

What opportunities exist for Negroes in medicine?

How well qualified are Negro applicants to medical schools?

What is the status of medical care provided for Negroes? by Negroes?

How much integration is there in medicine in major United States cities—North and South?

What are the factors which block or facilitate integration in the field of medicine? What are the trends in integration?

Read NEGROES AND MEDICINE

by *Dietrich C. Reitzes*

With information obtained from more than 80 medical colleges and 14 major cities—Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., Atlanta, New Orleans and Nashville—this book provides the first thorough analysis ever made of Negroes and medicine in the United States. It is a valuable addition to the study of race relations in general as well as in the particular field of medicine.

**A COMMONWEALTH
FUND BOOK**



\$7.00 through your bookseller, or from



**HARVARD
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

79 Garden Street,
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE QUEMOY CRISIS in its latest recurrence has already been with us for quite a while. A number of people seem inclined to consider it a normal part of the business of living. We do not. Practically from the time it was founded, this magazine has untiringly insisted that our country's Chinese policy—a policy mainly determined by domestic considerations—presented one of the greatest dangers our nation has ever faced.

In our issue of January 3, 1950, Max Ascoli started his editorial with the following words: "Here it comes—another Great Debate on recognition. The last one we had was on Soviet Russia. This one is on Red China: Should we recognize it? Now as then, the whirlwinds of discussion revolve around a distressing fact: The government of a foreign country has been taken over by men who don't like us, whom we don't like, and whose overthrow we cannot foresee or bring about." That same year, in our issue of August 29, we asked: "Why shouldn't our government now propose to the U.N. that the Formosans, taking full advantage of their insularity, determine their destiny by themselves, with their own ballots?" And again, on April 7, 1955, we asked: "How can our leaders be moving toward an adventure in which we would find ourselves absolutely alone, engaged in a war that would be limited not by our self-imposed rules but by the quality and the amount of weapons the Russians might be willing to lend their Chinese allies? Don't our leaders know they are running the risk of losing Formosa—and much more than Formosa—in Quemoy?" We added a brief paragraph: "Sometimes it is gratifying to look at the pictures of our national leaders. They look quite vigorous and serene, even those who are not so young and travel a lot, like Secretary Dulles. It is obvious they manage to sleep at night."

Well, they slept indeed, and the result is the situation in which we now find ourselves. Max Ascoli's editorial places that situation against his long-standing concern.

Chalmers M. Roberts, of the *Washington Post and Times Herald*, has been closely following our China policy in Washington. Brigadier General **Thomas R. Phillips**, U.S.A. (Ret.), was on the island of Quemoy in September, 1954, when what he calls the Quemoy hoax was perpetrated. **O. Edmund Clubb** spent eighteen years in China with our Foreign Service and was director of the State Department's Office of Chinese Affairs. Recognized as one of the most competent of the old China hands, he is—as might be expected—no longer working for the government.

Arthur S. Miller, professor of law at Emory University, shows the calculated strategy of the legal moves that Southerners are now making against integration. . . . Our regular European correspondent, **Edmond Taylor**, reports on the fateful referendum that will decide the structure of the Fifth French Republic. . . . **John Van Camp**, who is on the Washington staff of the *Baltimore Sun*, discusses the complicated politicking that went on over the labor-reform bill. . . . Staff writer **Marya Mannes** describes a walk she took one morning in London recently. . . . Our Washington editor, **Douglass Cater**, has been on leave from *The Reporter* and has been traveling about the world as holder of an Eisenhower Fellowship. He has just returned to this country from India. . . . **Ralph Lee Smith**, who discusses fund-raising and veterans' organizations, is a management consultant and free-lance writer living in New York.

Marcus Cunliffe is the author of *George Washington: Man and Monument* (Little, Brown). . . . **Nat Hentoff** is co-author of *The Jazz Makers*, and *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya*, (both books published by Rinehart). . . . **Roger Maren** is a musicologist living in Princeton. . . . **Otto Friedrich** is a New York free-lance writer and editor. . . . **Nora Magid** is on *The Reporter* staff.

Our cover is by **Fred Zimmer**.

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton • *Managing Editor*, Robert Bingham
Associate Editor, Gouverneur Paulding • *Contributing Editor*, Robert Bendiner
Art Director, Reg Massie • *Copy Editors*: Derek Morgan, Robert H. Albert
Staff Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes, Charles Clift, Paul Jacobs
Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Messolonghites • *Librarian*, Ruth Ames
General Manager, John J. Borghi • *Circulation Manager*, George Hinckley
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander • *Production Manager*, Ann Hollyday Sharp

VOLUME 19, NO. 5

OCTOBER 2, 1958

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 2

Adrift in the Formosa Strait

THIS TALK OF MUNICH—AN EDITORIAL *Max Ascoli* 10
 CAUGHT IN A TRAP OF OUR OWN MAKING *Chalmers M. Roberts* 11
 THE MILITARY WORTH OF QUEMOY *Thomas R. Phillips* 14
 CHIANG'S SHADOW OVER WARSAW *O. Edmund Clubb* 16

At Home & Abroad

THE STRATEGY OF SOUTHERN RESISTANCE *Arthur S. Miller* 18
 FRANCE VOTES ON A FIFTH REPUBLIC *Edmond Taylor* 21
 WHAT HAPPENED TO THE LABOR-REFORM BILL? *John Van Camp* 24
 A MORNING AFTER IN NOTTING HILL *Marya Mannes* 28
 INDIA: A TALE OF TWO STEEL MILLS *Douglass Cater* 29
 WAVING THE FLAG AND PASSING THE HAT *Ralph Lee Smith* 33

Views & Reviews

THE HERD, THE SELF, AND THE GULF BETWEEN *Marcus Cunliffe* 36
 THE MAGIC MORNINGS OF CAPTAIN KANGAROO *Nat Hentoff* 39
 KURT WEILL AND HIS PUBLIC *Roger Maren* 41
 AMERICA'S REDISCOVERY OF THE ETERNAL CITY *Gouverneur Paulding* 44
 A GOOD WINE WELL AGED *Marya Mannes* 46
 THE PEN AND POLITICS *Otto Friedrich* 47
 SHE DROPPED A BOOK ON PRINCE CHARMING'S HEAD *Nora Magid* 48

Editorial and Business Offices:
 136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Here are some of the reasons why you will want to read this newspaper that is known and quoted throughout the world.

- **Comment.** The editorials of the Manchester Guardian are more than opinion providers for those with no ideas of their own. The editorials are an appeal to reason. Their weapon is the rapier. Not botched with prejudice, their argument is clean-jointed.
- **News.** Written by Manchester Guardian men in all parts of the world giving precise personal reporting. For example, you will find both penetrating and thought provoking, Taya-Zinkin's grass roots reporting of Indian life and Hessel Tiltman's analysis of Japanese politics.
- **American reporting.** How does the rest of the world see America? Max Freedman in Washington and Alistair Cooke in New York let you see how they report America—a refreshing and unusual angle.
- **Information.** Comprehensive articles which provide new meaning and understanding regarding today's events. Such articles as "American Policy on Quemoy," "Lynch Him! Heard in London," "Anarchy Rules in Lebanon," "Americans Looking Ahead to 1960," "Israel's New Maturity."
- **Book reviews.** Articles on art and music, marginal notes on London and the lighter side of life furnish you with stimulating entertainment.
- **All the good things** a newspaper provides will be found to a greater degree in the Manchester Guardian Weekly. This edition is flown overnight every week from England and mailed to you in the United States.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

FILL IN AND MAIL RIGHT NOW!

The Manchester Guardian, Dept. 51
 20 East 53rd Street, New York 22, N.Y.
 Please enter my subscription to the Manchester Guardian Weekly Air Edition, as checked. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund.

22 weeks trial, \$3 1 year, \$7

Name
 Street Address
 City Zone State

This Talk of Munich

THERE IS A commendable quality about the Warsaw negotiations: at long last old-fashioned diplomacy gets a chance. A task demanding the most professional subtlety has been entrusted to two ambassadors who are supposed to negotiate a lessening of the Quemoy difficulties while avoiding anything that even implicitly might be considered a settlement of the diplomatic relations between the two great powers they represent.

Of the two Chinese governments, only that of Peking participates in the Warsaw parleys, and no one, not even our national leaders, knows to what extent the decisions reached may be accepted by Chiang Kai-shek. Actually while our government is asking for a cease-fire, a stalemate is the nearest approximation to peace the two Chinese governments may consider. But there can be no armistice between them. Similarly, normal peaceful relations between the United States and Communist China are not even contemplated by our government.

The world had come to consider as a normal state of affairs the uneasy stalemate in the Formosa Strait. A sort of reciprocal containment prevailed there, with a certain amount of ceremonial and habit-forming shooting on both sides. But as the firepower of the two Chinas, still fighting their civil war, increased—particularly on the Communist side—the emergency arose that has led to the Warsaw parleys.

In these parleys our government insists, as it has done for years, that Red China must renounce the use of force. This is an extraordinarily momentous demand to make of any government, no matter whether the war in which it is engaged, or about to be engaged, is civil or otherwise.

The United Nations Charter has created at least the instrumentalities that make it legitimate to enjoin a member nation from resorting to force. But in asking the Peking government not to use force the administration cannot accuse it of having violated any covenant since the United States does not recognize that government and opposes its entrance into the U.N.

When it asks China to renounce the use of force in its civil war, the administration cannot pretend to be acting for the U.N., or for any one of the alliances to which we belong. Against China our government has no other ally than Formosa, and Peking can be expected to respect the no-force injunction only if confronted by an overwhelmingly superior force the United States is ready and willing to use.

No wonder our allies—the real ones—are, to say the least, dismayed. They know that whatever superiority in armament the United States may still have over the Sino-Soviet bloc can no longer be called overwhelming. Moreover, they were never consulted before the presumably irrevocable decision was reached to make of Quemoy the Thermopylae of western civilization.

Our country will be without allies—or with only the most marginal of them all—should the administration decide to use force in order to impose on China its no-force decree.

THERE IS a name for this isolation of a country from its allies that leaves the initiative for the final showdown to the enemy. This name is Munich. Munich has come to mean—and with reason—panicky, thoughtless diplomacy.

In the particular case of Quemoy, the President, by calling any possible disengagement from that island

a Munich, has made certain in advance that when a measure of disengagement occurs, Chiang Kai-shek, together with his American friends and our enemies all over the world, will cry out long and loud that we have dishonored ourselves at a new Munich.

The original Munich thoroughly discredited and isolated the two major European democracies. In 1938, as now, the aim was to keep things unchanged at any price. The major difference, of course, is that in 1938 it was thought that war could be avoided by shunning it while now it is thought that war can be avoided by going through the motions of rushing into it. These two parallel forms of foolishness well deserve the same name.

STILL, THE IRREVOCABLE has not yet happened. We are not yet at war over that preposterous island. We have not yet lost our allies, and indeed, they can perhaps help us see the light of reason. For the power of our nation does not belong to our nation alone, and we cannot give up the system of alliances that we have built since the war for the sake of Formosa's Chiang Kai-shek.

Our leaders have gone so far as to link the power, the prestige of our nation to the defense of an untenable position while at the same time entrusting whatever hope there may be of avoiding war to negotiations between two great powers that do not recognize each other's existence. The pressure of opinion in the grand alliance and in the United Nations will acquire such impetus that our government, as well as that of Peking, will have to acknowledge it as irresistible. Then the Warsaw parleys will proceed in earnest and their aim will be not just a cease-fire but peace.