entire period covered in this study.

As can be seen, with the exception of the June-July, 1953, period the amount of emphasis placed on the United States in Lavoro was relatively stable. The range of total mentions falls from a high of 488 in June of 1953 to a low of 27 in December of the same year. The jump in

Figure 1

Frequency over Time of the Total Number of Mentions of the United States



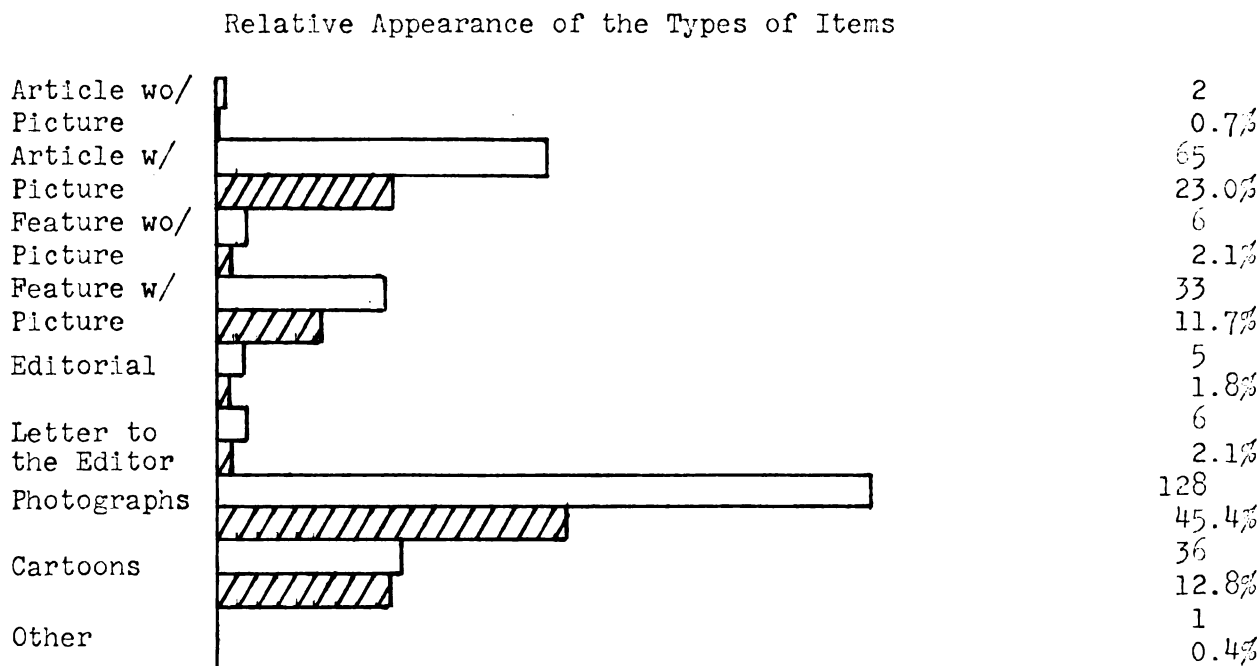
the number of mentions in June and July can easily be explained: On June 19, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed and on July 26, the Korean Armistice was signed. It was interesting to note, however, that the overwhelming majority of the other categories covered in this study also received the greatest amount of attention during the same two-month period.

The occurrences which led to this emphasis will be discussed in the following chapter.

Results of Classification

Each of the 282 items was not only classified as to its subject matter but also according to several other factors. These were (1) the type of item; (2) the size of the item; (3) its prominence in the magazine; (4) the tenor of the item; and (5) the method of presentation. Figures 2-6 give the number of times each of the five above-mentioned factors were employed by the Lavoro staff in dealing with the United States.

Figure 2

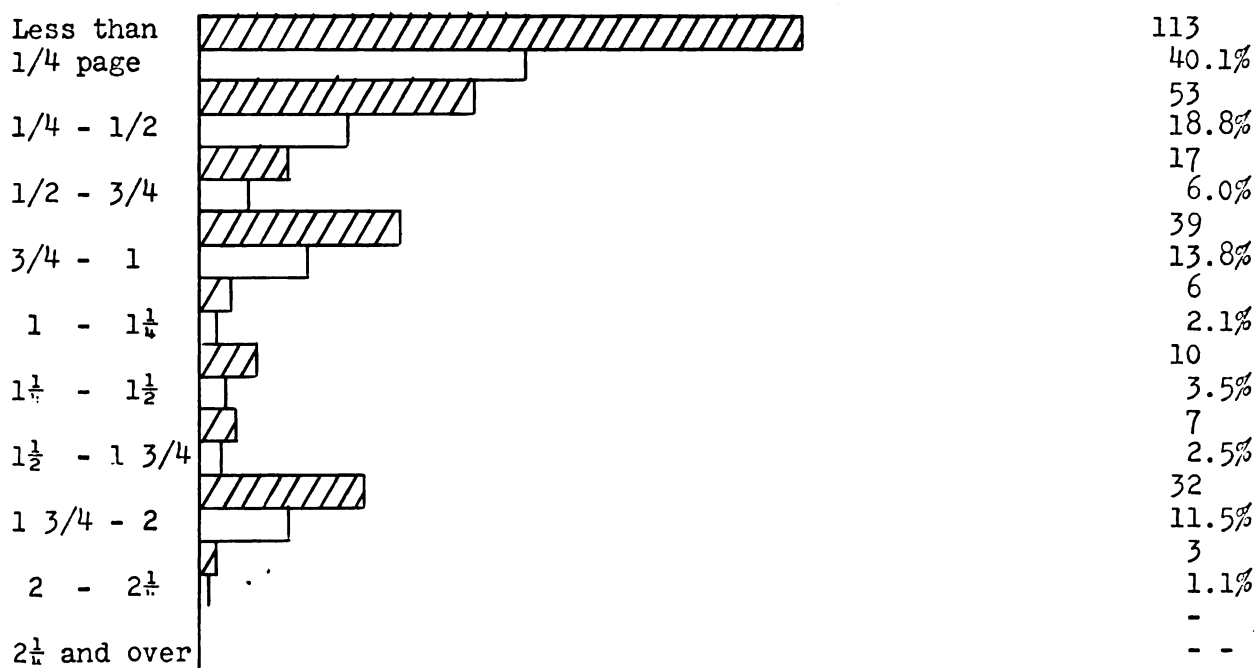


Photographs were by far the most popular method employed by the Lavoro staff in their presentation of American policies and actions. A total of

45.5% of the 282 items appeared in this manner. Articles with photographs or drawings were second in frequency of appearance with cartoons and feature articles with pictures ranking third and fourth, respectively. An interesting facet of Figure 2 is that little attention was devoted to the United States either in editorials or letters to the editors. It had been expected that the editorial pages would contain a good deal of comment about our policies and actions. However, this lack of attention might be explained by assuming that the articles themselves were editorials in the sense that they reflected, for the most part, the position of CGIL toward the United States. This lack of differentiation between editorials and news stories seems to be a phenomenon of European newspapers in general, however, rather than a more or less unique characteristic of Communist publications. There

Figure 3

Relative Appearance of the Size of Items

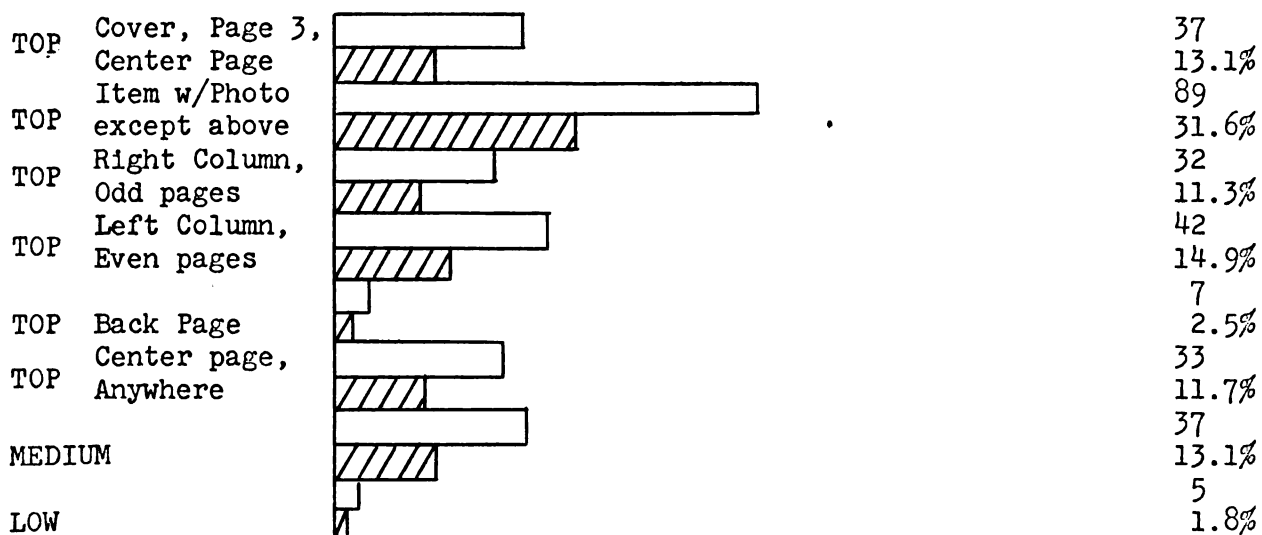


is also the possibility that the Lavoro staff was concentrating on treating the United States by employing those types of items that would attract the greatest amount of readership such as, for example, photographs.

Attempting to determine how to quantify the amount of space devoted to the United States proved to be a problem. Unlike most American journals, there is no consistent pattern followed relating to the size of the type and the number of columns per page. In fact, within a single article there may have been several sizes of type and, if the article was more than one page in length, the first page may have had six columns and the second eight. Therefore, the decision was made to divide each page into quarters for the purpose of classifying the size of each item. Obviously, this method has its limitations for the above reasons; however, this seemed to be the only way that would provide some consistency in classification. It should also be noted that, in classifying the size

Figure 4

The Use of the Types of Prominence

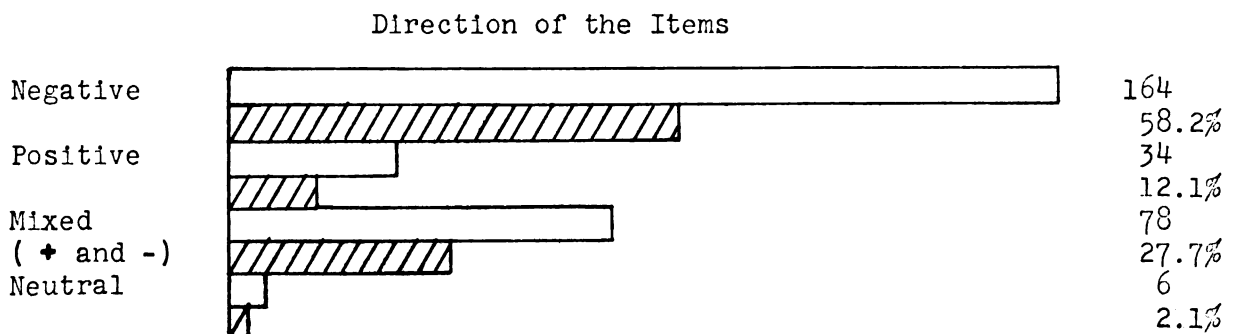


of the item, the following method was used: An item that was less than one-half page in size was placed in the one-fourth to one-half page category while an item that was exactly one-half page in size was placed in the one-half to three-fourths page category, and so forth.

Although the greater percentage of the items were less than one page in size, it was felt that their position on the page and in the magazine as a whole was of more importance in determining how much emphasis was being placed on the United States. As can be seen from the above graph, approximately 85% of the items received the "top prominence" classification. The system for determining prominence was based on the degree to which an article, photograph, cartoon, etc. would draw the reader's attention when he was glancing quickly through the magazine. For example, material appearing in the outside column of a page is likely to be noticed more readily than if it is located in another column on the same page. Also, those items on the front and back covers of the magazine are likely to draw more attention than items within the magazine.

In setting up the definitions of prominence, it was decided to give several classifications for top prominence. The six types of top prominence

Figure 5

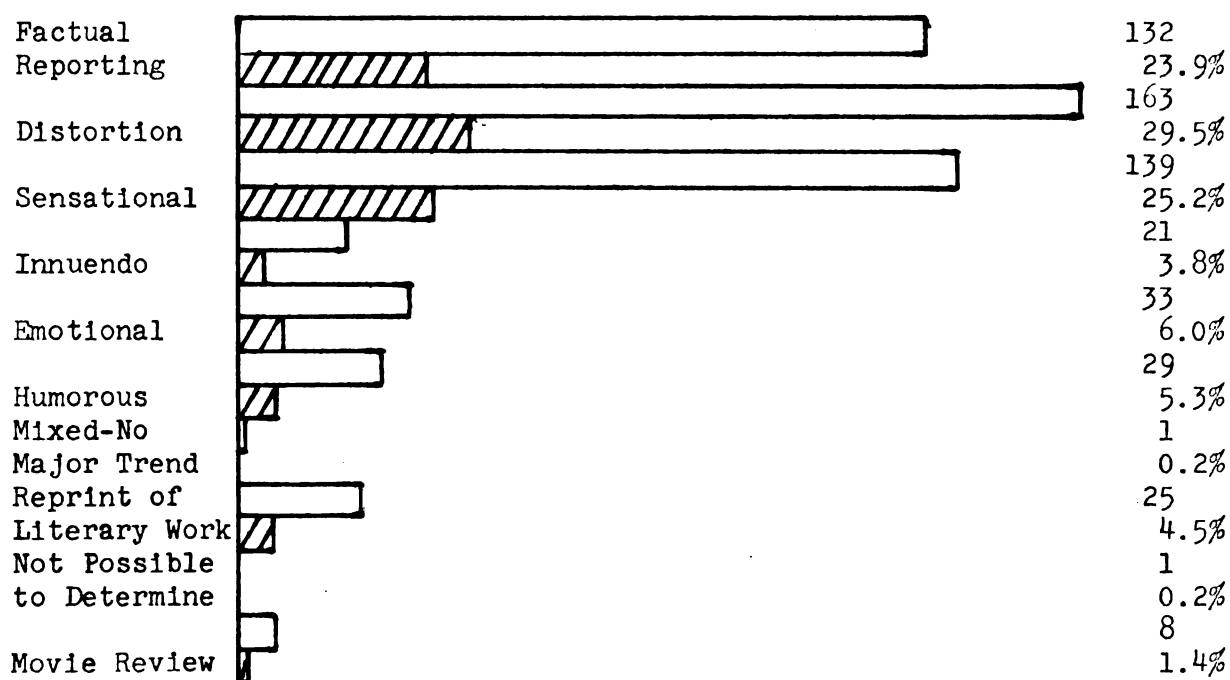


were chosen in consultation with the writer's advisor after several persons had glanced through a few copies of Lavoro and given their opinions on which sections attracted their attention to the highest degree.

As expected, the overwhelming majority of the items were treated negatively by the Lavoro staff. However, it was surprising to discover as much emphasis on positive aspects of American policies and actions as was found. Specifically, 12% of the items were unqualifiedly positive in tenor. Also, 27.7% of the items were a combination of negative and positive remarks about the United States. As will be explained later in detail, this category condemned the various elites of American society but praised the ordinary American citizen who was being oppressed by his leaders. Finally, the few articles which were neutral in tenor simply

Figure 6

Methods of Presentation



described a few technological advances in the field of television and motion pictures.

Regarding figure 6, three methods of presentation appeared the most frequently: (1) Factual Reporting; (2) Distortion; and (3) Sensational Approach. Very often these three appeared together as the manipulation of facts by the Lavoro staff in order to distort actual events often led to what we would call "yellow journalism," with the difference that the particular item did not seem to be as blatantly written.

Those items classified as emotional dealt mostly with the Rosenberg case in those instances where the two Rosenberg children were the main topics of discussion. Those classified as humorous, were, of course, the cartoons. The one instance of "not possible to determine" was a photograph of a statue of Senator McCarthy upon which a swastika had been painted; as the analyst was unable to check this photograph for accuracy the aforementioned classification was employed. The combination appearing the most was that of factual reporting and distortion; of the 282 items, 82 contained this combination while only 50 items were classified as factual reporting alone. The remaining items were divided among the other methods of presentation, either singly or in combinations of two or three methods.

A Few Cross-Tabulations

Although the above quantifications give some idea as to the way in which the United States was treated by the Lavoro staff, further computations might serve to clarify the method of treatment to a greater extent. With this purpose in mind, the type of item appearing in the magazine was crossed with four other factors: (1) size of item; (2) prominence; (3)

direction; and (4) method of presentation.

Table 1 gives the amount of space devoted to each type of item for the period of the study. Four types of items comprised 92.6% of all items -- articles with pictures, features with pictures, photographs, and cartoons. Articles with pictures were the largest items as a general rule; however, they ranged in size from one-half to three-fourths pages to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages and over. Features with pictures showed somewhat the same range of size with the majority of this item falling between three-fourths page to two pages in length.

Table 1

ITEM	SIZE OF ITEM										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	-
Article without pictures	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Article with pictures	0	2	8	17	3	2	4	24	3	0	2
Feature with pictures	0	2	1	8	3	8	3	8	0	0	0
Feature without pictures	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Editorials	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Letter to editors	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Photograph	73	35	8	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cartoon	26	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	40.1	18.8	6	13.8	2.1	3.5	2.5	11.3	.7		

In the case of photographs, on the other hand, over half of them, or

57%, fell into the less than one-fourth page classification; another 27.3% were less than one-half page in size. However, the most important point to note is that every one of the photographs appearing in Lavoro during the period of the study were less than one page in size. The same is true of the cartoons. Seventy-four percent of all the cartoons were less than one-fourth page in size while the other 26% were between one-fourth and one-half page in size.

Inasmuch as over 78% of the items were less than one page in size, it was felt that by crossing the type of item with its position in the magazine, or the factors indicating prominence, an accurate picture of the importance of the United States to the Lavoro staff could be obtained. These results appear in Table 2.

Table 2

ITEM	PROMINENCE								Totals
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Article without pictures	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Article with pictures	5	58	0	0	1	0	0	1	65
Feature with pictures	1	30	0	0	0	1	0	1	33
Feature without pictures	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	6
Editorials	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	5
Letter to editors	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	6
Photograph	29	0	22	25	5	24	23	1	128
Cartoon	1	0	6	13	0	6	9	0	35
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
%	13.1	31.6	11.7	14.9	2.5	11.3	13.1	1.7	

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are six types of classification for top prominence. It was also indicated that 85.1% of the 282 items fell into these six types of top prominence. However, on breaking down the types of prominence by the type of item, a few significant variations were found. For example, 18% of the photographs and 25.7% of the cartoons fell into the medium prominence classification. At the same time, none of the articles with pictures or features with pictures received this particular classification. As can be seen from the above table, the five cases of low prominence cannot be attributed to any particular type of item.

Regarding the types of top prominence under which the most frequent types of item were classified, the following results were obtained. A little over 89% of the articles with pictures fell under "any article with photos." It should be pointed out that articles with pictures were those articles in which there were either photographs or drawings without captions containing material not included in the article. If these photographs or drawings contained material not included in the article, they were classified as either photographs or cartoons. Over 90% of the feature articles also fell into the classification of "any article with photos" with the difference that the pictures or drawings never contained material not found in the feature.

The type of prominence applied to photographs was fairly even; approximately 80% of the photographs received the top prominence classification. The one type of top prominence which received little attention, however, was that of "back page." As a general rule, the back page of the magazine was devoted to CGIL activities rather than to the United States or domestic governmental activities. In the case of the cartoons, over 70% received

a top prominence classification. The type of top prominence was either "right column, odd pages," "left column, even pages", or "center of page, anywhere in the magazine."

Table 3

ITEM	DIRECTION				
	0	1	2	3	T
Article without pictures	2	0	0	0	2
Article with pictures	43	1	19	2	65
Feature with pictures	3	25	4	1	33
Feature without pictures	4	0	2	0	6
Editorials	4	0	1	0	5
Letter to editors	3	0	2	0	6
Photograph	71	8	46	3	128
Cartoon	34	0	2	0	36
Other	0	0	1	0	1
%	58.2	12.1	27.7	2.1	

The most interesting aspect of Table 3 is that photographs were fairly evenly divided between negative and mixed in direction. More exactly, 35.9% of the photographs contained both negative and positive remarks about the United States while 55.5% were wholly negative in character. On the other hand, over 90% of the cartoons were wholly negative in direction. In the case of features with pictures, over 75% were positive in character; this was because this type of item consisted of reprints of such books as Howard Fast's The Last Frontier and several of O. Henry's short stories. Articles

with pictures were also overwhelmingly negative in approach although 29% of them did contain both positive and negative remarks about the United States.

The fourth factor to be crossed with the type of item was that of method of presentation; Table 4 gives the results for each method of presentation as compared with the type of item.

Table 4

ITEM	METHOD OF PRESENTATION									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Article without pictures	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Article with pictures	48	55	2	37	5	2	0	0	0	5
Feature with pictures	5	3	0	4	3	3	0	24	0	2
Feature without pictures	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Editorials	2	5	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Letter to editors	3	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Photograph	69	64	14	65	19	2	0	0	1	0
Cartoon	1	25	2	25	3	22	0	0	0	0
Other	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
%	23.9	29.5	3.8	25.2	6	5.3	.2	4.5	.2	1.4

In this particular table, the clusters of various methods of presentation are perhaps its most striking feature. For example, take articles with pictures. We find that the most emphasis has been placed on the methods of factual reporting, distortion, and sensationalism. This emphasis, however, does not tell the entire story; each of these three methods appear with approximately the same frequency -- 48,55,37. The explanation is that, for the most part, these three methods appeared combined in the same item.

The same cluster appeared in the case of photographs. Factual reporting, distortion, and sensationalism were given approximately the same amount of attention with 69, 64, and 65 appearances respectively. In the case of cartoons the cluster includes distortion, sensationalism, and humorous presentations. Again the frequencies are similar -- 25, 25, and 22. As far as features with pictures were concerned, the majority were reprints of library works rather than original articles with illustrations.

One thing is very evident from the preceding data. The Lavoro staff tended to concentrate on only a few methods in treating the United States. This was seen in that four types of items were used the most frequently; most of the items were less than one page in size; over 85% of the items received top prominence in the magazine; the majority of the items were either wholly negative or qualifiedly so in direction; and certain types of methods of presentation seemed to appear together, the cluster depending on the type of item.

In the following chapter, the relationship of the above factors to the major categories and themes will be discussed. It will be interesting to discover whether or not the same types of clusters will appear in connection with the subject matter of this study. In other words, did the Lavoro staff concentrate on particular types of items, certain sizes of items, certain types of prominence, particular methods of presentation, and one type of direction depending on the particular theme or category under discussion?

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Over the eighteen month period of the study, the number of mention of the United States fluctuated violently as was seen in Figure 1 on page 35. At the same time, the amount of attention given to specific American policies and actions also fluctuated a great deal. Table 1 gives the breakdown of total mentions for each month as well as for each category and theme.

Because of these fluctuations, it was decided to discuss in detail only those categories and themes which appeared the most frequently throughout the period of the study. However, the twelve themes and categories were not selected on the basis of frequency alone; they were also chosen on the basis of providing an overall picture of the type of treatment given to the United States by the Lavoro staff. For example, the theme "judicial injustice" has been omitted because it dealt almost exclusively with the Rosenberg case in a context which was also covered in other themes which are included in the group chosen for detailed study. Likewise, "economic imperialism" and "war-mongering" were also omitted since the context in which they appeared was adequately covered by the themes of "political imperialism" and "fascism." This overlapping resulted mainly from an effort to compensate for problems experienced in the translation of the source material from Italian into English.

The six categories chosen for detailed study were those of (1) foreign policy; (2) economic situation; (3) labor problems; (4) Rosenberg case; (5) McCarthyism; and (6) approbation. The six themes which were considered

to be the most representative were (1) violence against individuals; (2) restraint on individuals; (3) political persecution; (4) fascism; (5) corruption; and (6) political imperialism. Out of a total number of 2714 mentions for all categories and themes over the entire period, these twelve categories and themes accounted for 1790, or 66% of them. Therefore, the other 34% of the mentions were scattered throughout the remaining twenty themes and categories. One of the themes, that of "Terms of Approbation," will not be included in the forthcoming breakdowns but will be discussed in relation to the category "Approbation."

Each of the twelve themes and categories selected followed somewhat the same frequency pattern as did the total number of mentions over the entire period of the study. The sudden spurts in number of mentions for each can be explained by the events of that period which took place either in the United States or concerned the United States abroad.

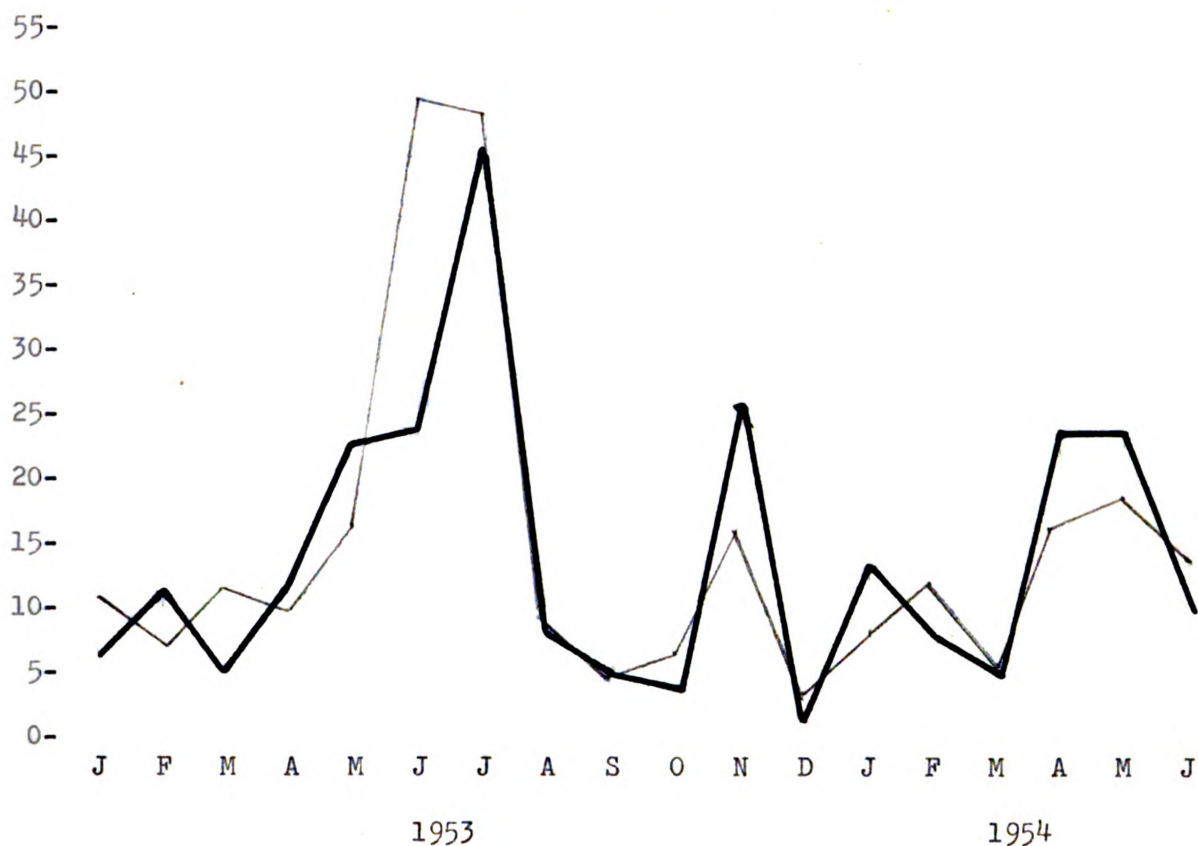
TABLE 5

The Number of Mentions per Month of Each Category and Theme

	Foreign Policy *	Armed Forces	Sports	Motion Pictures	Medicine	Science & Tech.	Education	Historical	Courts in Action	Economic Situation*	Labor Problems *	Rosenberg Case *	McCarthyism *	Approbation *	Violence a. Ind. *	Restraint on Ind. *	Racial Prejudice	Religious Prejudice	Pol. Persecution *	Judicial Injustice	Gangsterism	Fascism *	War-mongering	Economic Depression	Elite Control	Corruption *	Decadence	Monopoly	Militarism	Economic Imperialism	Pol. Imperialism *	Xenophobia	Terms of Approbation	Totals per Month
January '53	5	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	4	1	0	19	1	5	8	10	0	0	7	5	0	6	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	0	13	102
February	11	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	4	3	10	0	1	4	4	0	0	3	3	1	3	2	0	1	4	1	4	0	6	4	0	3	76
March	6	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	4	7	7	5	0	1	14	12	6	0	3	4	0	7	3	3	0	12	2	1	1	1	5	0	2	110
April	11	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	5	0	0	5	5	9	1	0	0	2	2	7	7	2	1	4	1	3	1	2	12	0	10	99
May	22	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	11	1	4	6	8	5	14	0	0	7	1	0	17	9	3	3	3	3	7	1	9	17	0	12	168
June	23	4	2	3	0	7	0	4	17	6	17	57	12	20	48	26	0	0	24	30	15	32	12	1	12	34	13	10	5	5	20	3	27	488
July	45	4	2	4	0	3	1	3	11	5	16	31	21	22	31	32	2	0	27	13	3	46	18	2	8	16	7	8	7	18	35	3	38	482
August	8	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	3	6	3	1	10	3	3	0	0	2	2	2	4	4	0	3	3	1	3	0	1	6	0	21	98
September	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	6	5	5	0	0	1	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	0	3	0	4	1	0	8	53
October	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	9	0	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	8	4	2	1	9	0	2	2	2	2	0	5	64
November	27	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	9	0	0	2	10	10	0	0	9	0	0	21	2	4	2	11	0	5	3	12	22	0	5	165
December	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	3	27
January '54	14	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	3	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	11	8	2	4	2	2	3	3	2	11	0	0	84
February	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	16	4	0	6	1	10	0	0	3	2	0	9	0	8	4	7	1	7	0	3	5	0	15	123
March	6	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	3	2	3	0	5	3	6	0	0	1	1	0	5	3	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	4	0	7	57
April	25	1	0	2	1	6	0	0	0	6	3	0	5	6	5	13	0	0	4	0	0	16	12	3	1	8	3	2	6	10	20	0	11	169
May	25	3	0	3	1	9	0	2	1	2	0	1	7	3	11	16	0	0	4	2	0	21	17	1	3	7	7	2	11	11	22	0	5	197
June	11	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	2	5	5	14	6	9	10	0	0	5	2	1	8	3	3	1	9	0	2	1	5	8	0	14	129
Theme & Category Totals	261	25	6	22	6	34	4	19	45	79	106	143	71	110	164	192	9	0	102	73	28	225	113	36	48	137	44	64	43	97	200	6	201	2714
Percentages	9.6	0.9	0.2	0.8	0.2	1.3	0.1	0.7	1.7	2.9	3.9	5.3	2.6	4.0	6.0	7.0	0.3	0.0	3.8	2.7	1.0	8.3	4.1	1.3	1.8	5.0	1.6	2.4	1.6	3.6	7.4	0.2	7.4	100%

Figure 7

Frequency over Time of Foreign Policy



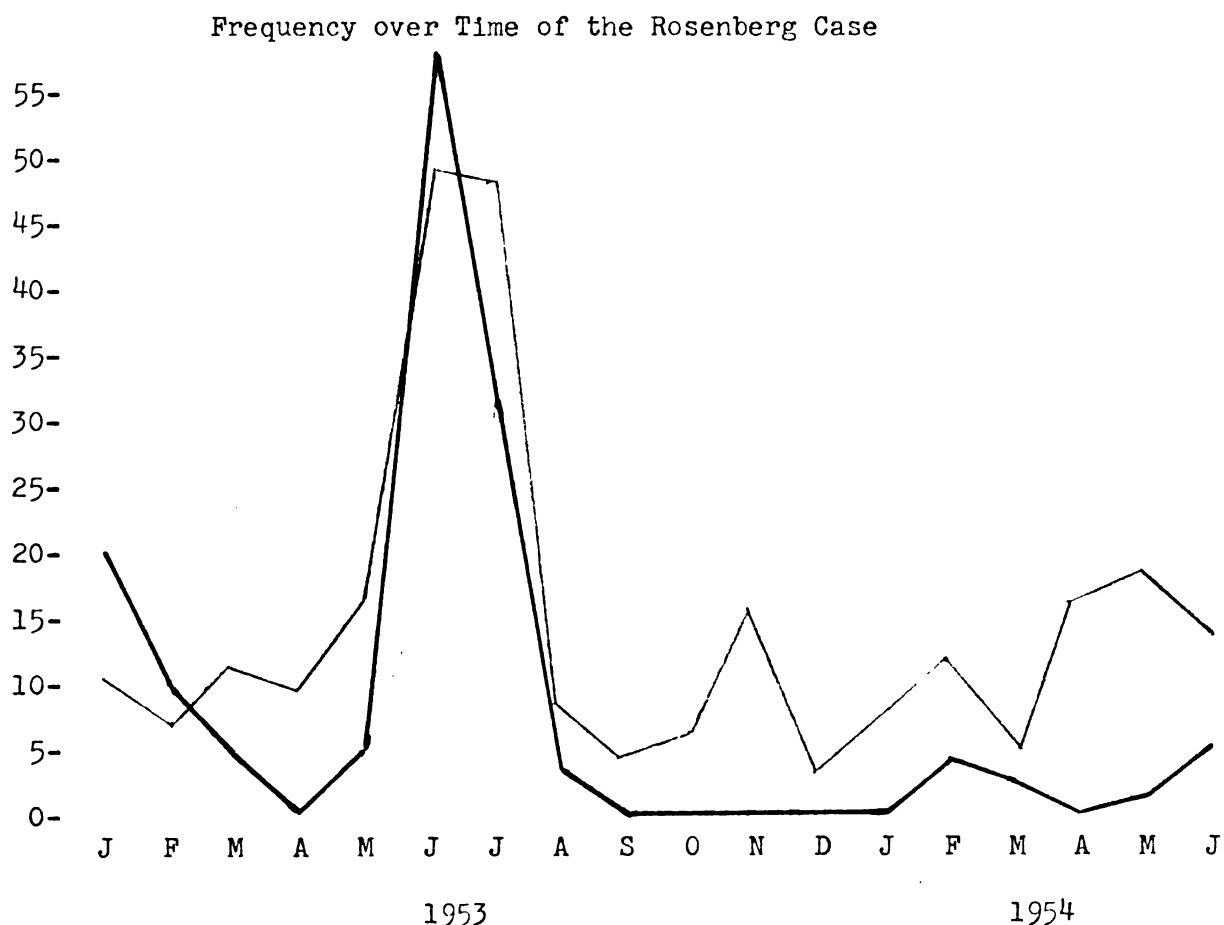
Major Categories

The rise in attention paid to American foreign policy in July, 1953, was the result of the Korean armistice talks and the signing of an armistice by the United Nations' forces and the North Koreans on July 26. Those in November, 1953, and April and May, 1954, may be attributed to our insistence that Italy join the European Defense Community and to criticisms of Clare Booth Luce; in these instances the emphasis was placed on the CGIL contention that we were interfering in the internal affairs of the country.

The execution of the Rosenbergs on June 19, 1953, and the preceding events as, for example, the petitions to the Supreme Court and the President

and the stay of execution issued by Justice Douglas were the reasons for the amount of attention in June and July. Emphasis was placed on the lack of judicial impartiality in the United States, on the fact that two small children were to be left as orphans, and the continuous reiteration that the Rosenbergs were innocent. Following remarks on the case were limited to photographs of the two orphans and reviews of the Death House Letters.

Figure 8

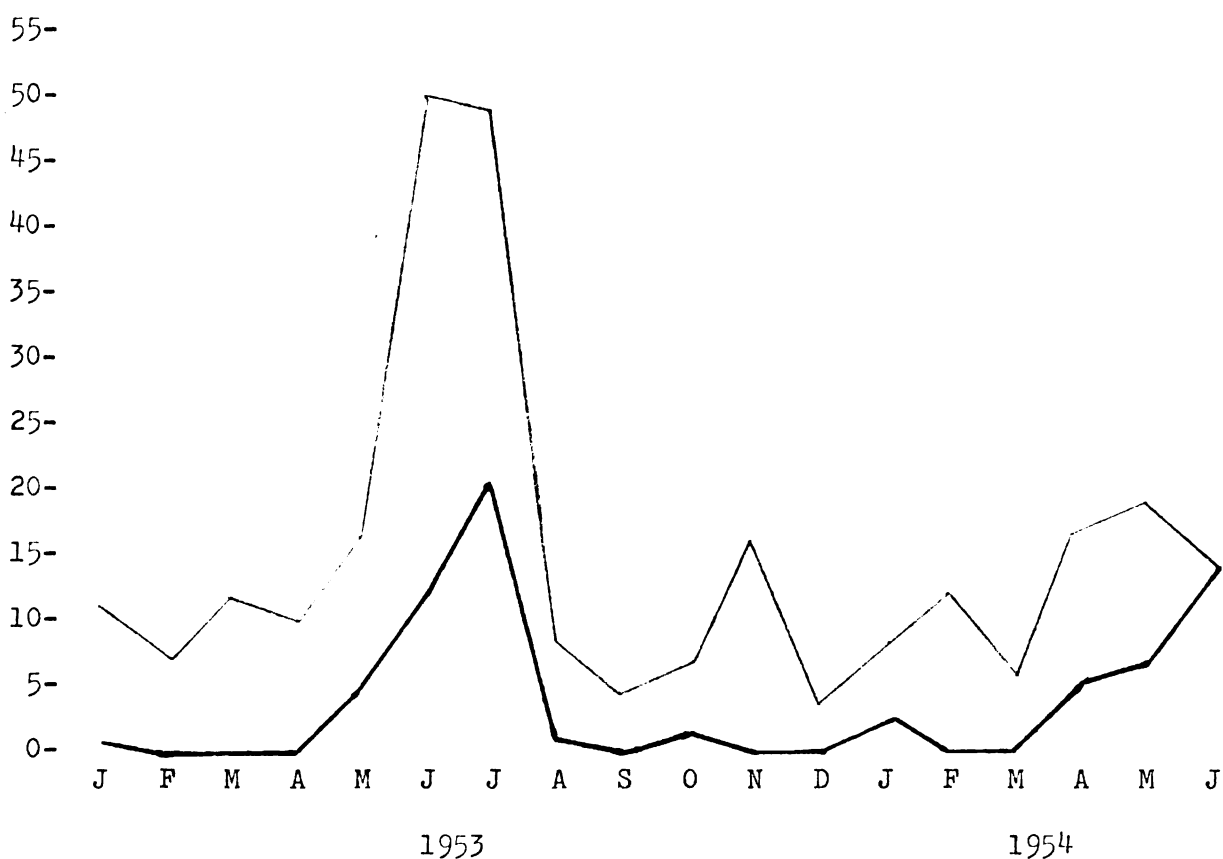


One of the interesting aspects of the treatment of the Rosenberg case is the relative lack of mention of it except for June and July, 1953. Rather than an eventual buildup prior to the execution, the amount of attention

dropped to a lack of mention of the case in April, then picked up a little in May, before rising to its highest point in June. The absence of any mention of the case from September, 1953, through January, 1954, was to be expected given the nature of the subject; however, the treatment in the succeeding months was a little surprising. The probable reason for it was that the staff wanted to remind Lavoro's readers that, as far as CGIL was concerned, the case had not been closed. Two children had been left without parents and reminders of this fact could be counted on to renew sentiment against the American government given the Italian feeling about family life.

Figure 9

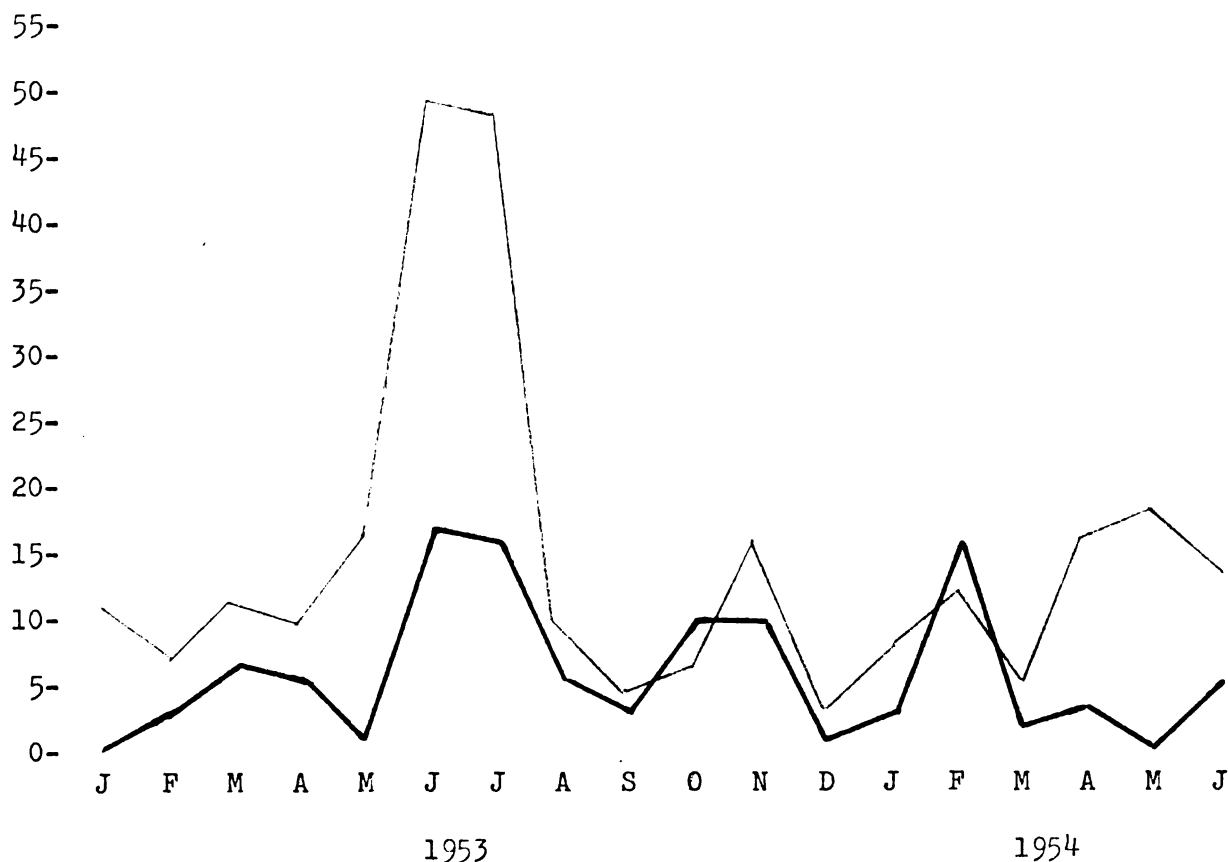
Frequency over Time of McCarthyism



The emphasis on McCarthy in May, June, and July of 1953 grew out of his "book-burning" campaign and the jaunt through Europe of Roy Cohn and David Schine. The subject was picked up again in April, 1954, as a result of the Army-McCarthy hearings. Generally, the theme that was emphasized referred to his attacks on civil liberties and the dignity of the individual. However, the overall lack of attention paid to McCarthy and his actions was surprising to the analyst who had thought that this would be one subject particularly conducive to anti-American propaganda. As a result, there is no apparent reason for this general lack of interest and no hypothesis will be offered.

Figure 10

Frequency over Time of Labor Problems



The investigations into the activities of the International Long-Shoremen's Association were discussed in some detail during the June-July, 1953 period. Emphasis was placed on the amount of corruption in the American trade union; also, there were comments on political interference into the activities of the unions as, for example, the Taft-Hartley Law. Again in February, 1954, the Lavoro staff attempted to show a connection between labor disputes, corruption, and political interference in the trade union area. There was also some commentary on the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, with which the American unions are not affiliated, and how much more effective it could be if all trade unions were affiliated in one unitary international confederation rather than having two international trade union groups.

In discussing the economic situation in the United States, emphasis

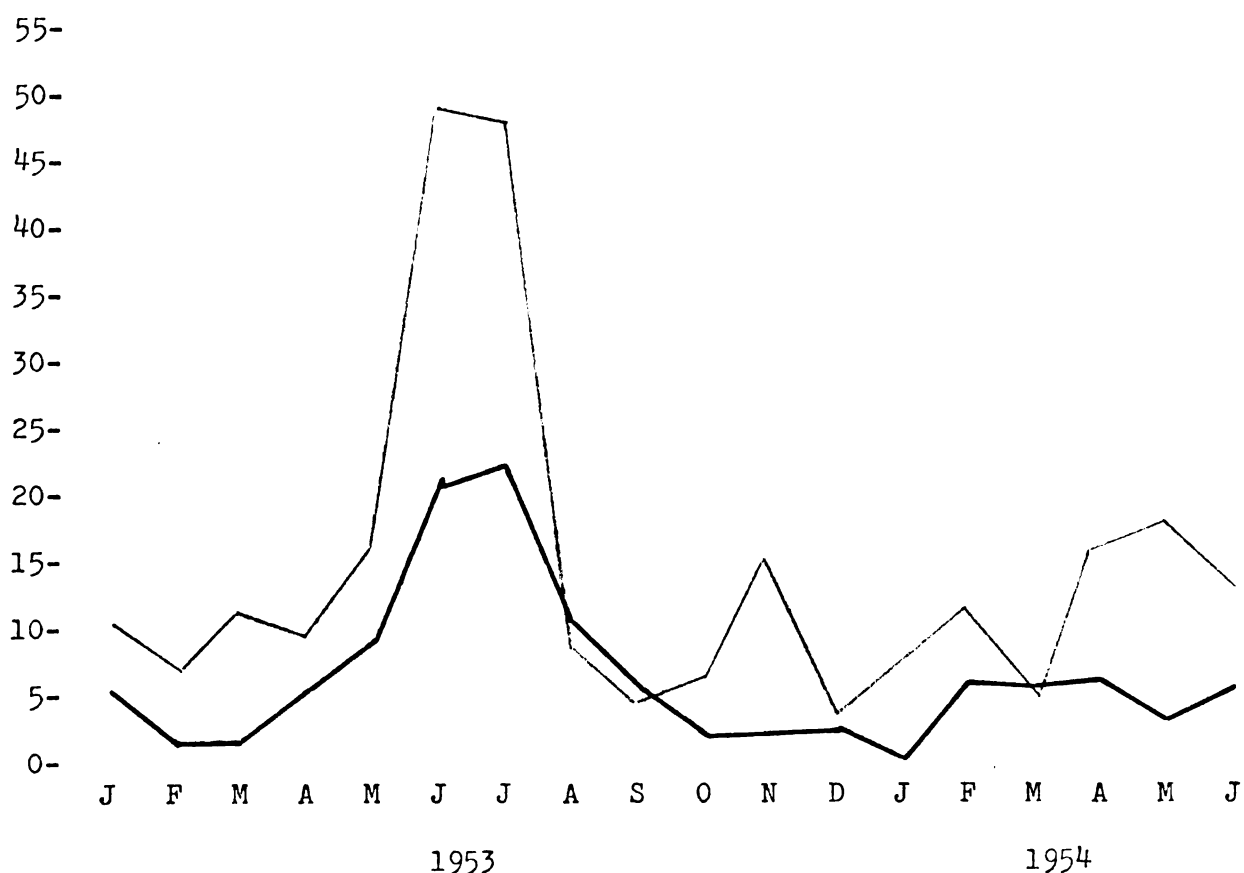
Figure 11



was on the influence of Wall Street in the daily life of the American citizen. In February, 1954, this was the main topic of conversation along with comments on the decline of the economy. Interestingly enough, this was the only category appearing frequently which dropped in number of mentions in June and July of 1953. Perhaps this can be explained by assuming that this subject lacked the dramatic appeal of those subjects such as the Rosenberg Case, the Korean War, and the IIA investigation and, as a result, did not fit into the type of treatment being given the United States during this two-month period.

Figure 12

Frequency over Time of Approbation

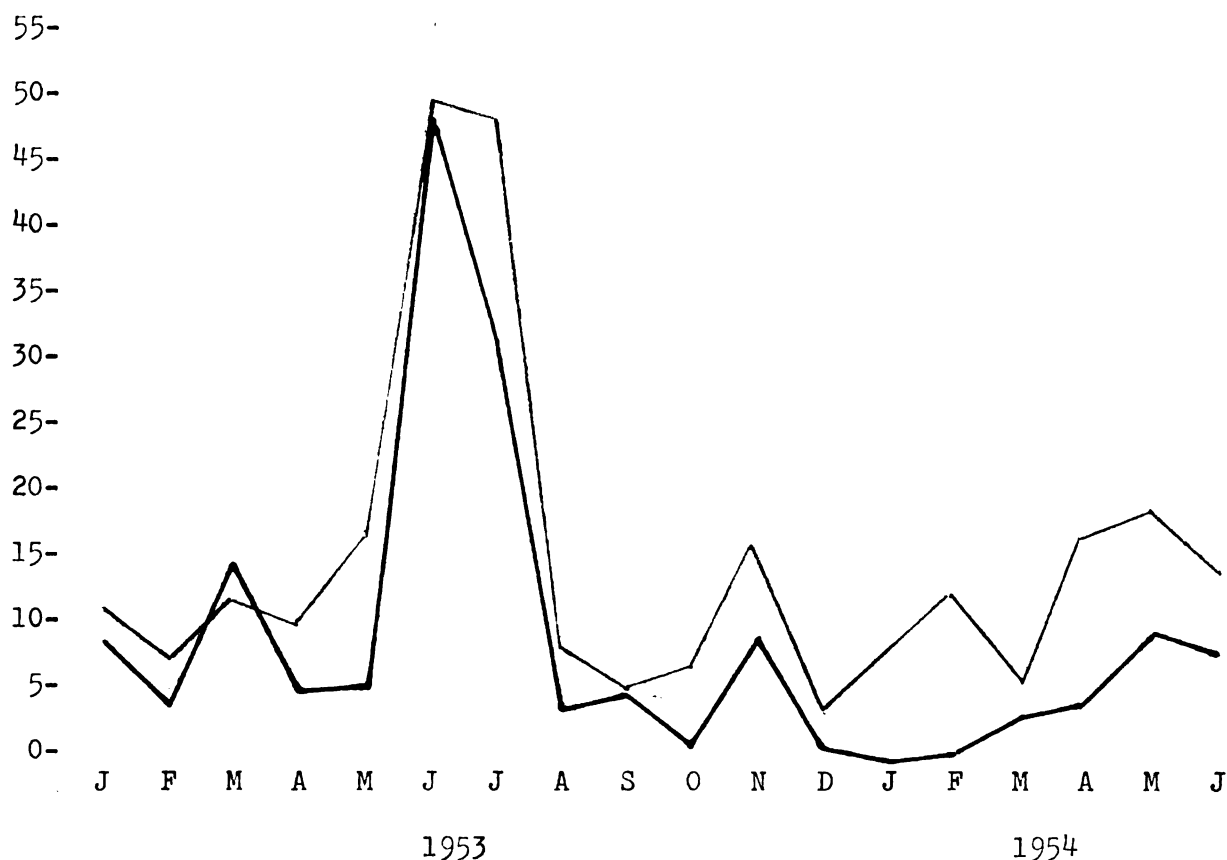


In the case of the approbation of certain aspects of the United States'

policies and actions, the frequency pattern is similar to that for the total mentions over the entire period of the study. The number of mentions rises considerably in June and July, 1953, followed by a relatively precipitous fall in the succeeding months. The rise in these two months can be explained by the fact that the Lavoro staff praised two groups for their roles in the events of those months; (1) Those Americans who paraded and picketed the White House in protest against the impending execution of the Rosenbergs were lauded for their actions. (2) Rank-and-file trade union members were praised for their reaction against corruption in the unions. As explained previously, approbation often appeared as a qualification of negative remarks about the United States and these two months were no exception.

Figure 13

Frequency over Time of Violence against Individuals

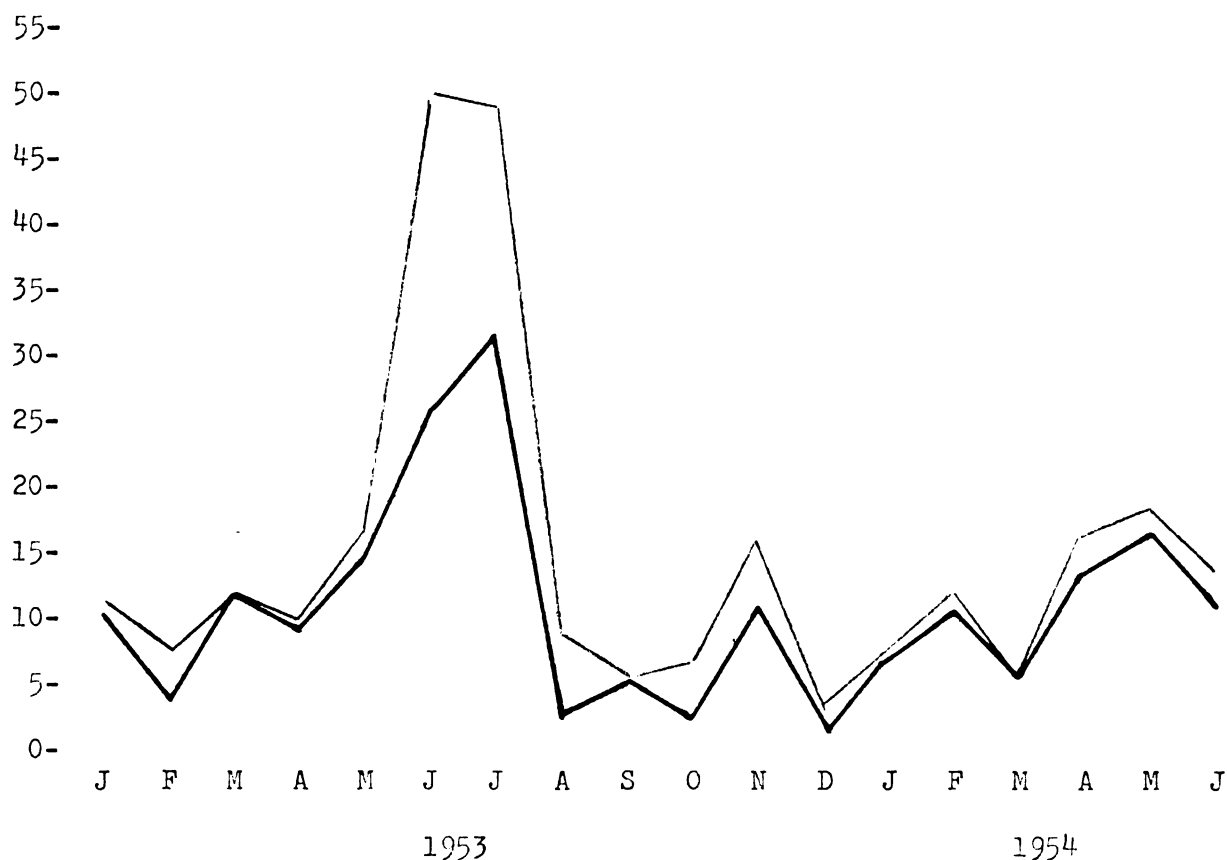


Major Themes

The theme "violence against individuals" also shows the same rise in June and July of 1953. This was largely due to Lavoro's extensive treatment of the Rosenberg case. The gradual rise in 1954 can be explained again by further mentions of the Rosenberg case as well as descriptions of the waterfront strikes in New York City. Otherwise, a large percentage of this theme was devoted to criticism of what was termed our military interference in the affairs of other nations, especially in Korea and Indochina. This particular theme appeared in conjunction with most of the categories of discussion in the study. It was employed at least once in 120 of the 282 items and twice in another 44 for a total of 164 mentions.

Figure 14

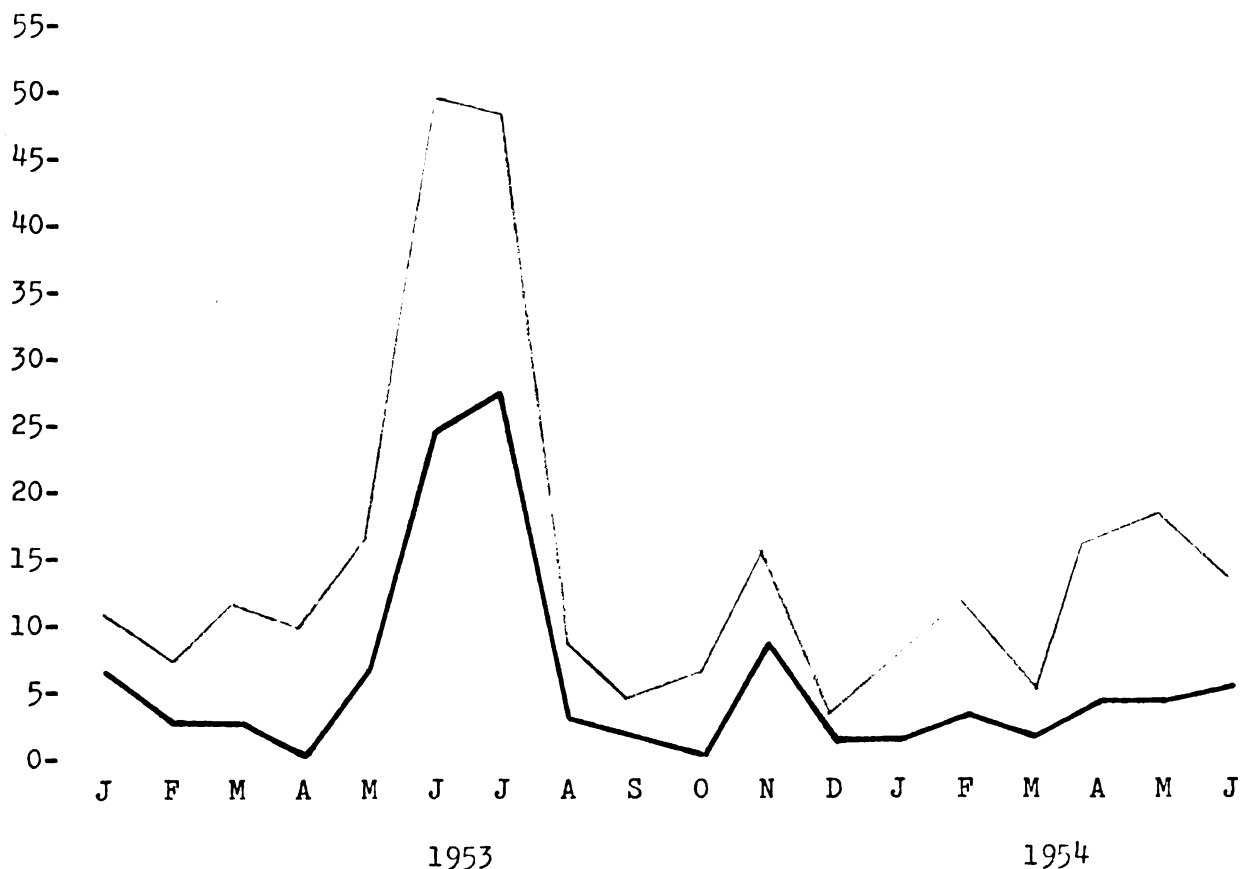
Frequency over Time of Restraint on Individuals



"Restraint on Individuals" was one of the more stable themes as far as a frequency pattern is concerned. A good deal of Lavoro's anti-American material included comments of this nature. In fact, a discussion of almost any topic relating to the United States over the entire period of the study encompassed this particular theme; based on a total of 282 items during the 18 months of the analysis, this theme appeared in 153, or 51% of them, with a total of 192 separate mentions. For the most part, the theme was used in conjunction with the Rosenberg case, discussions of labor unions, and United States foreign policy.

Figure 15

Frequency over Time of Political Persecution



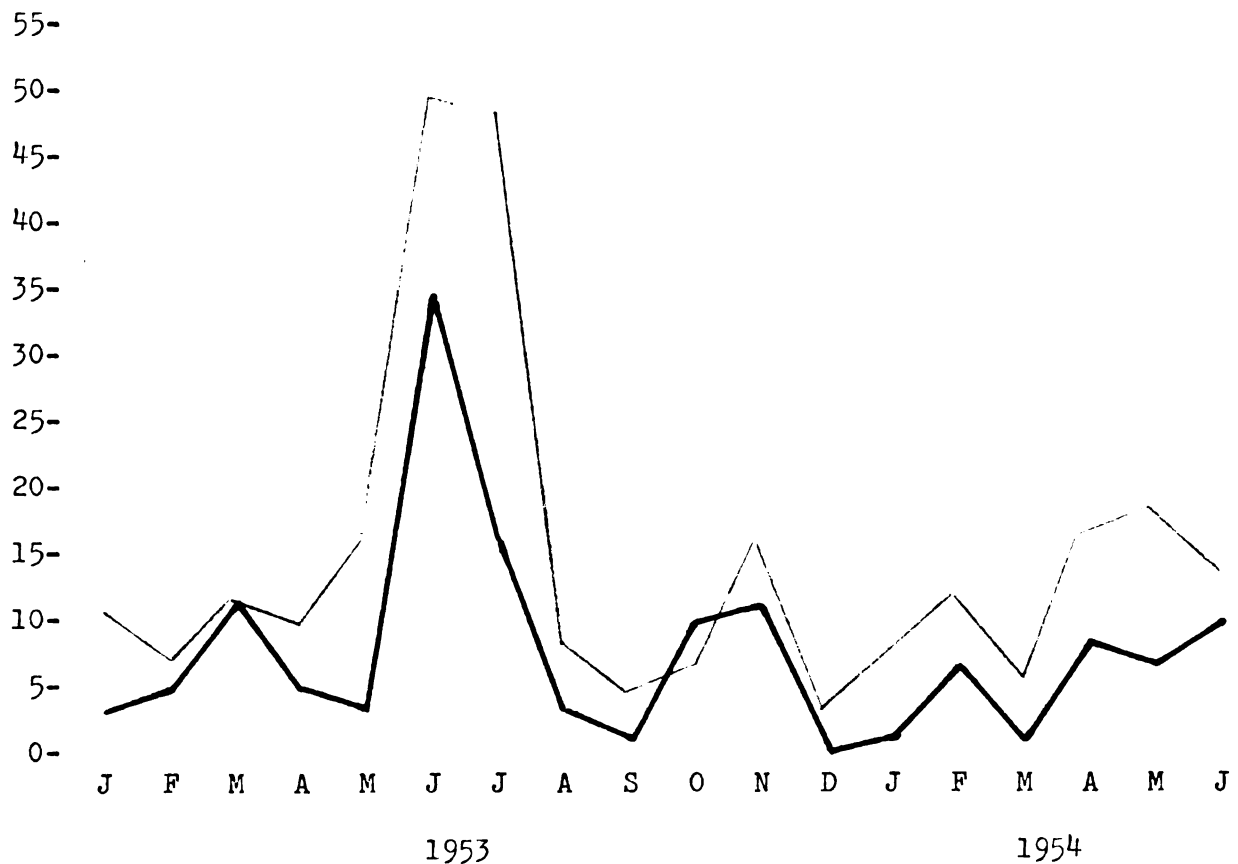
"Political persecution" again followed a similar frequency pattern for the period of the study. The rise in June and July, 1953, is explained by

the discussions of the Rosenberg Case in which the political implications of the sentence imposed upon the couple were emphasized. In November, 1953, the discussion of the Taft-Hartley law led to the argument that labor unions were being discriminated against by the government. The gradual rise in 1954 can be attributed to the discussions of the Army-McCarthy hearings and the further mentions of the Rosenberg case.

The emphasis on "corruption" in June and July of 1953 is related to Lavoro's discussions of the International Longshoremen's Association. Political corruption also enters the picture during this period as well as during the other months of the study; this involves, according to the

Figure 16

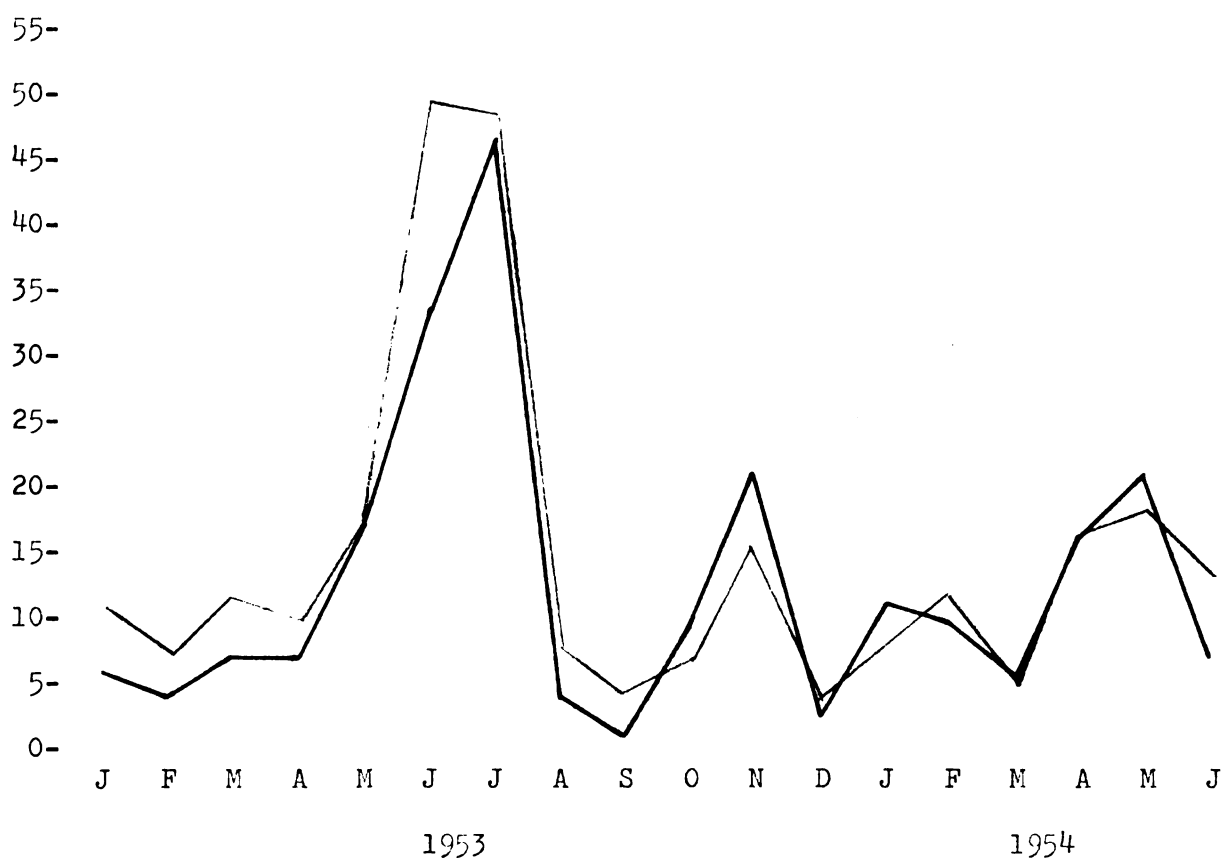
Frequency over Time of Corruption



material presented by the staff, the categories of McCarthyism and the Rosenberg case. Political corruption was defined as the employment by the government of methods which are not legal according to law; for example, the execution of the Rosenbergs was not legal since they were innocent.

Figure 17

Frequency over Time of Fascism

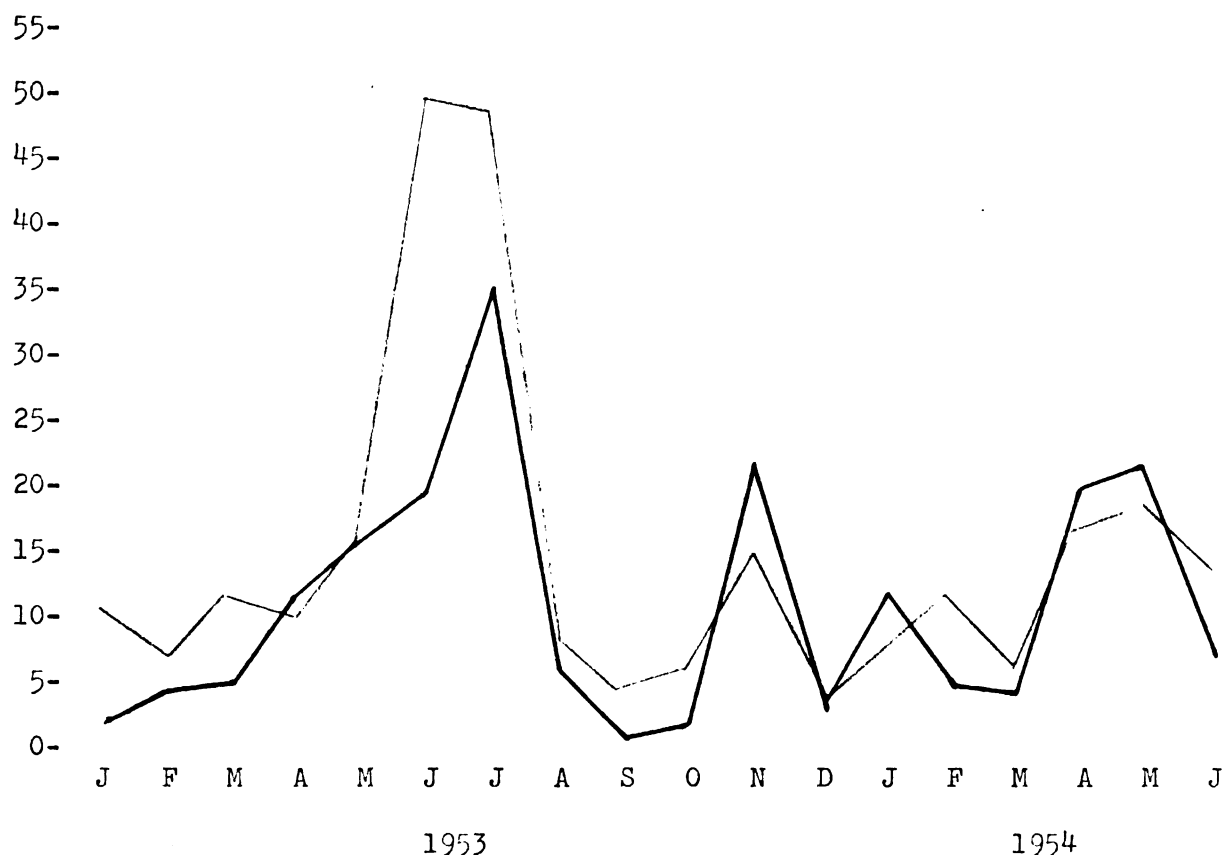


Although "fascism" also shows a spurt in June and July, this theme is also prevalent throughout the 18 month period of the study. It appears every month in one context or another although emphasis is placed on this particular theme during the above mentioned period and in November, 1953, and May, 1954. In fact, the theme appears in 53% of the 282 items dealing with the United States. The charge of fascism was levied against the United

States especially in the area of foreign policy. It was employed in conjunction with the theme of political imperialism and, more specifically, the sub-theme of interference in internal affairs. Also, the theme appeared in the discussions of the Rosenberg case, McCarthyism, and trade union affairs.

Figure 18

Frequency over Time of Political Imperialism



"Political imperialism" is also present throughout the entire period; however this theme has its highest point in July of 1953, with other periods of emphasis in November, 1953, and May, 1954. These periods of emphasis can be explained by the Korean Armistice in July, 1953, discussions of our insistence that Italy join the European Defense Community, and criticisms of the actions of Clare Booth Luce. In each case, we were accused of interfering in Italian internal affairs. This theme also encompassed our so-

called military interference in the Far East, in this case in Indochina.

Some Cross-Tabulations

The type of item employed in presenting a particular category or theme varied little. As a general rule, either articles with pictures or photographs were used. Table 6 gives the breakdown for the twelve categories and themes to be discussed in detail in this study.

Table 6
Category or Theme on Type of Item

CATEGORY OR THEME	TYPE OF ITEM								
	Article Without Picture 0	Article With Picture 1	Feature Without Picture 2	Feature With Picture 3	Picture Edit. 4	Letter Used 5	Photos 6	Cartoons 7	Other 8
Foreign Policy	3	98	1	2	12	7	86	48	0
Economic Situation	2	44	6	2	1	4	18	2	0
Labor Problems	0	36	6	0	3	4	53	5	0
Rosenberg Case	0	33	2	2	12	9	62	20	1
McCarthyism	0	33	1	0	6	5	22	3	0
Approbation	0	20	29	2	1	2	52	7	1
Violence against Individuals	1	48	5	3	43	3	79	21	2
Restraint on Individuals	2	66	8	3	5	4	74	32	1
Political Persecution	1	31	1	1	5	3	51	9	1
Fascism	3	76	4	2	7	4	89	40	0
Corruption	4	43	7	0	6	2	57	17	0
Political Imperialism	3	73	1	3	7	3	70	39	0

Of the 1782 mentions appearing in these twelve themes and categories, 33.7% appeared in articles with pictures, 40% in photographs, and 13.6%

in cartoons. In other words, 87.3% of the total mentions were treated in only three ways.

The size of the item was also limited, generally, to four classifications. These were (1) less than one-fourth page; (2) one-fourth to one-half page; (3) three-fourths to one page; and (4) 1 3/4 to 2 pages, as Table 7 indicates. Within these twelve categories and themes, 85% of the items fell into the four classifications given above. As the table indicates, approximately 70%

Table 7
Category or Theme of Size of Item

CATEGORY OR THEME	SIZE OF ITEM										
	1/4 0	1/4-1/2 1	1/2-3/4 2	3/4-1 3	1-1 1/4 4	1 1/4-1 1/2 5	1 1/2-1 3/4 6	1 3/4-2 7	2-2 1/4 8	2 1/4-2 1/2 9	2 1/2 + 10
Foreign Policy	88	63	12	22	8	4	6	51	5	0	2
Economic Situation	9	16	4	18	6	0	1	18	6	0	0
Labor Problems	37	16	3	14	1	0	6	23	6	0	0
Rosenberg Case	77	18	10	22	0	2	0	8	0	0	5
McCarthyism	20	16	5	0	0	6	2	18	0	0	4
Approbation	37	14	9	18	4	9	5	13	0	0	1
Violence against Individuals	68	32	19	22	0	2	3	23	6	0	3
Restraint on Individuals	63	39	16	31	2	4	5	28	3	0	1
Political Persecution	45	18	7	13	1	2	1	13	1	0	1
Fascism	76	55	9	29	3	3	4	38	6	0	2
Corruption	42	31	9	24	0	3	3	19	3	0	4
Political Imperialism	69	44	10	18	7	4	5	39	2	0	2

of the items in this groups were of less than one page in size. Therefore, size was not concluded to be an indication of the amount of emphasis placed on the United States by Lavoro during the period of the study.

As a result of the findings depicted in Table 7 above, it was concluded that the position of the item within the magazine was the most reliable indicator of Lavoro's use of American policies and actions in furthering its campaign against the United States.

Table 8

Category or Theme on Prominence

CATEGORY OR THEME	PROMINENCE							
	Top	Top	Top	Top	Top	Top	Med.	Low
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Foreign Policy	46	86	31	50	5	18	20	2
Economic Situation	16	38	5	7	3	6	3	1
Labor Problems	9	37	8	17	3	17	14	2
Rosenberg Case	15	31	7	27	6	11	39	4
McCarthyism	5	35	4	5	0	6	13	3
Approbation	15	46	8	12	3	10	14	2
Violence against Individuals	15	46	20	29	5	17	32	2
Restraint on Individuals	19	68	19	36	7	17	27	2
Political Persecution	15	29	11	16	4	8	18	2
Fascism	34	60	26	42	7	22	20	4
Corruption	14	43	13	29	4	17	14	2
Political Imperialism	43	60	27	33	5	17	13	2

Numbers 0-5 were a measure of top prominence; the total number of mentions

appearing in these six classifications was 85.2% of the mentions for the twelve categories and themes over the entire period. Only 12.7% fell into the classification of medium prominence. However, medium prominence was significant in one category, that of the Rosenberg case; in this instance, 28% of the mentions were classified as of medium prominence. (This may have been a result of the large amount of attention directed to this subject, necessitating a more even distribution over the prominence continuum of the relevant items.) The type of top prominence that was the most prevalent was that of "any article with photographs" other than on the cover, on page 3, or on the center page; 32.5% of the total mentions for these twelve categories and themes fell into this classification.

Table 9

Category or Theme on Direction

CATEGORY OR THEME	DIRECTION			
	0	1	2	3 Neutral
Foreign Policy	226	4	27	2
Economic Situation	53	0	26	0
Labor Problems	50	4	53	0
Rosenberg Case	66	0	75	0
McCarthyism	43	0	28	0
Approbation	0	34	76	0
Violence against Individuals	109	0	57	0
Restraint on Individuals	119	0	75	0
Political Persecution	65	0	38	0
Fascism	169	0	56	0
Corruption	89	0	46	0
Political Imperialism	96	0	24	0

The direction given to American policies and actions by the Lavoro staff was overwhelmingly negative as had been expected. Table 9 gives the breakdown of this classification for the same themes and categories that were employed in the previous 3 tables.

The most interesting aspect of this table is not that 63.5% of the mentions were negative in direction but that several of the categories and themes were more "mixed" than negative. Both of the categories of "Labor Problems" and the "Rosenberg Case" showed this result. As was explained previously in a discussion of approbation, this was because of Lavoro's praise of rank and file trade union members and of those who protested against the execution of the Rosenbergs. Another interesting aspect of the above table is that in the case of approbation, 69% of the mentions were mixed in character rather than unqualifiedly positive. In fact, throughout the entire twelve categories and themes the use of both negative and positive remarks in discussing American policies and actions seems to be popular with the Lavoro staff. This type of approach is employed in 34% of the mentions for this group of themes and categories. The probable explanation for this phenomenon is that Communist propaganda tends to differentiate between the American government and the American people, stating that the problem is the nature of the government and the ordinary citizen is not to be criticized but rather praised as he is not a part of the government.

The use of several types of methods of presentation for each item was recorded for 83.5% of the mentions for the twelve categories and themes under discussion. Factual reporting appeared in only 4.8% of the mentions while distortion appeared alone in 4.2% of them.

The types of combinations appearing for each of the twelve categories and themes will be discussed in detailed in the following chapter. The chapter will present a detailed analysis of each of the above categories and themes as to their specific content and the way in which the content was handled by the Lavoro staff.

Table 10

Category or Theme on Method of Presentation

CATEGORY OR THEME	METHOD OF PRESENTATION										
	Factual Report 0	Dist. 1	Immerds 2	Sensat. 3	Emotion 4	Humor 5	Mixed 6	Reprint Not 7	poss. to Determine 8	Movie review 9	Comb.
Foreign Policy	12	23	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	211
Economic Situation	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
Labor Problems	11	2	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	86
Rosenberg Case	3	2	1	4	5	2	0	2	0	0	124
McCarthyism	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	62
Approbation	11	1	2	3	3	0	0	25	0	0	64
Violence against Individuals	8	4	2	9	4	1	1	1	0	0	135
Restraint on Individuals	5	5	3	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	172
Political Persecution	5	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	84
Fascism	9	9	3	5	1	2	1	0	2	0	193
Corruption	9	1	2	5	2	1	2	0	1	0	114
Political Imperialism	5	17	2	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	170

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Qualitative content analysis as a method of research is particularly valuable in a study of this nature with the emphasis being placed on what was said about the United States and how this material was treated by the Lavoro staff. Therefore, this type of analysis was undertaken in an attempt to determine the way in which Lavoro is attempting to instill dislike and fear of the United States in the mind of the Italian worker. It should be pointed out again that there is no way (except by the comparison of past and present membership figures and PCI election results) at this time of discovering the reaction of the readers to the material in Lavoro and that any discussion of the possible reaction must, of necessity, be speculative.

The two preceding chapters have given a picture of the quantitative aspects of the material in Lavoro dealing with the United States between January, 1953, and June, 1954. This chapter will deal with the qualitative aspects of the data, or, more specifically, with the twelve categories and themes treated in the preceding chapter. Each of these will be taken up separately and in detail; then an attempt will be made to tie them together in order to present a coherent picture of the substance of Lavoro's treatment of the United States during the period of the study.

One point should be made clear before beginning a detailed discussion of the twelve themes and categories to be covered below. For five of the categories -- foreign policy, economic situation, labor problems, the Rosenberg case, and McCarthyism -- the method of treatment will be largely based on the themes used by the Lavoro staff in their discussion of each. All of the themes which appeared under each category are not being employed; only

those which appeared the most frequently are included. Tables 11-15 give the breakdown for each of the five categories against those themes which appeared in conjunction with them.

Imperialism and Foreign Policy

United States foreign policy received the greatest amount of attention as compared with the other categories during the eighteen-month period of the study. Not only did articles, photographs, etc. concentrate on our foreign policy but also, when other subjects were being discussed, aspects of American foreign policy often entered in to the discussion. In fact, 115 of the 282 items contained at least one mention of foreign policy, 91 at least two, and 55 three mentions.

Those aspects of American foreign policy which received the most attention during the period of the study were our policy in the Far East, our policy in Italy, economic pressures, and interference in internal affairs. The sub-category "Other" contains references to United States foreign policy in which more than three of its aspects were discussed in one item; these combinations were, for the most part, concerned with either our policy in the Far East or Italy plus intimidation of other powers, economic pressures, and interference in internal affairs.

The treatment of our Far Eastern foreign policy revolved around Korea and Indochina and varied little between the two countries. In both cases, emphasis was placed on the Communist contention that the United States was little more than an imperialistic nation and interfering in the internal affairs of both areas. This critique was based on the fact that America was supplying arms to the French in Indochina and both arms and men in Korea. Also, the point was made that both the Indochinese and the Koreans

were fighting for their independence and that the United States was attempting to restrain this natural desire for independence.

The United States' insistence that Italy join the European Defense Community formed the basis for Lavoro's attacks on our policy there. Other facets of American policy in Italy which were criticized by the staff were the statements of Clare Booth Luce, the agreement with Professor Valleta, the president of FIAT, to make F-86 jets for the NATO command, and the appearance of American battleships in various of the Italian ports from time to time which were described as "demonstrations of power."

The strongest criticism of Clare Booth Luce was for her speech in Milan prior to the June 7-8, 1953, general elections. A great deal of resentment was evident regarding her statement that unless the Christian Democrats won the election there might be a drastic cut in American economic aid. She was also criticized for her statements insisting on the entry of Italy into EDC and on Italian rearmament. Mrs. Luce was characterized as an unscrupulous individual who would stop at almost nothing to gain what she desired, even if it meant putting the interests of Italy in the background. However, there were no examples supporting this accusation, which gives the impression that the staff was perhaps trying to counteract her popularity among segments of the population simply by making seemingly unfounded remarks as to Mrs. Luce's character.

The FIAT-USA agreement and the appearance of American battleships off the coasts of Italy led to the accusation that we were interfering in Italy's internal affairs. American insistence on rearmament was interpreted as a lack of interest in the economic stability of the country as according to Lavoro, this was evidence that the United States was interested in Italy

only as a source of manpower for another war.

By far the most important of the sub-categories dealing with foreign affairs was that of "interference in internal affairs." In almost every item dealing with foreign policy, this sub-category appeared as the focal point of the discussion. On the other hand, there was no mention of the Soviet Union as the exemplary force in international affairs, as the nation which did not practice these "reprehensible" methods of foreign policy. This lack of mention of the Soviet Union as a contrast suggests that the Lavoro staff follows the policy of the Italian Communist Party in not broadcasting any affiliation with the CPSU or in placing much emphasis on the desirability of copying the Soviet methods.

Eight themes were emphasized in Lavoro's treatment of United States' foreign policy. These were (1) violence against individuals; (2) restraint of individuals; (3) political persecution; (4) fascism; (5) war-mongering; (6) corruption; (7) economic imperialism; and (8) political imperialism. The frequency of attention for each of these eight themes is given in Table 11.

Those themes which appear the most often in connection with our foreign policy were fascism and political imperialism. These were used in relation to Lavoro's contention that the United States' foreign policy was oriented toward interference in the internal affairs of other nations. The frequent appearance of the term fascism served to bolster the notion that the United States was not really a democracy but only an oligarchy run by business and military cliques. Our methods were compared to those employed by dictatorships, both past and present. For example, in several cartoons the United States was characterized not only by dollar signs but also by

swastikas. Also, in several of the discussions of EDC, America was accused of desiring the return to power of those persons in Germany who had been influential during the Hitler regime.

Table 11

Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY	THEMES								
	Viol. Ind.	Restraint on Ind.	Pol. Persc.	Fascism	War- Mong.	Comp.	Econ. Imp.	Political Imp.	
	47-8	49-50	54	58-9	60-1	65-6	71-2	73-5	
General	2	2	2	4	4	1	0	5	
Far Eastern	20	15	15	42	44	12	16	67	
Re: Italy	11	36	11	65	36	22	46	78	
Re: France vs. Germany	0	2	0	3	4	0	1	4	
Re: Great Britain	0	3	1	6	6	2	5	6	
Embassy Relations	0	9	1	10	5	4	11	16	
Domestic Pressures	0	2	1	2	2	0	0	2	
Intimidation of Other Powers	7	17	5	17	17	9	12	29	
Economic Pressures	11	22	8	39	20	15	34	41	
Interference in Inter- national Affairs	40	67	34	123	83	42	85	168	
Other	29	22	24	49	29	24	31	65	
%	6.4	10.5	5.4	19.1	13.3	7	12.8	25.6	

The term "war-mongering" was used in describing the United States' military role in Korea, its military aid to France for the Indochinese war, and American insistence that Europe rearm as soon as possible. Again, our desire

for European rearmament was tied to the charge of fascism. However, no reasons were given as to why we desired European rearmament. The emphasis was placed on the future -- and present -- economic hardships which would be imposed on the Italian worker as a result of a war, rather than a consumer, economy.

Another facet of Lavoro's treatment of American foreign policy was that the United States put economic pressure on various nations in order to force them to adopt policies to its liking. Clare Booth Luce's statement regarding the Italian elections is an example of this type of treatment. Here again, the Lavoro staff was able effectively to portray its contention that the United States was interfering in the internal affairs of a nation.

Therefore, one can conclude that, in the area of American foreign policy, the main emphasis was placed on the contention that the United States interfered in the internal affairs of various nations. The Lavoro staff portrayed example after example to point this up to the reader, sometimes by factual reporting, other times by the use of distortion, and also by a combination of the two methods of presentation.

An example of the use of distortion was the appearance of a cartoon depicting Clare Booth Luce driving a broken-down truck, representing Italy, in which Premier DeGasperi and other cabinet ministers were riding. An American flag on which a swastika had been superimposed flew from the front of the truck and Mrs. Luce was carrying an atomic bomb in her hand while driving. Another cartoon made use of a combination of factual reporting and distortion. This one depicted Mrs. Luce's speech in Milan and showed her holding a string to which several dollar bills were attached; the expression on her face reminded one of a vulture.

Regardless of the method of presentation, however, the Lavoro staff made effective use of each of the American policies and actions in the

area of foreign affairs which were conducive to negative interpretation by a group interested in discrediting the United States in the eyes of others. Clare Booth Luce's statement in Milan in regard to the Italian elections and our military aid to France for use in Indochina are perhaps the two best examples of this emphasis on the theme of interference in internal affairs.

Economics and "Democracy"

Interference in internal affairs also appeared in conjunction with the discussions of the economic situation in the United States. This was a result of the combination of the influence of Wall Street in the government and the resulting political implications of this influence. The political implications are largely international in character, as threats of the withdrawal of economic aid from a country are made if the country does not follow the lead of the United States in formulating its domestic and foreign policies.

Interestingly enough, there was little mention of a possible depression in the United States. But whenever this possibility was discussed, it was in conjunction with our emphasis on the production of war materials. This was tied in with the American desire for European rearmament and was treated as a "natural" result stemming from a war-oriented economy. Throughout these discussions, Lavoro attempted to show that, if war production ceased, there would be mass unemployment and the resulting crisis would have world-wide effects.

Those themes employed in the discussion of the American economic situation were (1) violence against individuals; (2) restraint on individuals; (3) fascism; (4) economic depression; (5) corruption; (6) monopoly; (7) economic imperialism; and (8) political imperialism. The amount of atten-

tion each received in this particular category is presented in Table 12 below.

Violence against individuals and restraint on individuals appeared in conjunction with economic and political imperialism. The emphasis was on the results of the giving of economic and military aid to colonial powers for the purpose of putting down nationalist movements in their colonies. These themes were also tied in with fascism and monopoly which clearly shows the type of presentation given to this category by the Lavoro staff. Again it was the emphasis on American interference in Italian in-

Table 12

Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Economic Situation

ECONOMIC SITUATION	THEMES							
	Violence Against Ind.	Restraint On Ind.	Fascism	Econ. Depres.	Corruption	Monopoly	Econ. Imp.	Polit. Imp.
	47-8	49-50	58-9	62-3	65-6	68-9	71-2	73-5
General	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Threat of Depression	0	8	7	11	2	5	2	2
Wall Street Influence	5	20	28	9	13	19	16	18
Historical Treatment	3	4	5	0	6	5	4	1
Persecution Question	3	4	5	0	5	4	2	0
Political Implications	7	26	35	14	18	26	25	27
Other	4	14	16	12	10	11	6	6
War Production 'boom'	0	1	7	3	3	3	6	9
Agriculture	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	1
%	4.3	15.4	20.4	9.9	11.1	14.4	12.1	12.05

ternal affairs which provided the main theme of the discussions. The interference was mainly economic in nature as demands were made to the effect that unless Italy followed our lead in formulating its international and domestic policies aid would be withdrawn. However, the principle of economic aid was not criticized in Lavoro; rather it was the "strings" attached to the aid that were attacked as evidence of the American desire to control and dominate Italy.

In many instances, fascism appeared at the same time as did economic and political imperialism, as was the case in the treatment of American foreign policy. The use of these particular themes in conjunction with each other seemed to be the favorite type of treatment employed by the Lavoro staff in discussing any subject which has international implications. More specifically, it was political fascism and interference in internal economic and political affairs which went hand in hand in the presentation of these subjects.

The theme "restraint on individuals" also played its role in the discussion of the economic situation in the United States. However, this theme appeared for the most part in those items which were also concerned with labor problems. The restrictions on the freedom of action of the individual to live and work as he wished were emphasized. It was the Lavoro staff's contention that the military and business cliques in the United States prevented the ordinary citizen from freely participating in whatever facets of daily life he wished. According to Lavoro, these restraints disproved our claim of being the leading democracy in the world and led quite naturally to a desire to dominate other nations economically and politically, if not militarily.

An Appeal to Labor

The role of the labor union in the United States was covered in some detail during this period. However, this was not done in laudatory terms by any means. Labor leaders, almost without exception, were criticized for their actions, statements, and economic status. The point was made again and again that the union leaders were actually members of the ruling cliques (Lavoro's assumed clique) and that, as such, they did not have the interests of the workers at heart. This emphasis on the negative character of American trade union leaders seems to follow the Communist contention that trade unions in the "bourgeois democracies" are to be criticized frequently since they do not operate in a framework which, according to Marx and Lenin, should be based on the principle of the proletarian revolution. A trade union ought not to operate within the democratic framework, which implies that the governmental structure will remain stable and no overt action will be taken to change it. That this is the foundation for Lavoro's criticisms can be justified by the fact that many of the items dealing with American trade unions contained pleas to the workers to change their leaders and to affiliate with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Corruption in the trade unions played an important role in Lavoro's criticism of the behavior of the leaders. The International Longshoremen's Association was held up as the prime example of this corruption. Much emphasis was placed on the use of members of "Murder, Inc." by the ILA leaders in order to keep the members in line. However, interestingly enough, when the longshoremen were voting on whether or not to join the American Federation of Labor, the Lavoro staff had nothing but contempt for those workers who voted for the AF of L. One received the impression

that, as far as Lavoro was concerned, there was no difference between the AF of L and the ILA and that the workers should form another organization -- one which would be set up along the lines of Harry Bridges' union of longshoremen on the West Coast. The contradiction here is obvious since the West Coast longshoremen's union is not the type that the Communists profess to desire either.

Those themes which were employed the most frequently in the discussions of labor problems were (1) restraint on individuals; (2) fascism; (3) corruption; and (4) monopoly. Table 13 gives the breakdown for these four themes as well as for several others which appeared in conjunction with this category.

Table 13

Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on Labor Problems

LABOR PROBLEMS	THEMES						
	Violence Against Ind. 47-8	Restraint On Ind. 49-50	Fascism 58-9	Econ. Depres. 62-3	Corrup. 65-6	Monopoly 68-9	Econ. Imp. 71-2
General	2	2	1	0	1	2	0
Internat'l Conferences	2	2	8	1	3	6	8
Labor Disputes	11	29	22	18	22	18	2
Corruption	12	21	15	3	19	13	4
Political Connections	7	25	25	7	18	19	19
Influence of Gangsters	10	13	7	1	16	6	2
Other	5	18	25	10	15	13	14
Taft-Hartley	1	8	5	5	5	6	0
Forced Labor	6	3	0	0	4	0	0
%	9.9	21.4	19.1	8	18.2	14.7	8.7

"Restraint on individuals" involved the lack of freedom of the individual worker not only to attain his desired goals but also to choose his leaders freely. According to Lavoro, the worker was manipulated by the union leader who was not actually representing him as he should have been. This led to the use of fascism and corruption as two of the natural results of such a policy on the part of the trade union leader. Over and over again, arguments were presented as to why the worker should get rid of his leaders and choose new ones who would be sympathetic to his problems and desires.

One example employed to show that the trade union leader was actually a member of the ruling elite rather than a member of the working class was his economic status. After all, a home in a "middle-class" neighborhood and a relatively new car were obvious signs that the leader had deserted the cause to which he had been supposedly dedicated.

Another example of this was that invitations to American workers to join the World Federation of Trade Unions had been rejected. It was emphasized that letters and communiques were being sent by DiVittorio to the workers telling them that they would be more than welcome to join this Communist-dominated federation. The rejection of these invitations was a sign that the workers had not been able to make a free choice as if they had been able to do so, they would have joined rather than remaining in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

The ICFTU was continually castigated as a tool of the United States. Again it was emphasized that the workers were being tricked by their leaders; this organization was nothing but another means for the United States to gain world domination, and the interests of the workers meant nothing. The allegation that both Walter Reuther and George Meany were

influential in this organization was cited as proof of American domination. This served to give the staff another opportunity to assert its contention that the United States was interested in world domination and would stop at almost nothing to attain its goals, even to the point of misrepresenting itself to the workers. Also, charges were made that CISL was dominated by the United States; these charges were supported by the fact that Irving Brown of the AF of L had spent some time in Italy "advising" the CISL leaders as to their best course of action. Obviously, this accusation could have real repercussions on the Italian trade union scene.

"Legal Assassination"

It was the Rosenberg case, however, which gave the Lavoro staff their best opportunity to create anti-American feeling among the Italian workers. This famous case, which has been described in detail in Chapter II, seemed to have been "tailor-made" for such a purpose. There is little doubt that Lavoro was not interested in the couple as individuals; simply, the case provided such an excellent opportunity for the promulgation of anti-American sentiment that no type of presentation was ignored in discussing the "facts" of the case.

During June, and July, 1953, over one-half of the space devoted to the United States was employed in the presentation of material concerning the Rosenbergs. The themes employed in this presentation were (1) violence against individuals; (2) restraint on individuals; (3) political persecution; (4) fascism; (5) judicial injustice; and (6) corruption.

The reasons given by the Lavoro staff for their defense of the Rosenbergs were ethical in nature, although there is reason to doubt this contention given the nature of Communist propaganda and actions generally.

Table 14

Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on the Rosenberg Case

ROSENBERG CASE	THEMES					
	Violence Against Ind.	Restraint On Ind.	Pol. Persc.	Jud. Injust.	Fascism	Corruption
	47-8	49-50	54	55-6	58-9	65-6
General	0	0	0	0	0	0
Historical Connection	8	8	4	8	4	5
Court References	51	24	32	37	25	22
Political Reasons	24	23	25	24	22	26
Minority Implications	2	0	1	1	1	2
Familial Treatment	28	20	24	31	12	15
<u>Death House Letters</u>	5	2	2	3	2	2
International Results	35	20	23	29	19	24
Other	23	14	18	20	13	14

However, the staff maintained that the couple were innocent of the charges against them and that they were victims of the political hysteria sweeping the United States at that time. The United States' government, judicial system, and police were accused of an action conceived to be little less than the murder of two innocent people, leaving two children as orphans.

By far the strongest attack was made on the American judicial system. Its members were accused of everything from corruption to fascism. Judge Kaufman, who handed down the original sentence of death in the electric chair, received the strongest criticism. It was alleged that he was exactly what a judge ought not to be, especially that he was susceptible to political pressures from government personnel and the FBI. The staff then pointed

out that this was contradictory to our stated principles of law. The same type of criticism was also extended to each of the Supreme Court justices except Justice Douglas. After all, hadn't he risked his career when he felt that an injustice might have been committed and ordered a stay of execution for the couple?

President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell were also accused of having been swept away by the political hysteria prevailing at the time. These two men were held up as fascists and assassins. The FBI was termed a secret police and it was charged that they had employed terroristic methods in order to achieve their ends, in this case the conviction of the couple. One of the most effective items used in portraying these accusations was a photograph (supposedly) of President Eisenhower with his thumb turned down and a wicked smile on his face; it was reminiscent of Nero in the days of the gladiator fights in ancient Rome.

The greatest part of the treatment of the Rosenberg case was reserved for an emotional appeal; photograph after photograph and article after article were devoted to the two children of the couple. The fact that they would be left as orphans was emphasized over and over again. There were also photographs of Ethel and Julius before their arrest, during the trial, and in the prison at Sing Sing. These photographs showed the couple embracing, with tears in their eyes, and bravely facing the judge at the time they received the death sentence. Another attempt to create a feeling of sympathy for the couple was made by printing several poems written by Ethel during her imprisonment.

One point continually emphasized by the Lavoro staff was that the execution was nothing more than a legal assassination. One entire article

was devoted to a description of how the electric chair operated; another told of each detail of the Rosenberg execution. If these were calculated to create a feeling of horror on the part of the reader, they were very effective, at least as far as the writer and several others are concerned. Concerning this point, it must be remembered that there is no capital punishment in Italy and, even more important, it is forbidden by the Constitution.

In the months following the execution, the Rosenberg case was not ignored. Several photographs of Michael and Bobby Rosenberg were printed; there was a favorable review of the Death House Letters written by the couple prior to their execution; a eulogy for Emmanuel Block, the couple's attorney, appeared after his death. The one item concerning the Rosenbergs that remains with the writer is a drawing done by a French cartoonist which appeared in Lavoro following the execution. It is merely the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty with the couple replacing Miss Liberty who lies, discarded, at the foot of the pedestal. This typifies, perhaps better than any other one item, the attitude of Lavoro toward the entire case.

It must be remembered that this case was not emphasized because the Lavoro staff felt sympathetic toward the two individuals involved. Here was a situation which was extremely advantageous for the building up of anti-American sentiment in the mind of the Italian worker. The staff was able to capitalize on each facet of the case as it reflected in a particular attitude of the Italian towards certain aspects of the case. For example, the emphasis on family life was exploited by repeating the fact that two children would be left as orphans. All in all, the Rosenberg case provided an opportunity for Lavoro to "pull out all the stops" in an attempt to

create an atmosphere conducive to effectively pointing out that the United States was not really a democracy. After all, in a democracy, persons are not executed for crimes which they did not commit.

Attempts at Political Conformity

Although Senator Joseph McCarthy was not the subject of discussion very often, he was violently attacked several times. It must be remembered that he was thought to be very powerful in the United States during this period not only by many Americans but also by many Europeans. Regardless of his true significance, however, the Lavoro staff was able to cite his exploits as proof of the lack of democracy in the United States. McCarthy was accused of being a fascist, a "witch-hunter," and a mad, power-seeking individual. In fact, almost any uncomplimentary term one can think of was applied to the junior senator from Wisconsin.

The main emphasis was placed on his tactics in Congress. According to Lavoro, McCarthy violated every principle of fair play and democracy during his investigations of what was termed "nothing at all." It was he who had fostered the political hysteria in the United States against those individuals who were brave enough to openly support what they felt was right, although it might not be identical with the prevailing political views. This hysteria led to the loss of jobs, of friends, and, in some cases, of life through suicide by many of these individuals. His unfounded accusations were based on nothing more than a desire for attention and eventual political power. Each item concerning McCarthy in Lavoro employed these themes repeatedly, until this writer is certain that they were bound to penetrate even the most skeptical of minds.

The themes most frequently employed in these discussions were those of (1) violence against individuals; (2) restraint on individuals; (3) political

persecution; (4) fascism; (5) corruption; and (6) political imperialism. Table 15 gives the breakdown of these themes against each sub-category of McCarthyism.

Table 15

Relative Emphasis of Selected Themes on McCarthyism

McCARTHYISM	THEMES					
	Violence Against Ind. 47-8	Restraint Ordered 49-50	Political Persc. 54	Fascism 58-9	Corruption 65-6	Political Imp. 73-5
General	1	2	2	2	1	3
Domestic Intimidation	5	16	7	12	10	4
Foreign Policy Effects	2	14	7	12	8	8
Minority Implications	2	1	1	2	2	0
Power Theories	6	7	4	5	8	2
Attack on Civil Liberties	8	27	13	20	14	7
Interference in Internal Affairs	0	11	4	11	8	7
International Complications	6	21	10	21	15	12
Other Influences	4	17	7	16	5	8
%	7.9	27.1	12.9	23.6	16.6	11.9

The first three of these themes were used in conjunction with the congressional investigations of which McCarthy was in charge. It was alleged that his tactics often led to (1) the suicide of the accused individual; (2) the individual being afraid to speak his mind because of possible accusation, and (3) the persecution of those who were not afraid to speak their minds. These tactics were fascist in nature and a parallel was

drawn between the methods of McCarthy and those of other dictators; the point was made that, in actuality, McCarthy was afraid of criticism and, as a result, would stop at nothing to discredit those who were critical of him.

The international aspects of McCarthyism concerned the trip of Roy Cohn and David Schine through Europe in 1953. This journey occasioned extremely bitter comments in Lavoro as to the nature of American democracy. Subtle hints were included referring to the possible relationship between the two men. These hints plus some of their actions in Europe were sufficient to lead to violent accusations against the United States to the effect that we were a decadent, corrupt nation, bent on eventual world domination. More specifically, the attempts of Cohn and Schine to dictate the choice of the material to be made available to the nationals of various European nations by the United States Information Service libraries were interpreted as an American desire to determine the way in which these people should think and act in regard to others. Finally, the Army-McCarthy hearings were portrayed as a struggle for power among certain of the ruling groups in the United States.

Major Themes -- All Negative

There were six themes which were emphasized in Lavoro throughout the period of the study. These were violence against individuals, restraint on individuals, political persecution, fascism, corruption, and political imperialism. These appeared, for the most part, in conjunction with the five categories discussed above. However, a more detailed outline of the type of emphasis placed on these themes might be useful in gaining a more precise picture of the substance of Lavoro's treatment of the United States.

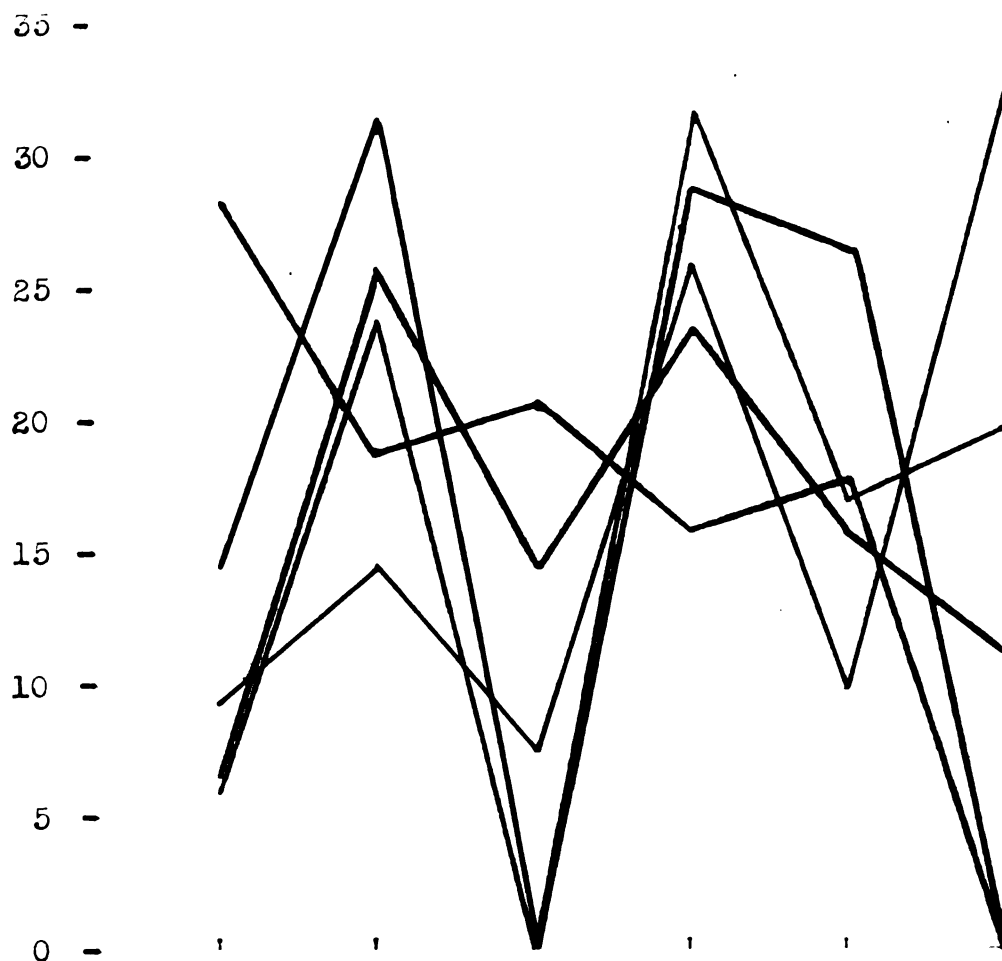
Figure 19 gives the relative percentages for the use of each of these themes in the discussions of foreign policy, the Rosenberg case, the economic situation, labor problems, and McCarthyism.

Violence against individuals appeared the most frequently in the discussions of the Rosenberg case and foreign policy. The sub-themes employed were "lynching -- 'legal' and otherwise," "incarceration of political minorities," and "police and military brutality." The first refers to the Rosenberg case almost exclusively as only one mention of the lynching of a Negro appeared throughout the entire period of the study. The second also refers to the Rosenberg case for the most part; however, those who were jailed for contempt of Congress during the McCarthy investigations also fall into this sub-theme. The third sub-theme which was emphasized referred to the actions of our military personnel in Korea who were charged with the slaughter of innocent civilians and the mistreatment of prisoners of war.

Restraint on individuals dealt almost entirely with the lack of freedom of action of the American citizen. This theme appeared in conjunction with practically every category of treatment. However, it was the most prevalent in the discussions of labor problems, foreign policy, and McCarthyism. Here, the Lavoro staff emphasized the lack of democracy in the United States by pointing out what they considered to be the conflicts between our professed values and our actions. For example, it has been noted that McCarthy often made indiscriminate accusations about the past and present political affiliations of various individuals. These accusations led in many instances to the person involved losing his job without an opportunity to defend himself. This type of occurrence was referred

Figure 18

The Relative Percentages of the Use of the Six
Major Themes with the Five Major Categories



Foreign Policy	—————	N	1390
McCarthyism	—————	N	438
Rosenberg Case	—————	N	624
Economic Situation	—————	N	327
Labor Problems	—————	N	338

to as restraint on the freedom of action of an individual.

Political persecution also entered in to the picture in this case. The Lavoro staff lost no opportunity to point out that, in a true democracy, persons are not condemned for their political views, but that in the United States this was not the case. Obviously the use of the theme "political persecution" appeared in conjunction with McCarthyism for the most part. However, this theme was also employed in the discussions of the Rosenberg case and of United States' foreign policy. In both instances, the emphasis was placed on our lack of willingness to recognize the right of other persons to entertain political views not identical to those of the persons in power. The McCarthy investigations afforded the best opportunity for such accusations, although the political aspects of the Rosenberg case were also treated in some detail.

The American trade unions received the greater share of Lavoro's accusations of corruption in the United States. For the most part, in this case, corruption was attributed to the labor leaders who employed either gangsters or criminal methods to achieve their goals. This was especially true of the International Longshoremen's Association. Also, corruption was employed as a theme in both the Rosenberg case and in the discussions of McCarthyism. In both these instances, the emphasis was on the nature of the American government and its tactics for disposing of opposition to its political views.

The accusation of political imperialism appeared, naturally, in the items dealing with our foreign policy. Emphasis was placed on the subthemes "interference in internal affairs" and "military interference." In both cases, eventual world domination was the goal of the United States. Although there had been "military interference" in only Korea and Indochina, we had been

interfering in the internal affairs of almost every other nation with whom we had contact. This took the form of threats of withdrawal of economic aid or the donation of funds to certain groups within those countries to combat their political and economic foes. Also, the United States helped to perpetuate monarchies. In an article on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in June, 1953, Lavoro explained that without American funds the British monarchy could not be supported and would disappear as it should. Our policy of supporting one man or one political party in many nations was vigorously criticized on many occasions. According to the staff of Lavoro, this policy was detrimental to the welfare of the citizens of those nations and showed that we were interested only in maintaining -- and increasing -- our influence throughout the world.

It was the charge of fascism in America which received the greatest amount of attention in Lavoro during the period of the study. In whatever area was discussed, fascism was mentioned at least once in almost every case. Each of its aspects -- industrial, labor, political, economic, military -- were covered thoroughly. It was political fascism, however, which was given the most emphasis by the staff; 53% of the total mentions of fascism fell into this sub-theme.

Again, the charge was levied that the United States was attempting to achieve world domination and would stop at nothing to gain this end. In fact, even without this direct charge, the frequent use of the themes of fascism and political imperialism would be enough indication of the opinions manifested in Lavoro. But the fact remains that the main accusations against the United States are based on those of our policies and actions which seem to be conducive to being termed fascistic in character.

Fascism was used as a theme in connection with almost every category. Not only were our international policies characterized in this way but also our domestic policies. Actually, the only group exempt from this classification was that of the ordinary citizen; he was being misled by the propaganda of the elites of the country who were interested only in maintaining their power and also increasing it in the future.

Approbation of the United States

Approbation of the United States was unqualified in only a few instances. These included praise of Howard Fast for his novel The Last Frontier, which was reprinted in Lavoro as a serial. O. Henry's The Gift of the Magi appeared in the Christmas, 1953, issue with laudatory comments as well. There was also a science fiction serial written by an American which was well received by the Lavoro staff. Otherwise, all praise of the United States was limited to the American citizen who held no official position in the government, in business, or in the army. There was one exception to this however. Lavoro complimented the American government for its generosity in sending several refrigerated box-cars to Italy which aided in saving a large portion of the fruit and vegetable crop in the summer of 1953.

Themes used in praising American citizens were that they were sensible, understanding, fair and just, democratic, kind, generous, brave, etc. Table 16 gives the number of times each of these were used and in what context.

Approbation of the American citizen appeared, for the most part, in the discussions of the Rosenberg case, labor unions, and foreign policy. In each case, praise was given for disagreement with the policies and actions of the government, the army, and the labor leaders. There were photographs of individuals picketing the White House in protest against the execution of the

Table 16

The Number of Mentions per Month of Each Category and Theme

APPROBATION	TERMS OF APPROBATION						
	General 0	Literary Greatness 1	Sensible 2	Under- standing 3	Fair & Just 4	Democratic 5	Other 6
General	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Literary	0	24	0	0	0	0	0
Governmental	0	0	3	1	1	1	1
American People	1	0	1	5	17	15	9
Labor Unions	0	0	12	0	2	13	22
Economic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	3	1	1	5	6	13
American Soldiers	0	0	0	5	1	6	5
Movie Industry	0	1	1	2	4	6	9
Combination of Governmental, People, & Soldiers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Σ	1	14	9	7	14.9	23.9	29.4

Rosenbergs; there were descriptions of demonstrations in New York City, notably in the Pennsylvania Station, in favor of the commutation of the death sentence. In both instances, many of the signs carried by the demonstrators strongly criticized President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell, Judge Kaufman, and J. Edgar Hoover. This was interpreted by the Lavoro staff as an indication of the dislike of many Americans for their government; this interpretation, in turn, led to the commendation of these citizens as democratic, fair, just, etc.

The rank-and-file union member was given favorable treatment, but not for his actions. Rather he was appealed to in the name of the unity of the working class to join the World Federation of Trade Unions which was the only organization genuinely interested in the welfare of the workers. In one case, however, the worker was commended directly. During the tugboat strikes in New York and the telephone strike in Washington, both in 1953, Lavoro emphasized the necessity for such direct action as the only means of gaining what the workers justly deserve.

Another group which received favorable treatment during the period of the study was that of the American soldiers. Even though they were fighting against peace-loving people in Korea, this was not held against them. Instead, they were absolved of blame since they were only tools of the imperialistic American government. The soldier was praised for his attempts to assist in aiding Korean civilians who had lost everything during the war. Also, their joy at the signing of the armistice was interpreted as the realization that they would no longer be forced to murder innocent people who were only fighting for their independence.

Finally, many members of the movie industry were commended for their protests against certain aspects of governmental policy. The film which received the greatest amount of praise was "From Here To Eternity." According to the reviews which appeared in Lavoro, this essentially anti-militaristic film indicated that many Americans were not in favor of the foreign policy of their government. The one person who best exemplified the tradition of democracy was Charles Chaplin. His films -- both old and new -- were praised in the most laudatory terms and he himself was given a great deal of attention. In fact, his photograph was on the cover of

Lavoro on June 6, 1954. The only other aspect of United States' policy or action to receive this type of attention was the Rosenberg case.

Further Remarks

Other categories which received a limited amount of attention in Lavoro during the period of the study were those of the armed forces, sports, education, medicine, science and technology, motion pictures, courts in action, and historical. The category "science and technology" was the only one to receive a neutral treatment from the Lavoro staff. With the exception of the mention of the H-Bomb on one occasion, this category dealt with advances in radio, television, and motion pictures and a mere description of these technological advances was the extent of the treatment.

"Courts in action" dealt almost exclusively with the Rosenberg case as did the category "historical." In the latter category, there was one very interesting article which drew parallels between the principals in the Sacco-Vanzetti case and those in the Rosenberg case. Not only were the defendants compared favorably, but also the judges in each case and President Eisenhower and Governor Fuller were discussed in similar contexts. It was in this article that the political aspects of the Rosenberg case were very neatly pointed out.

Sports, education, and medicine received extremely limited attention and were of little significance in the staff's attempts to create anti-American feeling. In the case of the armed forces on the other hand, an attempt was made to convince the Italians that the Americans were an essentially militaristic people. This was actually a contradiction of the previous contention that the Americans had little liking for military

matters but had no choice when it came to participating in the government's military ventures.

Those themes which were not heavily covered were racial prejudice, gangsterism, economic depression, elite control (except in the trade union sphere), decadence, militarism, and xenophobia. One theme did not appear at all; at no time was there any mention of religious prejudice in the United States. The other themes listed above were confined to a few mentions with the exception of militarism. This theme was employed in conjunction with the category of armed forces with the contradictory remarks previously mentioned.

Throughout this study, one factor has been extremely impressive. The Lavoro staff lost no opportunity to capitalize on those policies and actions of the United States which seemed to contradict our professed values. This was especially true in the Rosenberg case and in the discussions of foreign policy.

The emphasis on the execution of innocent persons in the treatment of the Rosenberg case by the Lavoro staff definitely contradicts the stated legal code of democratic nations. Whether or not the Rosenberg couple were innocent is of little importance when a group attempting to create anti-American sentiment is able to present so effectively argument after argument supporting its claim that we had committed a "legal murder." In this case, there were a number of such incidents which were conducive to anti-American propaganda. The possible reasons for the Italian defense of the couple which were discussed in Chapter II were the reasons used by the staff to point out the "true" nature of the United States.

In the discussions of our foreign policy, those statements of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles which seemed to indicate a lack of interest for the welfare of other nations except insofar as we were directly concerned were employed to prove Lavoro's claim that we were imperialistic, fascistic, and militaristic. The statements per se were not reprinted but any action taken by the United States on the international scene, for example, our aid to France for the Indochinese war, which seemed to bear out these statements was vigorously attacked. And, it might be added, the attacks gave every indication of having been well thought out with the view of capitalizing on any latent anti-American feeling on the part of the intended reader.

The possible long-range results of the treatment of the United States in Lavoro during the period of the study will be discussed at length in the following, and concluding, chapter. Of course such a discussion must, of necessity, be largely speculative since there is no way of testing the reactions of the readers of Lavoro at this time. Nevertheless it should be of value as a means of determining what course of action might be taken in order to combat effectively anti-American sentiment in Italy.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, a good deal of emphasis was placed on the United States by the Lavoro staff during the period encompassed by the study. There were certain patterns of emphasis which appeared between January, 1953, and June 1954, which related not only to frequency over time but also to the substance of the material dealing with the United States. Certain categories and themes were emphasized during particular time periods for the most part; at the same time, however, several of them received relatively heavy treatment throughout the entire 18 months period of the study.

Those patterns which appeared throughout the period of the study have already been explained in detail. However, a brief summary of them should help to pull together the previous discussion. For the most part, a particular subject was discussed in Lavoro during the period of its occurrence. This is true of the Rosenberg case, for example, when Lavoro devoted a good share of its space to this subject during June and July of 1953. Foreign policy also falls into this type of pattern as it was treated in greatest detail during the periods immediately preceding and following the Korean Armistice.

In Chapter II, there was a discussion of American policies and actions during the period of the study. At that time, the question was raised as to whether or not particular United States' policies and/or actions would lend themselves to negative treatment by the Lavoro staff. As has been shown, this phenomenon occurred in several instances. Perhaps the most

striking was the discussion of the Indochinese war. Here the staff was able to make full use of its contention that the United States was not at all interested in the future of the indigenous people of that nation. The French were being supported against a nationalistic movement; and the United States was supposedly a great democracy interested in the equality and freedom of all peoples. With dramatic contrasts being drawn between Ho Chi Minh's forces fighting to liberate their homeland and the United States giving money and material to maintain a colonial regime, the Lavoro staff was able to capitalize on this apparent contradiction between our professed values and our actions.

At the same time, there was some indication that the staff had twisted many of our policies and actions to suit their own purposes. This was especially evident during the East Berlin riots of June 16 and 17, 1953. An article appeared in Lavoro dealing exclusively with the Dulles family, pointing out that one brother was the Secretary of State, another brother was head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and their sister held a responsible position in the State Department. In effect, this was the extent of the article, but it was printed amid photographs of West German police striking various individuals along the border between West and East Berlin. This combination enabled one of the Lavoro writers very effectively to castigate the United States for interfering in the internal affairs of the German people. And yet, the information concerning the Dulles family was completely factual as far as could be determined. It is interesting to note that the staff handled this, and other similar incidents, very effectively and was able to present the material in such a way as to draw the attention of the reader.

This use of the combination of factual reporting and distortion was used very effectively throughout the period of the study. It is an interesting method of presentation since, although the material is factual in nature and then is presented in such a way as to give it the desired significance, the tendency is to believe what is said despite the knowledge that the material has been distorted to give the reader an impression which may have not been intended originally. What the reaction of the reader of Lavoro has been toward this method of presentation is unknown, but in the opinion of the writer this may very well have been the most effective method of presentation.

One of the most interesting facets of the study was that the Lavoro staff virtually ignored subjects which, in the opinion of the writer, should have been covered, given some of the propaganda material usually presented by the Communists. It was quite obvious during the gathering of the data that only a few types of American policies and actions were being emphasized. Yet, even in their discussions of these categories, the staff often did not employ those themes that had been expected to appear.

One of the most striking examples of the above was the lack of mention of any religious prejudice in the United States as well as hardly any mention of racial prejudice. The absence of any mention of religious prejudice was especially surprising given the emphasis placed on the Rosenberg case. Given the fact that the Italian people are not particular anti-Semitic,¹ it had been expected that this theme would be rather heavily emphasized. This might have been a result of several incidents concerning the

1. Witness the failure of Mussolini's anti-Semitic campaign in Italy during World War II.

Communist party which occurred during the period of the study. Two of these were the Prague trials and the accusations against several doctors in the Soviet Union, both of which incidents were based on the claim that the defendants were agents of "Jewish internationalism." These may have led to a non-use of the religion prejudice theme as Communist purges based on religious persecution could have been used to counteract the Lavoro staff's accusations against the United States.

In the case of racial prejudice, there was only one article on the mistreatment of Negroes in the South. This article dealt with the sentencing of Negroes to hard labor by prejudiced judges, but the emphasis was placed on our "corrupt" judicial system rather than on the fact that Negroes were involved.

Two other themes which received relatively little attention during the period of the study were militarism and xenophobia. In both cases, much more emphasis had been expected. However, militarism was virtually ignored when American foreign policy was discussed, why it is not known. And the lack of attention to xenophobia was surprising given the fact that the overbearing attitude of many of the American tourists who visit Italy would have provided the staff an excellent opportunity to employ this accusation against the United States. Instead, the only context in which xenophobia appeared was a discussion of the refusal of visas to a group of athletes from Hungary to enter the United States.

As to the possible reasons why certain categories and themes were discussed over and over again while others were given very little treatment, one can only speculate. However, the probable answer seems to be that the Lavoro staff tended to concentrate on those events which would

have the greatest reader attraction as well as on those which were particularly applicable to achieving the desired result, namely, dislike for the United States on the part of the Italian worker. The latter is likely the outstanding reason as the staff would tend to emphasize those policies and actions of the United States which would exploit latent anti-American attitudes on the part of the worker. On the basis of this writer's knowledge of Italy the nationalistic spirit of the Italian would be offended by foreign interference in the affairs of his government. And, as we have already seen, the Lavoro staff placed its heaviest emphasis on the contention that the United States continually interfered in the internal affairs of other nations, especially of Italy. Therefore, to an Italian who may have been offended by an American tourist or who resented the failure of a relative to be admitted to the United States as an immigrant, for example, this charge may have made sense.

Also, among many groups, especially the Italian intellectuals, there is the opinion that Americans are generally uncultured. We are conceived of as an overly materialistic people, concerned only with physical comforts. But, even more important perhaps, many Italians believe that the United States is unprepared for the leadership of the Western World, spiritually as well as intellectually. The fact that the United States is a relatively young nation also leads to the charge that we are inexperienced in the area of foreign affairs and would do better to sit back and let a more "experienced" nation lead the nations of the Western World.

Another factor might be the fact that, as a general rule, events are covered in Lavoro shortly after their occurrence. In other words, it is very seldom that one finds an event discussed for the first time six or

eight months after it happened. But this does not explain the use of certain methods of description and lack of others. Therefore, the only answer seems to be expediency. Any method that will achieve the desired result will be employed; otherwise, it will not become a part of the system designed to "get the point across."

Still another interesting aspect of this study has been the way in which the Lavoro staff has treated each subject. In several cases, a particular event was discussed only a few times but the presentation was such that it gave the impression that it would remain in the mind of the reader over a long period of time. For example, there was one article which dealt with the long-run affects of the atomic bomb on the Japanese people. In effect, the article was rather short and fairly uninteresting; but there were two small photographs of several Japanese children who were either deformed or mentally deficient as a result of the raid on Hiroshima ten years ago. It has not been easy to forget those photographs and this writer is convinced that those Italians who saw them are not likely to forget them either. This is only one example of the way in which the staff presented material, but it is a typical method. As was pointed out earlier, photographs were heavily relied upon and, if the reaction of the intended readers were at all similar to those of the writer's acquaintances who perused various issues of Lavoro, there is every indication that many of the items left a lasting impression.

Although the greater percentage of the items dealing with the United States was negative in nature, favorable comments were prevalent as well. It is true, however, that the favorable comments were little more than qualifications of previous negative statements for the most part. The

interesting feature is that Lavoro's presentation of American policies and actions runs true to form for Communist publications; praise is reserved almost exclusively for the ordinary citizen. In other words, it is the leaders who are at fault, whether they are in government or in trade unions or in business. Over and over again, the statement is repeated that the people are being misled, oppressed, and so forth. The United States is not really a democracy; its government is in the hands of big business and the military clique -- this theme is emphasized while the American citizen is complimented for his struggles against the elites of the society. This was pointed up dramatically at the time of the Korean Armistice when photographs of American soldiers were printed showing them dancing and shouting at the news. The captions indicated that the reason for this happiness was that they no longer would be forced to fight an imperialistic war against innocent people, not that they would be going home.

All in all, the Lavoro staff seems to have done an excellent job of presenting the United States in an unfavorable light. There is little doubt as to the proficiency of the staff. In whatever area a survey is made -- articles, photographs, cartoons, and so forth -- it is obvious that a great deal of care has been taken in presenting the material. The articles are well-written; the photographs are clearly reproduced; the cartoonists are capable and have an excellent sense of humor. And, even though Lavoro is an essentially propagandistic journal, a sense of perspective is maintained very neatly in each item.

It is this sense of perspective which seems to be the most impressive feature of the magazine. Interest in a particular issue is aroused without

the use of techniques of "yellow journalism." Each item is carefully thought out and well-presented but, whether sensational or emotional, it always displays this sense of perspective. Another technique employed by the Lavoro staff is that of repeatedly mentioning certain issues, then dropping them suddenly. It would be interesting to know why this particular technique is employed but there is no way of finding out at this time. The only observation that the writer feels qualified to make is that the subject is dropped at the precise moment when the reader is about ready to throw the magazine away if one more mention appears.

Outstanding throughout the analysis was the lack of any appreciable mention of the Soviet Union. It had been expected that the Lavoro staff would use the international and domestic policies and actions of the Soviet Union as a contrast to those of the United States. In fact, only in two instances was there any recognition of the existence of the Soviet Union. One was an article by one of the members of CGIL who had visited the Soviet Union; the other was the March 15, 1953, issue of Lavoro which was devoted to the memory of Joseph Stalin.

It is the opinion of the writer that this lack of attention to the USSR was linked to one of the policies of the Italian Communist Party. PCI terms itself a national political party, not tied to any foreign political party. Its contacts with the CPSU are not publicized and to those who question these contacts the reply is that PCI is interested in the welfare of the Italian citizen above any other thing. This policy may be one of the reasons for the success of PCI as the Italian is a nationalistic person. However, in case of conflict between Communism and Italy, the question remains: which way will the present Communist

sympathizer go? Will he think of Italy first or Communism first? A whimsical friend pointed out a few weeks ago that the CPSU was really afraid that the PCI would win the 1953 election because it might have another Tito on its hands. This may sound amusing on the surface but it could be a real problem for the Soviet Union should PCI continue to gain strength.

This (remote?) possibility does not alter the fact that the presence of a strong Communist party in Italy presents a challenge to the Western Nations in general and to the United States in particular. We cannot count on another Tito emerging in Italy and therefore must seek to assist the democratic forces in Italy in maintaining their predominance on the political scene. This should not be done, however, by backing any one political group as has been done in the past. It can be done by continued economic aid, by sympathy for the plight of the Italian citizen, by emphasis on the necessity of the increasing of industrial potential, and by the use of propaganda.

Yes, propaganda does have its place in international affairs. With the extended propaganda system of the Soviet Union and other Communist parties throughout the world, this factor can no longer be ignored. More and more, the battle between democracy and communism is becoming a battle of words and we cannot expect to win the struggle for the minds of men by dollars alone.

This study has attempted to show one facet of Communist propaganda, namely, that which is directed toward the worker. What effect this had on the Italian worker cannot be determined at this time. However, it is felt that Lavoro's anti-American campaign is bound to succeed to a certain

extent. It must be remembered that in Italy, as in many other European countries, newspapers and magazines are not read for information as much as for the reinforcement of one's political prejudices. At the same time, the worker who, although a CGIL member, is politically undecided is an important target for Communist propaganda. These workers who are as yet on the fence represent the challenge to democracy.

Exactly what can be done to meet this challenge successfully? One important thing to remember is that we are judged more by our actions than by our words. Therefore, in order to promote a successful propaganda campaign, those of our actions which seem to contradict our professed values must be explained. Also, we must gear our propaganda to the value system of the nation for whom it is intended. For example, the term "free enterprise" has negative connotations in many nations; therefore, this term should be dropped from the text of the propaganda and another substituted. There are other terms, such as capitalism, which could be dropped as well. Even the word democracy has different meanings to different peoples. Therefore, we would do well to couch our propaganda in terms which would have the desired meaning for the intended audience.

Finally, the United States should promote more co-operation among the nations of the world and should include itself as an equal member rather than as the leader of the "Free World." In this way, much anti-American propaganda could be counter-acted since it would be much more difficult for Lavoro, for example, to maintain that our goal is world domination.

Before a definite program for combatting anti-American propaganda in Italy can be formulated and/or the effectiveness of this propaganda can be

determined, further research will be necessary. For one thing, the subjection of other Italian Communist publications to content analysis would give us further insight into the methods and substance of anti-American propaganda in Italy. Also, interviews of Italian workers, especially of CGIL members, would assist in giving some idea as to the success -- or failure -- of the Lavoro staff in their attempt to convince the Italian worker that his future lies with Communism rather than with democracy. If it were possible, some sort of public opinion survey of other groups of Italian society would also be of value in determining the present opinion of the United States, especially by the comparison of the attitudes of the labor groups to those of the non-labor groups. Then, if this opinion were either negative or undecided, we would have some indication of how to convince the population as a whole that the United States is genuinely interested in the continued progress of their country as a member of the democratic society.

This will not be an easy process, but it is vital not only to the interests of the United States but also to the progress of Italy. As a democratic nation, she has much to offer to the rest of the world and, with the proper incentives, there is little doubt that she will remain as such. However, Italy is confronted with many problems, the most serious of which are economic in nature. The United States must decide how best to be of assistance without incurring the enmity of the people who, in the final analysis, will make the decision as to the future course of their nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LITERATURE CITED

Books:

Barghoorn, Frederick C. The Soviet Image of the United States, A Study in Distortion. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1950.

Berelson, Bernard. Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. 1952.

*Carter, Gwendolen, Ranney, John and Herz, John. Major Foreign Powers. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1952.

CGIL. Di Vittorio, una vita al servizio dei lavoratori. Rome. 1952.

CGIL. Giuseppe Di Vittorio per l'unita dei lavoratori e la rinascita dell'Italia. Rome. 1952.

Katz, Daniel et al, editors. Public Opinion and Propaganda. New York: The Dryden Press. 1954.

Newspapers and Periodicals:

The Department of State Bulletin. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. January, 1953 - June, 1954.

Lavoro. Rome: CGIL. January, 1953 - June, 1954.

New York Times. January, 1953 - June, 1954.

Articles:

Ervin, Susan and Bower, Robert T. "Translation Problems in International Surveys." Public Opinion Quarterly (Special Issue on International Communications Research). Winter, 1952-53. pp. 595-604.

Grafer, Elmer D. "American Influence on the Attitudes of Western Europe." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Vol. 278 (November, 1951). pp. 12-23.

Kracauer, Siegfried. "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis." Public Opinion Quarterly (Special Issue on International Communications Research.) Winter, 1952-53. pp. 631-641.

LaPalombara, Joseph G. "Anti-American Propaganda in Italian Trade Unions: A Preliminary Report." Unpublished manuscript. 1955.

_____. "Left-Wing Trade Unionism: The Matrix of Communist Power in Italy." The Western Political Quarterly. Vol. 7 (June, 1954). pp. 202-220.

_____. "The Political Role of Organized Labor in Western Europe." The Journal of Politics. Vol. 17 (February, 1955). pp. 59-81.

Micaud, Charles. "Social Democracy in France." World Politics. Vol. 7 (July, 1955). pp. 532-545.

LITERATURE NOT CITED

Books:

Berelson, Bernard and Janowitz, Morris, editors. Reader in Public Opinion and Propaganda. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950.

Di Vittorio, Giuseppe. La lotta della CGIL per il benessere degli Italiani. Rome: CGIL. 1952.

Di Vittorio, Giuseppe. Il programma della CGIL per la rinascita dell'Italia. Rome: CGIL. 1952.

Neufeld, Maurice F. Labor Unions and National Politics in Italian Industrial Plants. Cornell University: The Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations. 1954.

Novella, Agostino. L'organizzazione della CGIL per lo sviluppo dell'azione sindacale. Rome: CGIL. 1952.

Articles:

Fegiz, P. Luzzatto. "Italian Public Opinion." Public Opinion Quarterly. Vol. 11 (Spring, 1947). pp. 92-97.

Freidson, Eliot. "The Relations of the Social Situation of Contact to the Media in Mass Communication." Public Opinion Quarterly. Vol. 17 (Summer, 1953). pp. 230-239.

APPENDIX

LAVORO STUDY -- 1 card

Column number

1

Item

- 0. Article without pictures
- 1. Article with pictures
- 2. Feature with pictures
- 3. Feature without pictures
- 4. Editorials
- 5. Letter to editors
- 6. Photographs
- 7. Cartoon
- 8. Other
- &. Not present

2

Month

- 1. January
- 2. February
- 3. March
- 4. April
- 5. May
- 6. June
- 7. July
- 8. August
- 9. September
- 0. October
- . November
- &. December

3-4

Day

Punch days 1-31: 01 for 1, etc.

5

Year

- 3. 1953
- 4. 1954

6-7

Item number

Punch 01, etc. for number of item in each issue
&. Not present

8-9

Location

Punch according to page numbers of items:
01, etc
&. Not present

10

Size of item

- 0. Less than $\frac{1}{4}$ page
- 1. $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$
- 2. $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$
- 3. $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1

Column number

10

Size of Item (cont'd)

- 4. 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$
- 5. $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$
- 6. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$
- 7. $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2
- 8. 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$
- 9. $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$
- . $2\frac{1}{2}$ and over
- &. Not present

11

Prominence

- 0. Top -- cover, page 3, center page
- 1. Top -- any article with photos other than above
- 2. Top -- right column, odd pages
- 3. Top -- left column, even pages
- 4. Top -- back page
- 5. Top -- center of page, anywhere
- 6. Medium -- left or right column, other than above
- 7. Low -- any other place in the magazine
- &. Not present

12.

Direction

- 0. Negative
- 1. Positive
- 2. Mixed
- 3. Neutral
- &. Not present

13

Method of presentation

- 0. Factual reporting
- 1. Distortion (from analyst's viewpoint)
- 2. Innuendo
- 3. Sensational
- 4. Emotional
- 5. Humorous
- 6. Mixed -- no basis for ascribing major tendency
- 7. Reprint of literary review
- 8. Not possible to determine
- 9. Movie review
- &. Not present

14

Repeat code for Col. 13

15

Repeat code for Col. 13

Column number

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 16 | <u>United States mentioned</u>
0. Yes
1. Not mentioned
&. Not present |
| 17 | <u>Foreign Policy</u>
0. General
1. Far Eastern
2. Re: Italy
3. Re: France vs. Germany
4. Re: Great Britain
5. Embassy Relations
6. Domestic Pressures
7. Intimidation of Other Powers
8. Economic Pressures
9. Interference in Internal Affairs
-. Other
&. Not Present |
| 18 | Repeat code for Col. 17 |
| 19 | Repeat code for Col. 17 |
| 20 | <u>Armed Forces</u>
0. General
1. Demonstrations of power
2. Other
&. Not present |
| 21 | <u>Sports</u>
0. General
1. Boxing
2. Other
3. Basketball
&. Not present |
| 22. | <u>Motion Pictures</u>
0. General
1. Reviews
2. Industry problems
3. Interference in internal affairs
4. Other
5. Combination of above
&. Not present |
| 23 | <u>Medicine</u>
0. General
1. Polio research
2. Other
3. Cancer |

Column number

- 23 Medicine (cont'd)
4. Effects of A & H Bomb
&. Not present
24. Science and Technology
0. General
1. A and H Bomb
2. 3-D research
3. Science fiction
4. Television
5. Other
6. Cancer research
7. Combination of 1 and 6
8. Electric chair
&. Not present
- 25 Education
0. General
1. Political implications
2. Other
3. Academic freedom
&. Not present
- 26 Historical
0. General
1. Re: Rosenbergs
2. Re: Economic situation
3. Re: Trade unions
4. Re: May 1
5. Other
6. Haymarket affair
7. Combination of 4 and 6
&. Not present
- 27 Courts in action
0. General
1. Re: Rosenbergs
2. Historical implications
3. Other
&. Not present
- 28 Repeat code of Col. 27
- 29 Economic Situation
0. General
1. Threat of depression
2. Wall Street influence
3. Historical treatment
4. Persecution question
5. Political implications

Column number

29	<u>Economic Situation (cont'd)</u> 6. Other 7. War production "boom" 8. Agriculture &. Not present
30	Repeat code of Col. 29
31	Repeat code of Col. 29
32	<u>Labor problems</u> 0. General 1. International Conferences 2. Labor Disputes 3. Corruption 4. Political connections 5. Influence of gangsterism 6. Other 7. Taft-Hartley 8. Forced Labor &. Not present
33	Repeat code of Col. 32
34	Repeat code of Col. 32
35	<u>Rosenberg Case</u> 0. General 1. Historical connection 2. Court references 3. Political reasons 4. Minority implications 5. Familiar treatment 6. <u>Death House Letters</u> 7. <u>International results</u> 8. Other &. Not present
36	Repeat code of Col. 35
37	Repeat code of Col. 35
38	Repeat code of Col. 35
39	Repeat code of Col. 35
40	<u>McCarthyism</u> 0. General 1. Domestic intimidation 2. Foreign policy effects

Column number

40

McCarthyism (cont'd)

- 3. Minority implications
- 4. Power theories
- 5. Attack on civil liberties
- 6. Interference in internal affairs
- 7. International complications
- 8. Other influences
- &. Not present

41

Repeat code of Col. 40

42

Repeat code of Col. 40

43

Repeat code of Col. 40

44

Repeat code of Col. 40

45

Repeat code of Col. 40

46

Approbation

- 0. General
- 1. Literary
- 2. Governmental
- 3. American people
- 4. Labor unions
- 5. Economic
- 6. Other
- 7. American soldiers
- 8. Movie industry
- 9. Combination of 2, 3, and 7
- &. Not present

47

Violence against Individuals

- 0. General
- 1. Police and military brutality
- 2. Lynching -- "legal" and otherwise
- 3. Incarceration of political minorities
- 4. Lack of civil liberties
- 5. Other
- &. Not present

48

Repeat code of Col. 47

49

Restraint on individuals

- 0. General
- 1. Speech
- 2. Press
- 3. Organization
- 4. Freedom of action
- 5. Book burning

Column number

49	<u>Restraint on individuals (cont'd)</u> 6. Other 7. Anti-intellectualism 8. "Witch-hunting" &. Not present
50	Repeat code of Col. 49
51	<u>Racial prejudice</u> 0. General 1. Segregation in general 2. Segregation, social 3. Segregation, educational 4. Segregation, employment 5. Economic robbery 6. Lunching 7. Other forms of violence 8. Other 9. Voting restriction &. Not present
52	Repeat code of Col. 51
53	<u>Religious prejudice</u> 0. General 1. Anti-Semitic 2. Other &. Not present
54	<u>Political persecution</u> 0. General 1. Anti-liberal persecution 2. Persecution of Communists 3. Persecution of other groups 4. Other &. Not present
55	<u>Judicial injustice</u> 0. General 1. Re: Labor 2. Re: Religious minorities 3. Re: Political minorities 4. Re: Racial minorities 5. Re: Other groups 6. Other &. Not present
56	Repeat code of Col. 55

Column number

57

Gangsterism

- 0. General
- 1. In trade unions
- 2. In the political process
- 3. In sports
- 4. Other
- &. Not present

58

Fascism

- 0. General
- 1. Industrial
- 2. Labor
- 3. Political
- 4. Economic
- 5. Educational
- 6. Other
- 7. Employers
- 8. Military
- &. Not present

59

Repeat code of Col. 58

60

War-mongering

- 0. General
- 1. NATO
- 2. EDC
- 3. Korea
- 4. Indo-China
- 5. Against USSR
- 6. A or H Bomb
- 7. Germ warfare
- 8. Propaganda to masses
- 9. Germany
- . Other
- &. Not present

61

Repeat code of Col. 60

62

Economic depression

- 0. General
- 1. Unemployment
- 2. Strikes
- 3. Excess production
- 4. Overt war production
- 5. Monopoly control
- 6. Dumping
- 7. Combination of above
- 8. Other
- 9. Stock market
- &. Not present

Column number

63	Repeat code of Col. 62
64	<u>Elite Control</u> 0. General 1. Wall Street 2. Industrial 3. Upper class 4. Governmental 5. Combination of above 6. Other 7. Employers &. Not present
65	<u>Corruption</u> 0. General 1. Moral 2. Cultural 3. Political 4. Economic 5. Educational 6. Other &. Not present
66	Repeat code of Col. 65
67	<u>Decadence</u> 0. General 1. Cultural 2. Educational 3. Scientific 4. Literary 5. Athletic 6. Other &. Not present
68	<u>Monopoly</u> 0. General 1. Industrial 2. Trade unions 3. Press 4. Radio, TV, Movies 5. Sports 6. Other 7. Governmental &. Not present
69	Repeat code of Col. 68
70	<u>Militarism</u> 0. General 1. Educational

Column number

70	<u>Militarism (cont'd)</u> 2. Other &. Not present
71	<u>Economic imperialism</u> 0. General 1. Colonialism 2. Exportation of unemployment 3. Interference in internal affairs 4. Threats of withdrawal of aid 5. Dumping 6. Other &. Not present
72	Repeat code of Col. 71
73	<u>Political imperialism</u> 0. General 1. Interference in internal affairs 2. Threats of withdrawal 3. Aid to colonial powers 4. Military interference 5. Other &. Not present
74	Repeat code of Col. 72
75	Repeat code of Col. 72
76	<u>Xenophobia</u> 0. General 1. Not present
77	<u>Terms of Approbation</u> 0. General 1. Literary greatness 2. Sensible 3. Understanding 4. Fair and just 5. Democratic 6. Other &. Not present
78	Repeat code of Col. 77
79	Repeat code of Col. 77
80	<u>More than one page</u> 0. No 1. Yes &. Not present

ROOM USE ONLY

May 14 '57

JUL 27 1960

~~JUL 27 1960~~

~~AUG 13 1960~~

~~MAY 24 1961~~

S-17 NOV-22

~~NOV 20 1961~~

~~MAY~~

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03168 8629