

Editorial Page

Are We Worthy?

A number of thoughtful commentators have written of a disturbing and dangerous element which seems to have entered American life. It is not easy to pinpoint or describe. Perhaps the best word for it is apathy, which has led to attitudes of drift and disinterest, and to a failure of individual pride and responsibility.

It is found, in varying degree, in every area of large affairs. The gravity of the present world situation, measured by the gains of the Soviets and the positions of so-called neutral nations, whose leanings are almost always pro-Soviet, could only be exceeded by all-out war. Day after day the newspapers, the radio and television tell the story. Yet the number of Americans who feel a deep concern, and a profound sense of national purpose, seems dimly small.

We tend to take a cynical, "what-of-it?" attitude toward politics — in the face of the fact that politics is the art of government

and that the courses and choices of the politicians in power will largely determine what kind of land and world our children, to say nothing of ourselves, will live in.

And, beyond doubt, we have drifted, knowingly and unknowingly, toward a Welfare State in which, ultimately, the masses of people become faceless numbers.

One thing can be said for the Soviets — at least, for those Soviets whose policies and decisions count. They are supremely dedicated men and women. They regard their system with a religious zealotry. They know what they want — which is world domination — and they are convinced they know how to get it. They are willing to change tactics and strategy and timing when risks and situations make that necessary, but they never lose sight of the goal.

The American goal is supposed to be freedom, individualism, the dignity and worth of man. Are we worthy of it, and are we pursuing it?

Morality Is Not Divisible

You can find a flock of people these days who steadily pronounce their devotion to distant "good causes" but somehow manage to avoid showing much human concern at close personal range.

The notion seems to be strong that if you advocate sweeping attack on human social ills in the large, you don't have to care what you do with the humans you meet face to face during the day.

Louis Kronenberger, a former drama critic who is now a visiting professor of English at Stanford, says far too many intelligent educated folk have in fact made a "complete substitution of social morality for personal ethics."

Not surprisingly, in writing of this in Horizon magazine, Kronenberger takes examples from the theater world he knew so well. But he means his assault to be broad. Of educated liberals practicing "pure escapist morality," he says:

"These people do steadily, quite early in life, what the hard-fisted rich used to do very late: they pay conscience money. But today's, unlike yesterday's, is not paid retroactively in leisured remorse. It is pay-as-you-go penance."

A perfect example is the actor who is so busy discussing the humane causes he believes in that he never remembers to ask his friends how they feel or what they are doing.

Kronenberger takes it farther and says flatly that many "socially conscious" liberals claw each other to pieces even as they spout noble sentiments in support of social advances.

"How ultimately great is the gain, to bring up children with no prejudice against race and with every sympathy for the poor, if they are to have no scruples against backstabbing and an utter apathy toward fair play?"

Evidence is plentiful in support of Kronenberger's contention that personal morality is in steep decline. There is altogether too little caring at close range.

What too many bleeders for "humanity" fail to grasp is that their devotion to good causes is a jerry-built structure unless it is founded on a great mound of earnestly pursued little causes.

Morality is not divisible. If it is not seen the same way in the circle around you as in the orbit of great affairs, then you are not really practicing it at all.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Army Report Kept Secret

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Barred away in the report of the Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearings on the "muzzling of the military" is a brief and chilling quote. It comes from the testimony of Brigadier General S.L.A. Marshall, highly respected by his peers, who is also considered a model of moderation by the liberal-labor coalition.

General Marshall's words recalled the stormy era when Senator McCarthy was attempting to investigate the remnants of the Julius Rosenberg apparatus in the Army Signal Corps—and being told by every pundit able to pound a typewriter or a lectern that he was destroying morale and smearing the military. To hint that the Communists had any kind of toehold in the services was considered downright treasonable.

Now listen to General Marshall: "I have, of course, run into Communists in our uniform overseas, even in my own outfit. I had one officer—two officers—who had to be kept in cold storage. I could not let them see any classified papers."

And then, the shocker: "In the battle of North Korea you will find one incident, and I don't think it has ever been revealed. But there was one company that folded, one only, in the 25th Division. The captain who surrendered this company had been long suspected as a Communist by the people around him." (P. 1267 of the hearings.)

In a war against a Communist enemy, an officer suspected of Communist loyalties was permitted to take his company into battle and to surrender it to the North Korean Reds. In the same war, officers were kept "in cold storage" because they were considered disloyal. If in a time of actual hostilities, Communists and sympathizers were not weeded out, what is the situation today? This is a question General Marshall does not answer and the Senate subcommittee barely scratched.

I do not blame General Marshall for not summarily sending the suspect officers, with their security files, back to Washing-

ton with a recommendation that they be dishonorably discharged. Had he done so, the American Civil Liberties Union would have filed off a petition to the Supreme Court, the bleeding hearts would have set up a 24-hour vigil in front of the White House, and the Fund for the Republic would have allotted half a million dollars for a study of "blacklisting" in the Army.

The men who were captured by the North Korean Reds and underwent the filth and terror of a Chinese Communist concentration camp may not—if they survived—have quite such a tolerant view of the matter. Their lives were entrusted to an officer who was presumably of unquestioned patriotism. In a conflict as treacherous as the Korean "police action," the least the Army should have done was to transfer the officer to some innocuous Quartermaster job—counting blankets at Fort Benning, for example.

Reading General Marshall's quiet statement, I wondered why no one asked him why the episode had been kept secret—or what reports he had filed to his superiors on the other Communists in uniform who could not carry out their duties because of their untrustworthiness. I was not surprised that those who poured over the report seeking tidbits of information to use against our military leaders passed over the quotation.

And this gets me to the core of the problem. In the past decade, many Americans have been brainwashed into believing that no Communist threat exists, that no Communist infiltration of the nation's sensitive agencies is possible, and that Communist villainy began fading out with the death of Stalin.

Every new disclosure of the internal Communist menace is either ignored or brushed aside as an isolated case. An unrepentant perjurer like Alger Hiss is given a forum on nationwide TV, and the sponsor who objects is called unpleasant names by television executives and slapped with lawsuits. It has become bad form to take internal Communist seriously.

When I am scolded for speaking of the internal Communist threat, I have a simple answer: "If it does not exist, then why is there so much opposition to a thorough and inclusive search in government and in other sensitive areas of our national life? Why is so much time and money spent to silence the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee? Why is the FBI the Communist underground's enemy number one?" I have so far gotten no satisfactory answers. The only answers I get are indirect ones—as when General Marshall tells the Congress in 1962 what he should have shouted to the nation in 1952.

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Tuesday, May 7, the 127th day of 1963 with 238 to follow.

The moon is approaching full phase.
The morning stars are Venus, Saturn, and Jupiter.

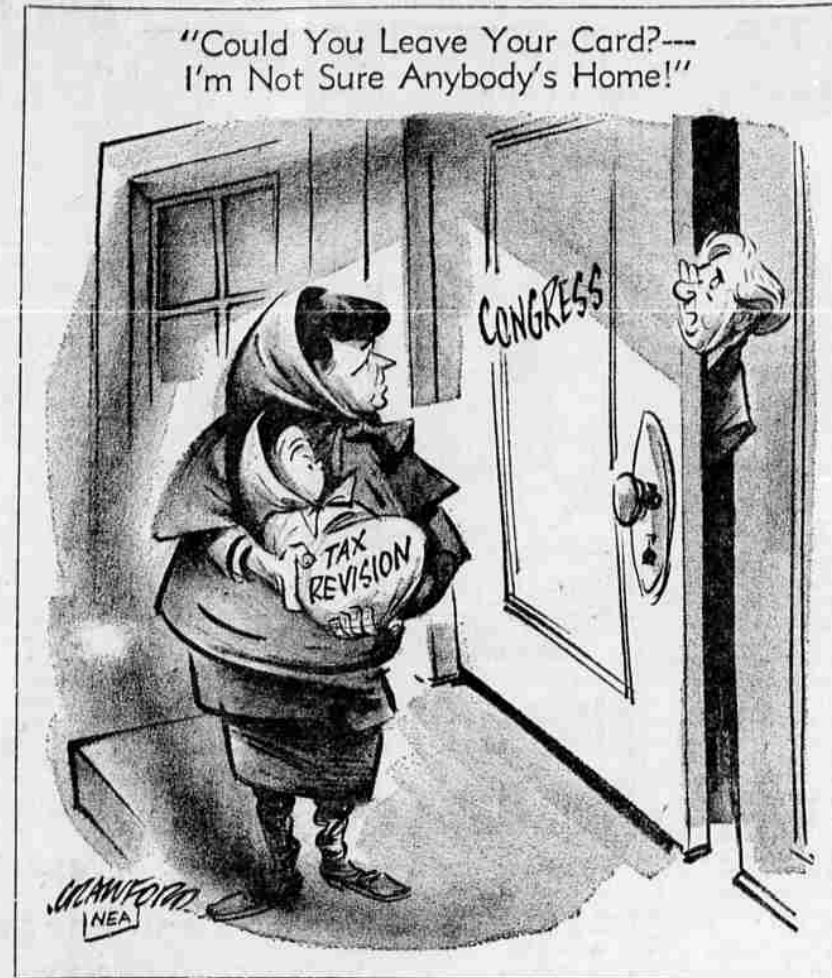
The evening star is Mars.

On this day in history:
In 1915, a German submarine torpedoed the Cunard liner Lusitania off the coast of Ireland and almost 1,200 passengers lost their lives.

In 1909, the World War II military and political alliance of Germany and Italy was announced simultaneously in Rome and Berlin.

In 1945, representatives of the German high command signed unconditional surrender terms at Gen. Dwight Eisenhower's temporary headquarters in Rheims, France.

In 1945, President Harry Truman and his family moved into the White House following the removal of the personal possessions of the family of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who died April 12.



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Some friends were discussing, in puzzled tones, the recent labor disturbances in Great Britain, in which thousands of the recently unemployed staged a demonstration that, for placid England, was nearly riotous.

"What's the excitement about?" said one. "The unemployment rate in Great Britain is only half that of the United States, and we haven't had anything like that here."

I suspect that what is frightening to the British workers is the sudden appearance of change in a land of stability and tradition. In America, we have always had a mobile labor force; men changed occupations and locales almost as frequently as they changed automobile models.

In England, a job has been something a man expected to do all his life. He often inherited it from his father, who himself inherited it from the medieval guild system. Dozens of English names, in fact, came directly from these crafts—Taylor, Turner, Webster, Wheelwright, Baker, Miller, Skinner, Smith, Weaver, Chandler, Cutler, Mercer, and many others.

Moreover, a stratified social system, such as obtains in England and most of Europe, makes it much harder for men to change and adjust.

America's weakness has also turned out to be its strength. Because we have not had so long a history, because we were a frontier country, and because we have lacked a long tradition of craftsmanship, our standards of

service and workmanship have been inferior to most of the Europeans.

When we complain about this, however, (as we increasingly do), it must be remembered at the same time that this lack of a tradition has enabled us to be economically, socially and industrially flexible — to make rapid shifts in demands and supplies of the labor force. A society that is inflexible cannot meet rapidly changing needs.

The British are more frightened by automation than we are, because the proportion of the working class population is so much greater. Here, in our own time, there has been a shift away from the laboring forces to the service classes, just as there has been an enormous shift from the rural type to the urban-complex society — and all without any serious dislocations.

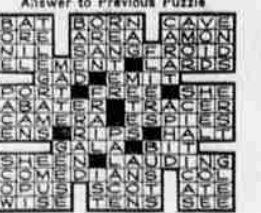
Tradition is a two-edged sword: it gives a sense of continuity and excellence to a pursuit, but it also retards necessary adjustments to meet changing conditions. What the British laborers are protesting is lack of jobs today—but also, more importantly, lack of prospects for tomorrow and tomorrow.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—In mythology how did Odysseus get his men out of the cave of the Cyclops?

A—After blinding the Cyclops, they tied themselves to the underbellies of his sheep and escaped when the giant drove his sheep out to pasture.

Answer to Previous Puzzle



19 Small flap
21 Archer in his spot
23 Anglo-Saxon
24 Perfumes
25 Humane tribal
26 Threecorn
27 Church part
28 Social insect
30 Italian stream
31 Stagger
32 Withered
34 Essential being
35 Printer's measure
36 Male



OTHER EDITORS' OPINIONS

Strikers Subsidized

(By GLADSTONE WILLIAMS)
(In The Sacramento Bee)

It offers a sad commentary on the unemployment compensation program practiced by many of the states that it is being used to aid strikes against the public interest.

No better example of this is to be found than in the prolonged strike of printers which prevented publication of New York City newspapers for more than three months. The strike cost the publishers millions of dollars, deprived merchants and others of an important medium of advertising, denied the public an opportunity to keep abreast of the local news and forced thousands of non-striking workers out of employment.

Yet it is doubtful that the strike could have lasted anywhere near as long as it did without the generous unemployment compensation benefit provided by New York State. At the time New York City printers went on strike back in early December they received an average of about \$145 a week in pay. After the walkout they continued to average about \$120 a week. Of this amount \$70 came from union benefit funds and \$50 from state unemployment benefits.

The state therefore was subsidizing the strikers to the tune of some 40 per cent of the unemployment benefits they were receiving while on strike. That hardly makes sense any way you look at it. For one thing, it puts the employers in a position of financing a strike against themselves since the strike benefit funds are collected in taxes paid by the employers.

But there are other and more fundamental objections to the system. In the first place, it is a misnomer to say a man who leaves his job to go on strike is unemployed in the sense that unemployment was forced upon him. He is no more out of a job than a worker who takes time off to go fishing.

Why then should the government pay him for his self imposed unemployment? The job is there waiting for him if he cares to work. It is nobody's fault but his own if he decides to quit for a spell.

Certainly something should be done to correct the situation where workers on strike are paid unemployment compensation during the strike. To permit that sort of thing is an injustice to the taxpayers and it encourages work stoppages not in the public interest.



Booklet Enumerates Citizen Challenges

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON (NEA) — The most succinct, nonpartisan, constructive presentation of problems faced by the United States at home or abroad—and what individual citizens can do about them—may be found in a 32-page pamphlet now being offered free by The Advertising Council.

The title is "Challenge to Americans" with a subtitle, "The Struggle We Face and How to Help Win It."

More than 150,000 copies have been distributed. With a newspaper good will advertising campaign coming up in the near future, the hope is that a million copies will be put in circulation—maybe more.

In a world and in a country where the clamor and confusion of carping criticism by lame brain extremists has become a theme song for national and international despair, "Challenge to Americans" is inspirational in a frankly do-good approach.

It opens with a two-page foreword by President Kennedy and a one-page foreword by former President Eisenhower. This gives "The Challenge" bipartisan backing in place of the usual bickering heard in Congress and country.

Excerpt from Kennedy: "We must match great challenges with great achievements."

Excerpt from Eisenhower: "The important thing is to do something."

After the introductions come five two-page easy-to-read chapters: The Challenge of the Awakening Peoples, The Scientific and Technological Challenge, The Challenge of International Cooperation, The Communist Challenge and The Challenge of Our Own Permanent Revolution.

After each chapter is a one-page list of short suggestions on "What You Can Do to Help" meet each of these challenges. Here are random samples from each list of suggested actions:

"Learn more about our neighbors around the world. Keep up with the news . . . Commend those local newspapers, television and radio stations which give full attention to news interpretation."

"Through PTAs, the press, the ballot box, join with other citizens in working for better and more science courses in schools."



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Peace Corps Adviser Has Commie Record

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A Presidential appointee, named to the Peace Corps National Advisory Council, has a record of Communist front activity on file in Washington.

He is the Reverend James H. Robinson, a Presbyterian clergyman, Peace Corps official, a defense attorney and his background, Assistant Director Bill Moyers told this reporter.

"Anyone who thinks the President would name a Communist to this council is so naive he does not deserve to be called adult."

No one has called Robinson a Communist, although in 1949 he did sign a Communist Party nominating petition for Benjamin Davis, who would later be convicted under the Smith Act.

For the information of Mr. Moyers, Robinson was an official of The American Youth Congress, a group labeled Communist and subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark. He was active in American Youth for Democracy, another group termed "Communist and subversive" by the Attorney General.

According to The Daily Worker of March 17, 1943, Robinson that day sponsored a mass meeting of the Communist Party. One week later he addressed a "Forum for Victory" at the party's Ninth Assembly District headquarters in New York.

During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Robinson was an official of the Citizens Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, a group cited by the Special House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

Three years later, while Hitler and Stalin fought each other, Robinson demanded "cooperation with Russia and unconditional surren-

"Study the purposes of international organizations."

"Study communism, its background, tactics and goals. . . . Rely on the Federal Bureau of Investigation as the appropriate agency to investigate possible subversive activities within the U.S. Discourage self-appointed vigilante groups from attempting to perform such delicate functions. . . . Avoid the extremes of complacency and despair. Have confidence in the final outcome."

"Do your part in encouraging law observance and the prevention of crime and juvenile delinquency."

"Become better informed on our dynamic American economic system. . . . Participate in the 'You Are Challenged' program to consider our national goals. Write to The American Assembly, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y."

The Advertising Council, which gives all this free advice is the public service organization representing all U.S. advertising media. It was born in World War II, but it has kept up its support of worthy causes for 20 years under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

It has contributed talent, time and space at its own expense to promote safety, savings and drives, forest fire prevention, aid to higher education, freedom from hunger, physical fitness and mental health, Radio Free Europe and Peace Corps recruiting. All these are continuing programs.

In tackling the new "Challenge to America" drive, however, the council got into a new field of promoting abstract ideas.

After two years of preparation, says Council President Theodore S. Reppley, "We have launched a campaign of such potential usefulness as to dwarf anything we have done in peace time."

There is a final "Call to Greatness" facing a full-page picture of the Liberty Bell in the pamphlet, from which a few lines may be worth quoting to give the flavor of the thing:

"This nation was forged in the crucible of rebellion. . . . Today's America has emerged from the challenges of yesterday. . . . We are in for a long struggle. . . . It is a time for each of us to do . . . something extra . . . which contributes to our nation's strength, unity and progress."

der for Germany." He did that in a statement published in the Daily Worker by the Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side. Attorney General Tom Clark called that organization subversive, one "which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

Robinson was a member of the executive board of the American Committee to Save Refugees, a cited Communist front. He spoke before rallies of the Communist-controlled American Labor Party. He signed a petition of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, Communist leader.

In the Daily Worker he defended the executions of Victor Alter and Hendrik Ehrlich, leaders of Poland's Social Democrat Party, who were killed by the Communists.

Robinson signed a petition, demanding abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, that was sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, a cited front.

He signed letters to Presidents Truman and Eisenhower urging clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted atom spies. He advised his signature to a statement that called for retention of the Communist Party on the ballot.

He sponsored a testimonial dinner for Ferdinand C. Smith, Communist labor leader. He signed a "Friend of the Court" brief for the Rev. William Howard Melish, accused as a Communist, though he swore he had never been.

Addressing a meeting of New York leftists only a fortnight ago, Robinson wisecracked: "Peace Corps director Sargeant Shriver has been told I'm a Communist or fellow traveler, so I'm in good company tonight."

Peace Corps spokesmen say they have "no idea" what Robinson was talking about.

Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater vowed the ladies in his recent appearance before the National Federation of Republican Women who met here in Washington. Leaders of the draft Goldwater movement, who met delegates from coast to coast, say that Goldwater is far and away the most popular Republican possibility for President.

THEY SAY . . .

Of all the many problems that have beset the metropolitan police in the past, the most serious issue facing the force has been the state of crime.

—From 1962 annual report by London police commissioner.