



THE REPORTER'S NOTES

A King with Principles

Special Ambassador James P. Richards is just back from the Middle East, where he has been trying to explain to Arab leaders what the Eisenhower Doctrine can do for them and what it is all about anyway. Both these points need some explaining, but most of all to Congress and the American people.

The White House and the State Department have been billing the recent crisis in Jordan as a splendid example of how the Eisenhower Doctrine can be made to work. But things are never simple in the Middle East, and that first application of the Doctrine has raised more questions than it has answered.

The operative clause of the Doctrine states that armed intervention by the United States would be called for only upon request by a victim of "armed aggression from any country controlled by international Communism." The Jordan crisis scarcely fits this description, but no efforts have been spared to reconcile the specific case to the principle.

Jordan suffered no actual aggression, though a number of potential aggressors were mentioned. The elementary evidence suggested a military coup by internal forces, but it was clear that the wirepulling was being done from outside. The only external force that really filled the bill was, of course, "international Communism"—the open-sesame of the Eisenhower Doctrine. But though everyone knew that there was a good deal of international Communism floating around in the Middle East, no one could bring himself to identify any of Jordan's neighbors as being under its control—not even Syria. There was also the sticky point that Jordan had not formally requested U.S. intervention; but then King Hussein might have inadvertently set off the burglar alarm when he described his troubles as the handi-

work of "international Communism."

In the end, the question of who and what had intervened in Jordan became confused indeed. The State Department through its spokesman, Lincoln White, seemed perfectly clear about it: "There has indeed been foreign intervention . . . mainly, the intervention of international Communism." Mr. White also mentioned the "fountainhead of international Communism, namely, the Soviet Union."

Joseph Alsop, writing from Amman, had a radically different version: The developments in the Middle East, he wrote, "are by-products of an American guaranty to Jordan against Israeli intervention. . . They are in fact primarily directed against the Israelis."

THE GENTLEMAN who should know best was remarkably fuzzy about the whole matter. King Hussein began by denouncing his "brothers in Egypt" as the source of the "conspiracy" against him, but in the same breath he went out of his way to profess his devotion to Arab solidarity. Then, as if recalling an important cue, he denounced Communists and fellow travelers. Unlike the State Department, he located their fountainhead in Tel Aviv, "the center of Communism in the Middle East."

To a careless reader, this might

suggest that Mr. Alsop was right after all, and that Israel, the State Department's views to the contrary notwithstanding, is the real target of the Eisenhower Doctrine. But in that event, surely Egypt and Syria and Jordan would have welcomed Mr. Richards with open arms—which they conspicuously failed to do.

Jordan was particularly inhospitable to him. We have been told that the Jordan crisis has proved how the Doctrine can work. Indeed, it works so well that King Hussein doesn't even want to have it explained to him. He likes American dollars and has welcomed the \$10 million our government sent him—but he refuses to accept one penny from the Doctrine's \$200-million kitty.

The reader may feel confused at this point. So do we. If only Ambassador Richards could make it clear!

'The Fourth Branch'

What the late Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson once called the "fourth branch of the government" is about to come under Congressional scrutiny. Armed with an appropriation of \$350,000, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is all set to look into the workings of those big regulatory agencies which pass on the labeling of cosmetics,

THE COMET

"A comet first seen by astronomers last November 8 may be visible in the early evening sky late this week . . . It was named the Arend-Roland comet after its discoverers."—New York Times, April 29

We saw you, Arend-Roland, naked-eyed:
At fifty million miles so faint, so far,
So strange in a familiar sky of stars;
Head to horizon, tail a spume of light,
So faint, so far the ghostly visitor,
So strange a sign in a familiar night
Exalted by your flight.

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Some of these agencies, like the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Reserve Board, go back a long way, but most of them came with the flowering of big government. Congress could pass broad policy statutes, but when it came to the rules and regulations required to give them meaning, it had to set up and delegate power to these bodies, which soon drifted into an anomalous independence. In effect they made the law, interpreted it, and enforced it. What the subcommittee is

directed to find out now is whether or not, in Speaker Rayburn's words, "the law as we intended it is being carried out or whether a great many of these laws are being repealed or revamped by those who administer them."

Since Mr. Rayburn stepped down from the rostrum to make a personal plea for this investigation, no one in the House would have the temerity to suggest a partisan purpose. But the Republicans were clearly unhappy. Minority Leader Martin called the appropriation "a devastating blow to the economy drive," and while Democrats supported it 185-4, Republicans opposed it,

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

ERIC SEVAREID

Some say that things will not seem the same with Joe McCarthy gone. For his friends, this will be true; for Washington as a whole, it will not be true. McCarthy, the political force and symbol as distinct from McCarthy the human being, died three years ago when his fellow Senators formally passed their adverse judgment on his conduct.

One of those many men with no friendly memories of Joe McCarthy, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, would offer only this Latin maxim: "Say nothing about the dead except good." But history cannot adopt this pleasant rule of grace. Nor may those who write and speak the first draft of history. They must, as they will, put it all down, the good and the ill.

Senator McCarthy had a certain manic brilliance about him; his I.Q. must surely have registered very high. But his brilliance outran his knowledge, and his ambition outran them both. He was a sudden rocket in the sky, enrapturing some, frightening others, catching millions in a kind of spell that dissipated only when the rocket itself, as a rocket must, spluttered, went cold, and fell.

What drove him on and on at reckless speed, his intimates and the psychologists may one day piece together. McCarthy could never wait. At the start of his career he leaped from one political party to another for faster results. Always he took the short cuts: As a lawyer and judge, he got in trouble with the organized bar of his state; as a Marine during the war he was restless in his Pacific

Ocean intelligence job and flew bombing missions in the rear gunner's seat. The very war was too slow for the pace of his life, and he quit the war before it was ended to run for office. His short cuts were risky, and could have ruined a lesser man. He spoke publicly of shrapnel wounds that were accident injuries, and got many medals by requesting them.

But the Senate seemed to smother his drive, and it was pure chance that shot him to fame in 1950 as Communist Hunter No. 1. He had not the slightest proof of his original charges, but he fought it through, won the support of millions, broke distinguished careers, had whole departments of government almost at his mercy. Never once did he uncover a person in government proved to be a Communist. Yet millions believed with him that "Where there's smoke there's fire." And for a time the devil theory of politics was established—the theory that a few individuals in this vast government were responsible for giving whole nations over to the Red Army of Communist control.

Washington respects power and power alone. When McCarthy had power, the highest officials attended his wedding. When his power was gone, though the human being was the same, he was cut dead socially. If history finds that McCarthy used his strength in a wrongful manner, it will find that the weakness of others was part of the fault.

(From a broadcast over CBS Radio)

139-40. The chances are that the investigation will continue well into 1958—a Congressional election year, incidentally—and it will be surprising if the subcommittee doesn't discover that a Commission here or there has been so "loaded" by the Administration that its interests are now identical with the very forces it was designed to curb.

The Sky Grab

When outer space attracts the interest of attorneys, we may suppose that rocket travel is not far off and that canny eyes are already being trained on heavenly real estate. At this spring's meeting of the American Rocket Society, P. K. Roy and Andrew G. Haley, a pair of space lawyers, warned the members that a "no man's land" existed out beyond the ionosphere and that unless some jurisdiction is established pretty quickly, space travel will lead to a nationalistic squabble for control.

Being hardheaded men of law, the speakers conceded that it would be "unrealistic" to argue that national sovereignty extended for hundreds or thousands of miles above the earth, but they thought that anything up to fifty miles might reasonably be assigned to the territory beneath it. Within that limit, presumably, space platforms could serve as customs offices and immigration controls; there would be an understanding that beyond that height space should be "international."

We have seen too many of these understandings, however, to regard them as a serious check to imperialism in the Milky Way. Once the strata of lower space are filled with emigrant Englishmen, Iron Curtain refugees, and American exurbanites, the old itch will reassert itself. Some Führer will demand for his *Volk* a literal place in the sun. A little Pharaoh will seize the canals of Mars when no one is looking. A descendant of Admiral Byrd will solemnly plant the Stars and Stripes on the dark side of the moon. And the Russians will grab off some satellites that they can really manage.

What is certain is that this little planet of ours will play a key role in the firmament. No doubt there will be a Kipling to proclaim the Earth Man's Burden.

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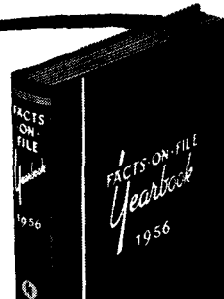
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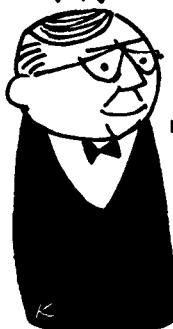
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QUILL AND FEATHER

To the Editor: Dore Schary ("Hollywood: Fade Out, Fade In," *The Reporter*, April 18) is, and I trust will remain, a friend of mine, but facts are facts. Max Gordon may have said, "I'm never gonna produce a play where anybody writes with a quill" after the production of "Plymouth Adventure." But if he did he was only echoing the magnificent complaint of an exhibitor (in West Virginia, I believe) who—in the midst of a positive spate of historical pictures—wrote to his exchange these immortal words:

"Don't send me no more pictures where the hero signs his name with a feather."

Quill, indeed.

GILBERT SELDES
New York

EQUALITY AND SEGREGATION

To the Editor: Startling to see Alberto Moravia's article (*The Reporter*, April 18) on post-Stalin U.S.S.R. say "social equality" prevails between Orientals and Russians in Soviet Central Asia. Justice William O. Douglas in the chapter "Russia's Colonial Empire" of his *Russian Journey* says: "In Soviet Central Asia there are segregated schools, special courts for the trial of Russians, concentration of political control in the hands of Russians, discrimination against the native people, and a ruthless suppression of all nationalist sentiments." Bertram D. Wolfe writes in *Six Keys to the Soviet System* about the "grim and thoroughgoing purges of scores of local and national museums [in the spring of 1952] all the way from Lithuania to Kazakhstan." And last week I heard Senator Henry Jackson report on his trip through the Soviet Union last autumn; he also said that Soviet Central Asian Schools are segregated.

RUSSELL W. NASH
Walla Walla, Washington

WORLD BANKER

To the Editor: I should like to have written before to thank you for the article Douglas Cater wrote about me in *The Reporter* for April 4 ("Eugene Black, Banker to the World"). I was very pleased with the story, and impressed with the author's awareness of the main issues confronting the Bank at this time.

EUGENE R. BLACK
President
International Bank for Reconstruction
and Development
Washington

THE RIGHT TO DECIDE

To the Editor: Edmond Taylor's "The Powerhouse of German Defense" (*The Reporter*, April 18), which was based on an interview with the Federal Minister of Defense, makes interesting reading indeed.

Let me make this one point: The stipulation that the government of a reunified Germany must have the unalienable right to decide about its international status and adherence to any kind of alliances is in the

opinion of my government certainly no "legalistic platitude," as Mr. Taylor called it, but a basic principle of its policy.

KREKELER
German Ambassador
to the United States
Washington

REVIEWS AND COMMENT

To the Editor: Except for the last two paragraphs, Ralph Russell's review of Albert Camus's *The Fall* is an excellent one (*The Reporter*, April 4).

Having seen so much in this novel, and seen it so accurately, it is disappointing that Mr. Russell should lapse into accusing Mr. Camus of "spoofery," much less of "caprice." "Mystification," Mr. Russell's third descriptive word, is a more judicious evaluation for one like him who senses that Mr. Camus "is apparently out to create a body of work rather than a series of detached and self-contained novels."

The city of Amsterdam with its concentric canals may well be compared with the concentric circles of *The Inferno*, but I suggest that *The Fall* could be better understood in terms of *The Purgatorio*. In that last circle of Amsterdam's concentric canals (analogous to Dante's "Judecca" in *The Inferno*), Camus's Jean-Baptiste says: "the newspaper readers and the fornicators can go no further... They listen to the foghorns, vainly try to make out the silhouettes of boats in the fog, then turn back over the canals and go home through the rain. Chilled to the bone, they come and ask in all languages for gin at Mexico City. There I wait for them." But Jean-Baptiste is not one of "them"; he has gotten beyond that last circle and can look back at it with some detachment: "What? Those ladies behind those windows? Dream, monsieur, cheap dream, a trip to the Indies... Try it."

I too feel that Jean-Baptiste is a forerunner of some sort. And there is some justification for the feeling in the closing sentences of the novel: "But let's not worry! It's too late now. It will always be too late. Fortunately!" This is an assertion that it is too late to go back. Whatever may be ahead will be something other than a Second Coming.

ALFRED PRETTYMAN
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

To the Editor: Ralph Russell's review of *The Fall* is as perceptive as one could desire, but I would like to propose a simple rule for all reviews of agonized French novels—namely, the insertion of a variant on the following paragraph.

"The French intellectual is good at worrying, but he does not look at the serene paintings so many Frenchmen have given the world. These show a child on a bicycle, a Paris apartment with a lady at the piano, a river; they illustrate a France not agonized, a truth, that is not this novel."

C. SPRING
New York

AAKCAAAKCAAAK

To the Editor: Congratulations on William Harlan Hale's balanced, objective analysis of Arthur Schlesinger's book on Roosevelt ("Bright Angels and Historical Devils," *The Reporter*, April 18). It should help convince your readers that *The Reporter* is an objective publication and not doctrinaire "liberal" or "New Deal."

Anyway, the review was superb and Mr. Hale put his finger on the central trouble with the Schlesinger type of historian who feigns objectivity.

DONALD McDONALD
Davenport, Iowa

To the Editor: Of all the daily press and periodical reviews of *Orpheus Descending*, that by Marya Mannes ("Mr. Williams and Orpheus," *The Reporter*, April 18) was the most penetrating and perceptive. I'd probably cavil a bit about her final sentences ("If there is a valid distinction between talent and genius, it might be just this: that genius encompasses the whole human process. Williams stops at the beginning"), but otherwise it was illuminating writing and sound evaluation.

LES FINNEGAN
International Union
of Electrical, Radio
and Machine Workers
Washington

TIME FOR CHORES

To the Editor: In "The TV Pattern: Signs of Revolt" (*The Reporter*, May 2), Marya Mannes asserts that "There are a growing number of people in this country who are willing to pay for the privilege of choosing the best, free of commercial interference." True enough, but how many of us working girls among them? Sure, I'd be happy to drop a quarter in the slot to see a new Broadway play, but please, please don't cut the commercials. When they come on, that is when I get the chores done.

ANN DAY
Baltimore

THE SHINING SAND

To the Editor: Got to thinking, as I always do when I read *The Reporter* . . .

What does "creative capitalism" create? It's a pretty general rule, isn't it, that like breeds like? Once I was a university professor of economics and I hope I'm not un-mindful of the subject's dismal importance, but that it is the Plymouth Rock of national settlements I have Scotch doubts. The reason that I doubt is essentially that people stay so stubbornly people in any and all standards of living.

In the Middle East—not grass roots but shining sand—they love and hate by tribal-family ties. Economic development—irrigation of the throat by Coca-Cola, of the land by water, of space by Cadillacs—can leave Arab ids quite cold—and the 900,000 Arab refugees, mostly in tents, could have a compensating theme song, "He that is down need fear no fall." It's easy to blame Arabs for squatting, but applying the same sort of displacement to some proud Beacon Hill Bostonians might help to make their Eastern attitudes more readily understandable.

E. S. MACDONALD
Hyde Park, Massachusetts

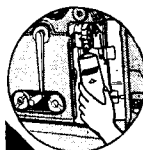
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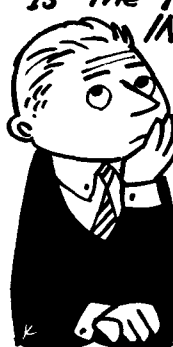


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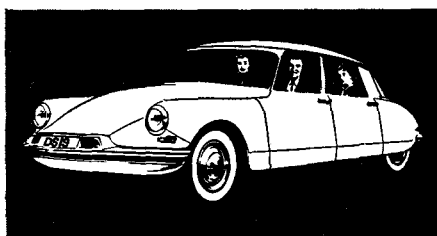
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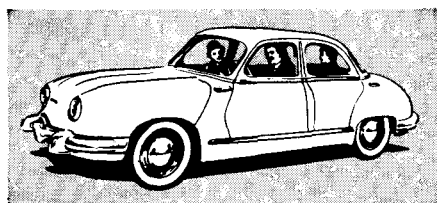
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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

"PRIVATE ROADS TO HELL," the editorial in our last issue, was written with this issue's feature story very much in mind. The more nations depend predominantly on atomic weapons for defense, the greater is the danger of ultimate disaster. The testing of atomic weapons, as we know only too well, is more than an experiment; it is a means that the three major powers employ to show how redoubtable their might is. Is this worthwhile? Don't our military and political leaders know enough by now about atomic weapons of all sorts? Can we be indifferent to the warnings that many reputable geneticists have given us of the damage these tests can afflict on the human race? No matter what the average level of radiation a human being can safely absorb, can we accept with equanimity the chance that a child in India may die of leukemia because of a bomb test conducted by one of the three great powers? In his editorial, **Max Ascoli** says the answer is "No," and joins the increasing number of those who say that the tests must be brought to an end.

The story **Paul Jacobs** has written is a sad one, but once its basic data were probed we thought it had to be published. The way we got on to the story may be of some interest. It started when a few clippings from a weekly newspaper in Tonopah, Nevada, the *Times-Bonanza*, came to our attention. Here was something, we thought, worth looking into, and we sent our Staff Writer **Paul Jacobs** to Tonopah. He talked with the editor of the paper, and then he talked with many other people in the region. He found most of them confused and dismayed. "You are the first person who has ever come to talk to us about what we have gone through," some of the people most affected by the tests told him.

In his search for all possible data, Mr. Jacobs traveled to the AEC installation at Albuquerque, to its offices in Las Vegas and New York, and to its headquarters in Washing-

ton. He went to the Argonne Laboratory outside Chicago. Invariably AEC officials were extremely co-operative. As in all *Reporter* stories, we have done our best to see to it that all details are accurate. The broad scientific aspects of Mr. Jacobs's story have been checked by independent and competent authorities.

It took Mr. Jacobs quite a while to gather his facts and write his story, particularly because he is an unusually busy man. Besides being a staff member of *The Reporter*, he is a frequent contributor to the *Economist* of London and a consultant to the Fund For The Republic. Our readers will certainly remember his recent series "The World of Jimmy Hoffa" (*The Reporter*, January 24 and February 7), a story that allowed him to use to full advantage his rich knowledge of labor problems.

IT MAY BE with some relief, or to the contrary with a heightened feeling of anguish, that our readers will turn to **Ray Bradbury's** story "Illumination." Here a small boy awakes to a poignant sense of being alive when he spends a summer day in a forest uncontaminated by anything other than sunshine and shade. Mr. Bradbury is a frequent contributor to *The Reporter*. **Roland Gelatt**, New York Editor of *High Fidelity*, discusses the quality of the endless background music that no one listens to but many pay for. **Douglass Cater**, our Washington Editor, reviews Dean Acheson's recent book on the workings of Congress. **Marya Mannes** has been reading various current best-selling autobiographies and posts her own entry—fortunately not autobiographical—in the sweepstakes for fame. **Anne Fremantle**, whose most recent book is *Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Context*, is a contributing editor of the *Commonweal* and is on the faculty of Fordham University. **John Kenneth Galbraith**, a frequent contributor, visited India in 1956 at the invitation of the Indian government.

Our cover is by **Prestopino**.