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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1957

The Kremlin's Court Jester Has Become A Wily Ruler

By JOSEPH ALSOP

ANKARA, Turkey (AP)—Nikita Khrushchev's brilliant minister triumph over Marshal Zhukov is an event of extraordinary drama and significance. The two historic figures are men whose times has nothing to show that is quite like this.

It is a symbol, for Khrushchev, one must now conclude, combines a remarkable and ruthless political talent with the genius of a great actor. The coarse peasant's appearance, the rough, hearty peasant's appetites, the quality peasant speech these qualities compose the picturesque and homely facade that has deceived the world and his rivals. All the way from the abject Western diplomats, who used to feel so sure that Malenkov was far the ablest man to Marshal Zhukov himself, who evidently felt a dangerous measure of contempt for his jolly little friend whom he saved from utter destruction in June, everyone has under-rated Khrushchev.

thority, the grim, terrible but accepted personal aura that Stalin also had. And Khrushchev's Soviet Union is in many ways a very different country from the Soviet Union of Josef Stalin. For these reasons, Nikita Khrushchev's last gamble is in some ways his biggest gamble. He has broken Marshal Zhukov, agilely seizing the chance to strip Zhukov of his seemingly invincible power when this power was in abeyance because of Zhukov's absence from Russia.

as ambassador to Outer Mongolia. It is quite another thing to make the great Zhukov the commandant of a minor military school or something else of that sort. The risk is immeasurably greater. The temptation to reduce the risk by renewing Stalin's test is also immeasurably greater.

and calculating gambler who has triumphed over all his rivals by his appetite for risk. Great difficulties confront him at home. Great opportunities glow before him as he moves abroad. And by our own fantastic, self-indulgent folly, we have created a situation in which this man must inevitably believe he can most easily triumph over himself at home by success abroad.

The Public Has A Right To See, Too

DESPIE successful experiments in North Carolina, a special committee of the American Bar Foundation would continue the arbitrary ban on photography in the courtroom.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes of the U. S. Middle District Court in North Carolina, Judge Hayes, who only recently stepped down after a long and distinguished career on the bench, said:

"The people are not only entitled to such information as may be supplied by a free press but by other modern means for the distribution of information. I am unable to see why freedom of the press, which when it was included in the law of the recognized medium for the dissemination of information, should be restricted to the instrumentality of the print shop; a liberal interpretation would extend the guarantee to the radio, photography and television. The modern means of spreading information have gained wide popularity. Indeed many will listen who will neither read nor look, and vice versa. . . . The founders of our government felt that the safest protection for the preservation of liberty was to be found in the fact that they were determined to perpetuate the untrammeled right for the citizen to get that information by securing a free press. If their purpose was to preserve the free and untrammelled right of the citizen to be informed, that right inherently extends to such media as radio, photography and television."

The objectionable allegations of the present canon that photography is "calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the proceedings" would be dropped. This, at least, is welcome progress. Yet the committee still subscribes to the rather flimsy assumption that it is somehow moral to have a reporter in court telling the world what is going on and somehow immoral to have a camera in court doing exactly the same thing.

The real question involved is whether or not the public has a right to see its courts in action. It is our contention that visual reporting contributes importantly to public knowledge, and that when it does not give justice or impair the dignity of the court it should be recognized as a legitimate means of broadening every citizen's understanding of how his institutions operate.

Johnson Plots Ways To Push Ike To Action

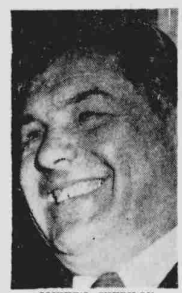
By DORIS FLEESON

WASHINGTON (AP)—The HOUR was late in the afternoon when the door of the Capitol, Senate side, was abuzz with lights and whirring activity. A Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson was back, applying his restless intelligence and vast political skill to the problem of meeting a Russian challenge in the satellite field.

He had communicated to a press conference his determination not to prejudice the case until an Armed Services subcommittee had made its recommendation. He had hinted at his failure to find a sense of urgency in the Pentagon. Now he was probing and testing the mood of his majority. Johnson is a great believer in what he calls "touching base."

SOVIET'S SHEPHERD

His Grin Is Gone



SOVIET'S SHEPHERD

No doubt Khrushchev actively wished and contrived to be under-rated. After all, it is very useful indeed to be regarded as a comic character, your real purposes are the very opposite of comic. And so the surprised rivals went down one by one, like the little Indians in the old song. First Beria was executed. Then Malenkov was demoted. Then, after a longer period of the most intricate maneuvering, Malenkov counter-attacked with Molotov, Kaganovich, and Shepilov to help him, and all four were destroyed with the essential help of Zhukov. And finally Zhukov, whose powers had been vastly increased by this grisly elimination contest, has been coolly eliminated in his turn.

But Khrushchev has not changed the fact that Zhukov, the only national leader without the blood of the Stalin years on his hands, was also the only Russian national hero in any real sense of those words. And he has not changed the fact, either, that a vast majority of the immediately important Soviet officer class must feel the most lively sympathy for Zhukov in their hearts, whatever they may say at their party cell meetings.

Thus the second giant nation in the divided world is now wholly in the hands of a brilliant, cool

BREATHLESS MOMENT

hence this is a breathless moment. The Soviet Union and the world must wait to learn whether Khrushchev's final triumph will be celebrated with a hecstomb of human victims.

The general probabilities point that way. The only available specific evidence points the other way, however. It comes from the Poles and Yugoslavs, who decided together at Belgrade to support Khrushchev against Zhukov by all means possible. In Warsaw, this decision was authoritatively explained to me on the ground that Khrushchev represented the best hope of continuing "liberalization" of Soviet society.

Perhaps Khrushchev has fooled Tito and Gomulka as he has fooled so many others. But even if they are right about him, let no one suppose that the prospect is very much more reassuring.

For "liberalization" means letting in more air, which is the most dangerous thing of all in the airless Soviet society. It means radically changing all the long standing priorities, including military investment priorities, to give the people a better life. Above all, it means continuing to give free play to the huge, increasingly strong new groups in the Soviet ruling class, whose challenge to the monopoly of rule of the sacred party apparatus is typified by Zhukov. For Khrushchev, therefore, terror is almost an easier way out.

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Bullish Nation Wonders Why News Is Bad

By WALTER LIPPMANN

NEW YORK (AP)—IN SPEAKING to the country, the President is bound to be very conscious of the fact that the times have changed. Always, since his first nomination in 1948, the President has been the carrier of a general confidence that as the country was growing and expanding all things were bound to come out right.

While this was the mood of the country, he himself, as compared with other Presidents, one can remember, was peculiarly and uniquely invulnerable. He received the credit for all that went well and was never held personally accountable for what went wrong. The mood has passed. The President himself is very much aware of it, and that is why he is making a series of speeches. He finds it necessary "to stimulate the faith and confidence" of the American people in their defenses, their foreign policy, and their economy."

BAD NEWS

In order to stimulate the faith and confidence of the people, which he feels is wanting, he will use the device he knows best: he is addressing himself lucidly, resolutely, and with perseverance to the things which have disturbed faith and confidence. What are they? There has been a lot of bad news — bad news about the Sputniks and ballistic missiles, about Little Rock, about the Middle East, about NATO, about the American educational system, and about the state of business and employment. And we, as taxpayers, are so many things going wrong for us in so many different ways?

COMMON FACTOR

My own notion is one which I cannot prove in a short space and which I do not prove at all. It is that the common factor in these diverse and many troubles is to many the disparity between the official and the popular grooves, expectations, policies and commitments on the one hand, and on the other, the resources and the efforts which we as a people have been able or willing to expend upon them.

There is, for example, the budget for defense and foreign aid. It is big, as compared with what the American taxpayers have been allowed by their leaders to think they ought to pay. But it is quite insufficient to do all the things that the taxpayers have been taught to think that the country ought to do.

Surely, the reason that the Soviet Union is ahead of us in the missiles is, first, that her effort has been concentrated while ours have been dispersed, and second, that the Soviet Union has put its only defense but science and public education above a high standard of private consumption.

We have promised to do much more than we have asked our people to pay for. Mr. Dulles has been very tough when he talks to the Russians. But Mr. Eisenhower has been very soft when he talks to the Congress about appropriations. There is a great disparity between what has been promised and what has been provided. Because of it, it is breaking up in our defense establishment, in our alliances, and in our social and cultural matters as education.

These crises are disturbing the faith and confidence which the President hopes to restore. Whether he is to succeed will depend, so I venture to think, on his policies and his promises. He will take his stand firmly on the principle that the time has come to tell the people, as they have not been told for many long years, that they must put the public need ahead of their private profit and their private comfort.

This is an age of pictorial journalism, and a story should be told in pictures as well as words.

Technical improvements in photography have been so great in recent years that it is now possible to take pictures in a court room without the lightning-like glare of flash bulbs. In both North Carolina and Connecticut, judges in recent years have granted permission for pictures to be taken in court. After photographers took them, the judges knew when the pictures would be taken. The court was not only undisturbed by photographers; it wasn't even cognizant of them.

Perhaps the best statement of the case for the use of cameras in the federal courts was made in 1954 by

No one wants to see the indiscriminate use of old-style flashbulb equipment in court. That would indeed be distracting. But there are cameras and standards of coverage that will not disturb the court, the witnesses, the accused, the jury or the audience in a courtroom. It has already been demonstrated right here in Mecklenburg how unobtrusive, inconspicuous and inoffensive such coverage can be.

The American Bar Association must be persuaded that the people have a right to see court proceedings by the newest and best available means, and that this right is not inconsistent with the most decorous court or with the rights of accused persons.

A Nation Can Become A Hypochondriac

THE normal twitchings of politicians are being augmented this week with a totally new nervousness about the nation's economic climate. In the administration there was much thrashing around for a suitably obscure term to describe current goings-on in the stock market and the economy in general—a term which will not disturb the confidence of both the businessman and the electorate.

Some support is being mustered for calling it a "sideways movement." The term even turned up in a statement issued the other day by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. Mr. Weeks got momentarily stern with newsmen who suggested that recent developments conformed to anything remotely resembling a (sh-h-h) "depression" or a (perish the thought) "recession." "To say we are in a depression or approaching it is completely silly. . . . to say we are in a recession is pretty silly," he said, "with differentiating degrees of silliness."

There is something a little silly about this "sideways" business, too. Even economists hesitate to use "recession" anymore, preferring "adjustment" because

somehow it sounds better. Newspaper editors prefer "dip" because it fits better in a headline than "rolling adjustment" or "inventory correction." With politicians it is usually a choice of "boom" or "bust," depending on who is in and who is out—and who is busted. All of this edgy speculation doesn't make the condition any better. In fact, nothing is improved but the flow of bills on the floor of Congress each month.

More important, this constant contemplation of the nation's economic navel has a distinctly psychological effect—and every economist knows that psychology has a significant role to play in building depression and paving the way for depressions. "A country can become hypochondriac, too," says David E. Lilienthal, "just as a person can. A country can fall into the habit of popping a fever thermometer into its mouth to take its economic temperature every hour on the hour, listening anxiously to its every heartbeat, and forever psychoanalyzing itself."

True, and we have had too much of this sort of thing recently.

NOTE OF CAUTION

What he has found is that Democrats believe that the country is bitterly unhappy, and justly so, over the outer-space lead grabber by the Soviet Union. In turn, Johnson sounds a cautionary note roughly as follows:

1. Our objective must be to eliminate partisanship from its inquiries into defense and foreign policy. This time we've got to produce more and better missiles at a faster rate of speed. Even the most hardened ward heeler would say amen if he knew the facts.

ONE MAN

3. There is only one man who can do such a job as this. It is Dwight D. Eisenhower. Congress can determine what steps should be taken. It can even recommend people and policies. But only the President can act—and Mr. Eisenhower will be President until the end of 1960.

4. Our objective must be to imbue the executive agencies with the necessary sense of urgency without penalizing them. If all we do is attack and all the administration does is stouly defend its record, the country is the victim.

NEW TEST

This is Johnson's frame of mind as he moves toward the new test of his leadership. The President's attitude will begin to be revealed in his telecasts and, above all, in his new budget showing what he is prepared to pay to make the new effort succeed.

It is also a test of the American system which has joined a Republican President to a Democratic Congress. It is hard to conceive of a more burning issue; yet it cannot be taken to the country for an immediate decision and a choice between parties.

BASIC FACT

A basic fact of the situation is no secret. In the White House is a man who does not believe in "strong" Presidents who hate the personal and political manipulations by which they achieve a balance of the prevailing pressures.

There are some things for which the speaker's name: Nikita Khrushchev, who last month ruthlessly purged the man he had praised. "It was a beautiful commentary on the Soviet test of our leadership," the old suspicion that Stalinism's lessons were not lost on Comrade Khrushchev.

It also confirmed an ancient truth enunciated in 1513 by Niccolò Machiavelli: "The prince must be a lion, but he must also know how to play the fox." It was Machiavelli who seemed to be saying in The Prince that rulers may resort to any treachery and artifice to uphold their arbitrary power, and whatever dishonorable acts princes may indulge in are probably set off by the insubordination of their subjects. The treatise must have fallen into Comrade Khrushchev's hands quite early.

NO MORE INDIANS

So there are no more little Indians hanging on the wall. There is now Nikita Khrushchev alone. He has not changed the fact, either, that a vast majority of the immediately important Soviet officer class must feel the most lively sympathy for Zhukov in their hearts, whatever they may say at their party cell meetings.

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Khrushchev: The Lion Is Also A Fox

ON FEB. 25, 1956, an official of the Soviet Union included a touching defense of Marshal Zhukov in an address to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. Said he:

Stalin was very much interested in the assessment of Comrade Zhukov as a military leader. He asked me to report on the opinion of Zhukov. I told him then, "I have known Zhukov for a long time; he is a good general and a good military leader."

After the war Stalin began to tell all kinds of nonsense about Zhukov, among others the following, "You praised Zhukov, but he does not deserve it. It is said that before each operation at the front Zhukov used to behave as follows: He used to take a handful of earth, smell it and say, 'We are in the attack' or the opposite. The planned operation cannot be carried out," I stated at that time, "Comrade Stalin, I do not know who invented this, but it is not true."

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Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

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People's Platform

McCarthy Warning Came In Good Time

Editors, The News: I suggest that we set up a special joint congressional committee, with full subpoena powers, to investigate the guided missile program and to keep a vigilant eye on its progress. If the committee finds that the program is not an all-out basis, then it must go into the further question of why it is not on an all-out basis. If we are falling behind the Soviet Union in the development of a weapon that may permit communism to convert us, then we must find out who is responsible and what has motivated those who are responsible.

The above exact quotation is from an address delivered in the United States Senate chamber, April 25, 1956, by the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

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BRITISH VIEW OF THE COMICS

IF children begin by reading comics will they go on to read books—and what books? A conference met in London to discuss this and allied questions, at the instance of the National Book League, the Library Association and other bodies; a duplicator report of the conference is now available.

BRITISH VIEW OF THE COMICS

"When I first went to the school six years ago, you would hardly see the school for comics. Then came the library. Seventy-five per cent of the boys began borrowing books at once. The number of comics in the school fell immediately. It has fallen ever since."

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Ike May Bury His Grudge With Truman

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On one occasion the former President told me "One of the first things I did when I became President was to invite Herbert Hoover to the White House. I told him, 'Whenever you come to Washington, I want you to consider this your home, and the White House cars yours.'"

These People

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proportions subcommittee that Russia was making important strides in rocket technology. The committee was examining the Defense Department's 1958 request for guided missile research funds. Some congressmen were perplexed by Truman Wilson's proposal to cut \$22 million and questioned the man who first denounced Hitler's V-2 rocket against England. Von Braun was cautious not to speak too freely, but his concern about Russian progress became obvious as he was questioned. He warned that the first country to develop an intercontinental missile would also be the first to strike the U.S. "The larger and larger ballistic missiles will provide the basic missile hardware to get more and more payload into an orbit in outer space or to the moon," he told Rep. Harry Sheppard (D-Cal).