for critical comment. To his secretary, Laura Waltz, his ponderous prose is "notoriously bad." To his former colleagues at the New York Times, he is "Mr. Krock." Says Washington Bureau Chief Tom Wicker, "I wouldn't dream of calling him Arthur."

Arthur Krock, 80, has been the court-

Arthur Krock, 80, has been the courtly, if usually critical, dean of the Washington press corps for longer than most correspondents can remember. An active reporter from 1906 to his retirement two years ago, he has been closer, longer, to the power centers of U.S. politics than perhaps any other man, journalist or politician, living or dead. He mourned most of what he saw. In

for the Great Depression, and accuses Roosevelt's New Deal—which he at first supported—of making the Depression worse instead of better. The confrontation between Russia and the U.S. that has dominated the past two decades would never have taken place, he believes, had not F.D.R. been naive about the Kremlin's intentions to "dominate the world."

Krock laments the deterioration of the country's moral and political fiber, the inflation that destroys savings, the pressures toward "total integration" of blacks and whites, the introduction (by Kennedy and Johnson) of a "welfare state subsidized from Washington." He considers it an inexcusable sin that Kennedy and Johnson committed the U.S. to a land war in Asia. Above all, Krock



AVERELL HARRIMAN, JOHN KENNEDY & KROCK (1953)
Was F.D.R. naive? Did L.B.J. sin?

his memoirs, Sixty Years on the Firing Line, published this week by Funk & Wagnalls, Krock details the complicated reasons for his pessimistic views, Spurious Liberalism. He was born to

Spurious Liberalism. He was born to a genteel family in post-Civil War Kentucky. His mother, he recalls, "had been brought up, like all Southern girls of her class, to do nothing," and he himself was raised "in the shadow of the Lost Cause." Admits Krock: "I looked upon the Confederate veterans as my boyhood heroes." Thus, although he considers himself a "Democratic liberal." he has been increasingly horrified at "the men and events that have reshaped our political system for the worse in the name of a 'tiberalism' both spurious of ancestry and destructive in practice."

His observations are not particularly new. If Wilson had been less unbending, he believes, he might have persuaded the Senate to go along with the League of Nations and thereby perhaps have averted World War II. He blames Coolidge, rather than Hoover.

bemoans the "transmutation" of U.S. democracy into a "judicial autocracy" in which the Supreme Court has assumed "overlordship of the government and all the people to fit the political philosophy of the current majority."

To some extent, Krock himself takes the blame for the Supreme Court's liberal outlook. It was he who suggested, in 1939, the appointment of Justice William O. Douglas, one of his closest Washington friends, who turned out to be one of the Court's most unyielding liberals.

Who Was Kleist? When Krock joined The Times, in 1927, he was already a leading figure in American journalism. He had been shot at while covering Kentucky elections for the Associated Press in 1909, challenged to a duel for insulting a French newspaperman in Paris in 1918 ("Somehow, I managed to crawl out of that fix"). As assistant to Publisher Ralph Pulitzer on the old New York World, he was assigned to "ride herd on Herbert Swope," the paper's imperious editor, and to

## **COLUMNISTS**

## Memoirs of a Mourner

His furled umbrella and powerful cigar are familiar to every newsman in Washington. He is a regular participant in the lunchtime poker-dice games at the bar of the Metropolitan Club. His counsel has been sought—or pointedly ignored—by every President since William Howard Taft. Woodrow Wilson often talked out his problems with him during the Paris peace talks that ended World War I. F.D.R. once regarded him as a "Hoover agent," twice tried unsuccessfully to get him fired. Both Jack and Bobby Kennedy submitted the manuscripts of their first books to him

TIME, SEPTEMBER 27, 1968





a prodding, provocative University of Texas graduate who came back from one year at Oxford with a passion to unmask corruption and hypocrisy. With a number of equally talented and brash companions, Dugger has made his influence felt far beyond the state borders. Admirers often call the Observer the political conscience of Texas.

Like most consciences, the Observer operates under trying conditions. Its budget barely pays the phone bill. Its editorial headquarters is one shabby room near the University of Texas. Its full-time writing staff has rarely numbered more than two. Its most distinguished alumnus, *Harper's* Editor Willie Morris, recalled last week: "Every Friday afternoon we'd have a full-fledged story