

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Unfavorable Reaction

All the talk about a mass march on Washington in August by the racial demonstrators has succeeded in bringing back some of the memories of other marches designed to influence the nation's lawmakers and Presidents.

There's argument for both the pros and cons regarding the effectiveness of such parades under the shadows of the White House and Congress. It can be said, however, that the record indicates Washington's reaction was not favorable.

First, the record should show that a law forbids demonstrations on the 31 acres surrounding the U.S. Capitol. Carrying signs, making speeches or any other threatening gesture is forbidden.

One of the earliest planned demonstrations was in 1877 when efforts were being made to impeach President Johnson. A crowd gathered attempting to influence Senator Ross, of Kansas. Plans did not materialize—and in fact, may have boomeranged because the Senator cast his vote against the mood of the crowd, thus saving President Johnson from impeachment.

Perhaps the most famous of all marches was that of "Coxey's Army." It was made up of unemployed, the ragged, hungry victims of the great depression. The crowds streamed into Washington demanding relief in the form of a regular sum of money, plus food supplies. The "dole" they called it. The demonstrators were arrested as they reached the capitol grounds.

Then there was the mass of "bonus marchers" in 1932. The crowd was estimated at 10,000, consisting of the boys who had

fought in World War I. Across the river from the capitol grounds stood another 10,000. Here they had erected shacks from paper and scrap wood and tin.

As the veterans paraded in downtown Washington they sang, "America" and then streamed back across the Anacostia River, where they resumed their stand in much the same fashion as today's "sit-ins."

For days they camped there and then in late July 1932, President Hoover was persuaded by the commissioners of the District to use the Army to force the "squatters" to move on. Hoover hesitated but finally gave the order and it was General MacArthur, Army chief of staff, who commanded the units. Tear gas was used. The shacks were burned. Violence flared.

The record shows that a number of Senators actually changed their stands on the matter of paying the bonus and voted against payment. All because of the pressure from the marchers. Eventually, however, the bonus bill was passed but four years had elapsed from the time of the marches. Also, it was passed only after a third veto by President Roosevelt.

Sen. Towers, Texas Republican, has intimated that Congress would not legislate during the demonstrations, if they occur this month. Perhaps it might be fitting that Congress declare a recess and get out of town if the demonstrations do occur. And further, we suggest young Bobby refrain from making any speeches to them and the President might well take off for Hyannis Port. For any high responsible official to so much as make an appearance would only lend dignity to such a wild party.

What Goes Here?

(Dairy Record)

It is understandable that those nations with problems of food shortages would be interested in making barter deals with the United States for grains, but as the National Milk Producers Federation pointed out, tobacco figured in about 38 per cent of the barter deals, corn 24 per cent, wheat 15 per cent, and grain sorghum 14 per cent during the first three months of 1936.

In contrast, nonfat dry milk accounted for but 8.5 per cent of the barter program

exports, while butter shipments were negligible.

Under the barter arrangement, the recipient countries can pretty much pick and choose the surplus products they wish, but after 18 years and at a cost of billions of dollars we are still being fed the same old pap that we must feed the have-not nations to keep them from playing footsie with Russia and the satellite nations. Tobacco they can eat and butter and nonfat dry milk they cannot eat?



HOLMES ALEXANDER ...

Hard-liners In Senate

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The adjective "hard-line" used to describe an adamant position against all things Communist, can also be accurately used to describe an unmovable position against all things Kennedy.

These two attitudes combine in the Senate today against ratification of the pending nuclear test ban treaty. There is not the only opposition, but it needs to be primarily noted.

The Old Guardsmen of the Senate—led by Barry Goldwater—are backed in their consciences, as well as in their constituencies, by the absolute conviction that any accommodation of communism is nothing less than a shameful surrender. Their beliefs have taken the Old Guardsmen out to many a brink, and they will not shudder at this one. The Old Guard is already committed to oppose any nuclear treaty except one that unilaterally disarms the Communists.

Then there are the hard-liners against JFK himself, particularly those who oppose his racial policies. I would judge it impossible for Mr. Kennedy's nuclear treaty—in any foreseeable form—to get more than a minimum of support from Southern Senators who look upon him as a socialist, a waster, a Constitution-biter, a business-buster and a race-leveler. In theory, the domestic issues should not becloud the foreign issues. In practice, the hard-liner at home is very exceptional if he is not also a hard-liner when he looks abroad.

These two categories will subtract substantially from the votes Mr. Kennedy can hope to get for a nuclear treaty. Another group which lines up against him is the military-minded membership of the Senate. Richard Russell, chairman of Armed Service, John Stennis, chairman of the Preparedness Subcommittee, Henry Jackson, Barry Goldwater and Strom Thurmond, committee members, have already taken tentative positions on the doubters' bench. Three of these are Southerners and one is Mr. Conservative. They would have to

be forcibly convinced, and persuaded by the most overwhelming military testimony, that President Kennedy is right—just this once. No such testimony, however, will be forthcoming. The Joint Chiefs of Staff do not favor nuclear disarmament in any form.

Finally, against the treaty before it ever comes to the floor, is a history-minded group. These members are not exactly hard-liners, but hard-thinkers. They are not bookish persons, who often bother to recite Russia's record for treaty-breaking in letter and spirit, but cogitating persons, who comprehend the existing Russo-American relationship. In looking for an apt expression of this relationship, I have found it in President Kennedy's own words spoken as recently as July 17. The President was telling his news conference why a joint

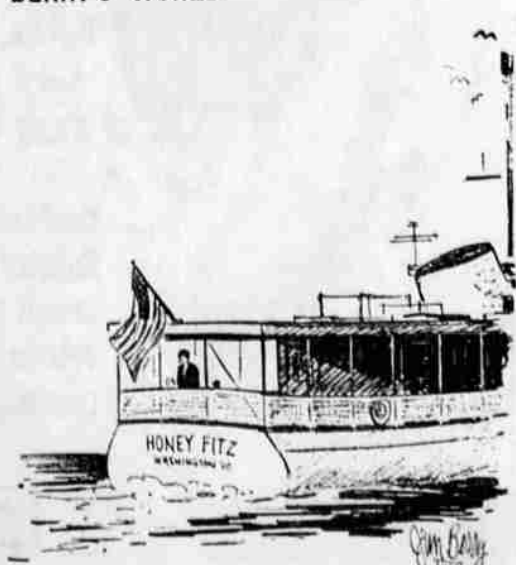
Russo-American moon shot effort would be impossible. He said:

"The kind of cooperative effort which would be required for the Soviet Union and the United States to go to the moon would require a breaking down of a good many barriers of suspicion and distrust and hostility which exist between the Communist world and ourselves. There is no evidence, as yet, that these barriers will come down."

Senators who recognize that "these barriers" apply with even greater force to nuclear disarmament, rather than to moon-shooting, will very likely join with the hard-liners and the military-minded in opposition to the test ban treaty.

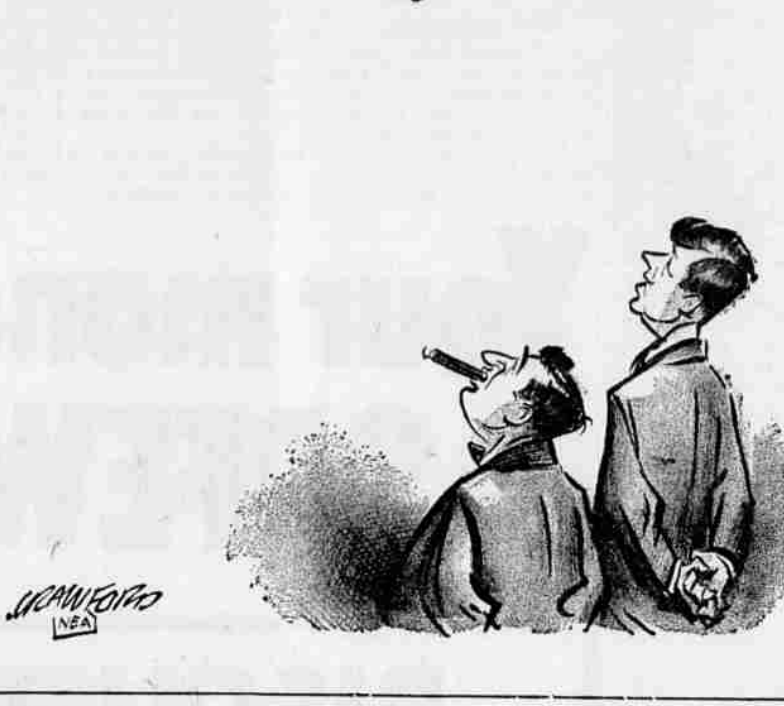
Mr. Kennedy will have to find his supporters among Senators who fit none of these descriptions. It won't be easy.

BERRY'S WORLD



"Daddy, did you REALLY look like Cliff Robertson?"

"Well Here Comes Our Candidate for 1996!"



IN WASHINGTON ...

What Does Ban Mean?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

An extremely worried Senate is contemplating the nuclear test ban negotiated by Under Secretary Averell Harriman with the Soviets. There was general agreement from the start that it would

pass handily, but concern continues as to what it may mean to the future of the free world.

The Senate's worries have been for the most part kept under wraps. "How can you talk against a treaty that's billed as the first step to peace?" one Senator asked querulously. Members of the House have been slightly more outspoken, but since they do not share the Senate's "advise and consent" prerogatives, their comments have not carried much weight.

Off-the-record discussions with several Senators indicate the causes of their worry. First, they are somewhat suspicious of the great pressure being exerted by the White House to get uncritical support. This is a normal political reaction in the relations between the Hill and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

A more important cause for their doubts is the conviction that the test-ban treaty, in itself, is only part of the story. Senators who have not opposed the treaty that the President Kennedy, in his voluminous private correspondence with Comrade Khrushchev, and Under Secretary Harriman have committed the United States to a course of action that can at best be called "unwise."

For example, it is being asked, did Under Secretary Harriman promise a further reduction of American military power in Europe or the closing down of more bases in return for a Soviet agreement? Did the future of NATO and CENTO come up for discussion? The President's steady withdrawal of support of Cuban exile aspirations has been widely noted in Washington. Was there any connection between this new policy and the treaty?

That Mr. Harriman was the negotiator has added to senatorial worries. For, as I reported last March, quoting from an unpublished 1944 transcript of a Harriman briefing session, the Under Secretary is given to large enthusiasms that cloud his judgment. In October, 1944, Mr. Harriman accepted Stalin's promises that the Soviet Union had no designs on Poland and the other non-captive nations. The conferences in which the fate of Eastern Europe was decided were characterized by the then Ambassador Harriman as "damn good healthy" sessions.

Mr. Harriman assured us, moreover, that Stalin's whole postwar program was dedicated to the establishment of an equitable peace. And he was so overcome by the great sympathy with Communist arguments that Germans be condemned to slave labor—for the Soviet Union. And he predicted an era of cooperation in Greece between the Communists and the democratic elements.

(At the time, Stalin was already preparing for the civil war which brought the Greek nation to the edge of collapse and required the military intervention of the British and the Americans to end.)

Beyond this, Senators and some of their House colleagues are anxious to know what safeguards

exist to prevent the Soviets from cheating. It is being asserted by some that it would be impossible for the Soviets to test in the air, in space, or under the water without detection. This is a comforting thought. But the Senate has access to independent scientific information—and it is not reassuring.

Edward Teller, the father of the H-bomb, has warned of new developments in technology which will allow any nuclear power to test in outer space with no chance of detection, or in the atmosphere with very little chance of getting caught. Dr. Teller may be wrong. But the fact that he can raise the question leads some Senators to wonder if the United States can gamble on Soviet good faith before all the evidence is in.

In both House and Senate, there is one other unanswered question: Is any test ban in the U.S. interest? Representative John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, the chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, suggests that the treaty "will give a false sense of security since a test ban has no effect upon the real issues of the fears expressed by his colleagues that 'the proposed treaty will limit U.S. development of new weapons, including anti-missile missiles, at a time when we do not know whether Russia may be ahead of us in such developments.'"

When these factors are added together, it is easy to understand why the Senate's advice and consent comes with such trepidation.



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

When people behave the way nations behave, we put them away—either in prison or in mental institutions. No society would permit any of its individuals to act in so arbitrary, irrational and dangerous way.

There can be no peace in the world until the same laws that apply to individuals apply to individual nations. No matter how many treaties we make, how many pacts we sign, how many alliances we form, how many disarmament conferences we attend, so long as each nation is a law unto itself, the world can have at best an uneasy truce, and not for long.

How could mankind have even a village if each villager refused to obey a common law, if he held himself a sovereign power, if he declared it to be his inalienable right to wage war on his neighbor whenever he saw fit?

Yet the world today is as small as a village, and even more inflammable. But we do not have a common police department, or a common fire department, or a common court. Nations today are no further apart than Boston from New York in Colonial days, much closer indeed in terms of time, in terms of the capacity for mutual destruction.

What is insane about this situation is not that it exists, but that its existence is admitted by everyone—and yet everyone persists in behaving as though it did not exist, as though foot soldiers with muskets were still defending Bun-

EDSON IN WASHINGTON ...



Goldwater Ahead Of Field For 1964

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent

Newspaper Enterprise Assn. WASHINGTON (NEA)—The National Draft Goldwater for President headquarters in Washington will announce the names of its first state chairmen and state organizing committee members within the next few weeks.

All will be regular Republicans with experience and recognized standing in the GOP.

The political importance of this strategy can hardly be overestimated. It will refute the contention of New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and others that the Goldwater drive is the work of right-wing extremists on the lunatic fringe.

There is no disputing that most of the enthusiasm for Goldwater now comes from grass roots supporters and political amateurs. There have been local Goldwater for President clubs in many communities for two years and more, but they have been unrelated, unofficial and outside the Republican party.

The second big job of the National Draft Goldwater Committee—to be done concurrently with setting up state, county and city organizations—will be to coordinate these independent local clubs with the regular party.

Many of these local clubs have been circulating their own petitions urging nomination of Goldwater as the candidate in 1964. Draft Goldwater headquarters also has petitions out, and it asks all signers for a dollar as their contribution to the cause.

There are around 100,000 signatures on these petitions now. The idea is to bring them all together. There is a blank state chart in Draft Goldwater headquarters now, waiting for insertion of the first state totals. The hope is to run the total number of signatures into the millions.

Peter O'Donnell Jr., national chairman of the Draft Goldwater Committee, and F. Clifton White, its executive director, head up the job of building this organization.

O'Donnell, well-to-do young Dal-

las businessman and Republican state chairman in Texas since 1956, knows all the GOP regulars. He is on the move, calling on national and state committeemen to line up responsible leaders.

White is a New York political science teacher and public relations man who has dabbled in politics since 1948 as a Dewey, Eisenhower and Nixon backer. He played a leading role in blocking Rockefeller's presidential ambitions in 1960. He wouldn't be averse to doing it again in 1964.

Some GOP state committees have a rule that their chairmen must be a neutral, not backing any one candidate for political office before the primary or state convention.

In other states this is a ruling of the state executive committee, a custom that has been followed for years, or a personal preference of the state chairman himself.

In all such states, O'Donnell, White and their co-workers are forced to look elsewhere for Goldwater state and local chairmen and committeemen. But they are recruiting from the ranks of responsible Republican citizens who have the Goldwater conviction of conservatism—not the crackpot extremists.

There is no assurance that Goldwater will allow his name to be entered as a candidate for the nation in the New Hampshire primary next spring.

If he doesn't allow it, a group of his supporters may try to present his name anyway.

The importance of all this effort is that the Goldwater backers have obtained a big jump on supporters of Rockefeller and the other GOP possibilities.

Rockefeller, speaking before a few hundred rich Californians at Bohemian Grove, will make no appeal whatever to the rank and file Republicans he needs to win.

The Republican Citizens Committee, meeting at Hershey, Pa., even under President Eisenhower's sponsorship, is just as far removed from the great mass of voters.

WASHINGTON REPORT ...



Officials Overlook Ways To Clip Cuba

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

It is a serious charge, but the evidence is overwhelming: Administration officials have refused to implement federal laws that would curtail free world trade with Castro Cuba.

The statutes, passed last year as part of Public Law 87-872, were designed to cut off U.S. foreign aid to those nations that help keep the Cuban economy off the rocks.

Investigation by Congressman Mel Laird, Wisconsin Republican, uncovers the fact that nearly half a billion dollars in U.S. foreign aid has since been shipped to countries that supply Castro with strategic and other materials.

The State Department does not deny that there are statutes that

permit cracking down on traffickers with Cuba. A department spokesman, Joseph Reap, has told reporters that the Administration hopes to use "persuasion" and not "pressure" to end Cuban trade.

Twenty seven nations who ride the U.S. gravy train have yet, however, to be persuaded.

There are two statutes designed to end the Cuban trade. The first flatly bans any U.S. aid to a "country which permits any ships under its registry to carry to Cuba" petroleum or other strategic materials.

In the first six months of 1963, tankers from the United Kingdom, Greece, Italy, and Norway carried oil to Cuba. The Executive is given no discretionary authority. Under the law, U.S. aid must immediately be cut off. What happened?

As of March 9, the United Kingdom had received \$5.2 million in aid since the statute went into effect; Greece, \$97 million; Norway, \$41.2 million, and Italy, \$27,000.

The second restriction denies aid to any country that permits ships under its registry to enter Cuban ports with goods of any kind. The President is given authority to waive this provision if, in reports to appropriate committees of House and Senate, he deems it to be in the national interest.

The evidence indicates, however, that President Kennedy has deemed to ignore this particular statute too. Inquiry made of the Congressional committees shows that no Presidential report required under law has been forwarded from the White House.

Representative Laird insists the President is violating the "law of the land" in not enforcing statutes passed by Congress and signed by his own hand. The Constitution, he feels, is clear:

"The Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof... shall be the supreme law of the land."

The White House has no comment on the charges of Representative Laird.

Congressman Frank Bow, Ohio Republican, is upset over the growing practice of radio and TV stations to sign off not with the "Star-Spangled Banner" but "Hail to the Chief," instead.

He quotes figures showing that more than 100 stations across the nation now use a recently-recorded version of "Hail to the Chief," the 150-year-old presidential salute, to end their broadcast day. The song is played by Lester Lanin, society bandleader and a favorite of the First Lady.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—The name of what Biblical character has come to mean a fast driver or coachman?

A—Jehu.

Floy Johnson, 419 Delta.