

Herald and News

Editorial Page

A Day For All Americans

Labor Day is such a familiar fixture on the national calendar that it is somewhat surprising to realize it is one of our most recent holidays.

True, the first Labor Day was held in New York City as far back as 1882, and by 1894 Congress had legalized the observance in the territories and District of Columbia. Yet only for the past 40 years have all the states officially observed it.

Four decades is a short time in the life of a nation, even one so young as the United States. But Labor Day is firmly established as a national habit.

Undoubtedly this is because the holiday has come to mark the end of summer in our minds, with schools starting up immediately afterward and families split up into their various pursuits.

It's the last holiday until Thanksgiving, a long three-day weekend just made for a short trip or an outing, or perhaps it's an opportunity to finish those chores around the house that have been put off all summer.

This is so much the case that most of us never think of the original reason for the day—that it was established as a recognition of and tribute to the American laboring man. But though we still call it Labor Day, it is no longer labor's day.

Very few, even those of us who carry union cards, will attend a labor rally today. Few cities have parades any more. Yet at one time, Labor Day was a magnet drawing folks downtown to the park to listen to the band and speeches and shoot off the fireworks left over from the Fourth of July.

On one hand, it is regrettable that the American scene has changed so much, that we tend nowadays to retreat from each other into our immediate families, that Labor Day has become a private public holiday.

On the other hand, this change in Labor Day is part of the penalty of success for the labor movement—and for America. With recognition of labor has come the loss of a certain militancy, a certain separateness from "other" Americans.

No, Labor Day is no longer labor's day alone. It belongs to all Americans, for all of us are laborers in the sense that the work we do contributes to the country's strength.

Perhaps the name "Labor Day" is a little anachronistic in 1963, almost a misnomer. The word "labor" is not quite broad enough to encompass the meaning the holiday has acquired.

It should have a name that tells the world just what free Americans have accomplished for the working man, what we have achieved in the way of the good things in life—not just material comforts but the basic freedoms so much of the world has never known.

The name for this day should tell the world how we honor the working, doing, accomplishing man by casually taking a day off from the routine, not by massing ranks of uniformed lathe operators or high school cadets and parading them in front of our "maximum leaders."

Still, maybe we don't really need a new name for the holiday. We all know what Labor Day means.

Let Them Go To School

Those who have been advocating more efficient use of expensive school buildings by air conditioning them and converting them into year around usage might just have an assist from the high school kids of today.

Indications are that more teen-agers are going to school this summer. Nashville, Tenn., is a city that can cite some figures. More than 9,000 are taking summer courses out of an enrollment of some 80,000. Approximately one-third are high school students.

Summer classes have been looked upon mostly as "make-up" classes. Indications are that this isn't exactly true in the Tennessee city. Many of the students are taking subjects they were unable to work into their regular programs during the fall-winter terms.

The result is that city officials in Nashville are taking a new look, with emphasis on the idea of operating schools on a 12-month basis. Mayor Beverly Briley has instituted a speed-up study of a 12-month program.

There's a strong hunch that more high

school students are attending classes this summer in other cities, too. The kids are thinking in terms of getting their education over with as soon as possible. A vacationer returning from a long trip said he was impressed at the sight of teen-agers headed for classrooms early in the summer mornings, rather than to playgrounds or just loafing away the lazy summer's day.

With the hue and cry of school officials that more and more money is needed, the taxpayer is beginning to question the sense of letting expensive buildings be idle the three months of summer. Air conditioning can make them as comfortable in July as in December.

If the students themselves are showing an inclination not to while away the summer months foolishly, then hooray for them. If they want to hurry up their education then let's let them. For those who do want a vacation, a staggered system can be worked out, if the school executives will stop thinking negatively and get on with it.



HOLMES ALEXANDER . . .

Military Opposes Treaty

By HOLMES ALEXANDER
WASHINGTON D.C.—Secrecy in Washington is never leak-proof, but a reporter must satisfy his conscience that in revealing hush-hush testimony he is not giving information to the enemy. With that restriction in mind, I think it enlightening to report the tenor of General LeMay's dialogue in his closed door session with the Preparedness Subcommittee.

LeMay and the other Joint Chiefs of Staff were called separately and individually to the White House, a day or so after the Moscow signing of the Nuclear Treaty. They were told that their opinions on the treaty must be based upon both military and political considerations. The legal basis for asking military men to make political judgments lies in Chapter 5, paragraph D(8), of the fundamental Defense Department statute and it reads:

"The Joint Chiefs shall . . . perform such other duties as the President or Secretary of Defense may prescribe."

On this broad authority, LeMay was instructed to think politically, but he was then turned over to State Department briefers to be told what to think. He was told that among the major political results expected to flow from the treaty were (a) widening the Sino-Soviet rift and (b) achieving a world-wide detente, or relaxation of tensions, between the USA and the USSR.

LeMay told the Preparedness Subcommittee that he didn't believe either of these results would follow the treaty ratification. That is, he remained unconvinced by whatever proof the State De-

partment offered him. The Air Force Chief of Staff later told the Fulbright Committee in open hearing that, had the treaty not been already signed, he would have opposed it wholeheartedly rather than accept it, as he did, with misgivings.

What misgivings? LeMay disbelieves, as does Edward Teller, Secretary McNamara's stated optimism that the USA has nuclear superiority and can maintain it under the treaty. The McNamara opinion is not based on technical knowledge of Russian nuclear power. It is based on intelligence estimates. This means we take the little that is known about Russian discoveries and then extrapolate this material to reach some conclusions. When asked what if these conclusions were faulty in the wrong direction, the burly LeMay, with his expressive voice and manner said:

"School's out!"

Well, what are the chances that the intelligence estimates are reliable enough to sustain the risk that Russia may soon come up with a missile defense system which will make the USSR relatively impregnable to an American retaliatory attack? This same Stennis Preparedness Committee on May 9, 1963, published a document entitled "Investigation of the Preparedness Program." While directed specifically to the Russian sneak occupation and fortification of Cuba, the Stennis Report does assess our intelligence estimating capacity as follows:

"The deficiency in the performance of the intelligence commu-

nity appears to have been in the evaluation and assessment of accumulated data. Moreover there seems to have been a disinclination on the part of the intelligence community to accept and believe the ominous portent of the information which had been gathered."

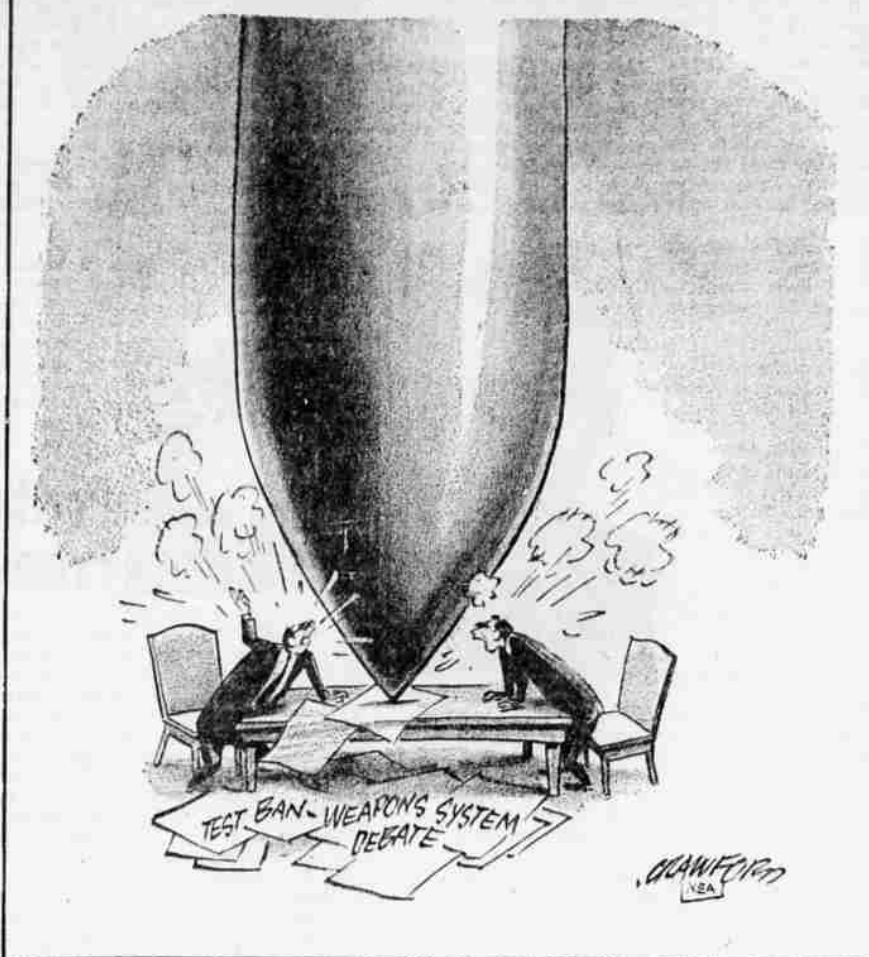
In addition, the intelligence people apparently invariably adopted the most optimistic estimate possible with respect to the information available. This is in sharp contrast to the customary military practice of emphasizing the worst situation which might be established by the accumulation of the evidence."

There, in brief, is why LeMay and others are skeptical of a treaty which proposes a limited disarmament on the basis of intelligence estimates. Our policy makers, on whom the President relies, are not good at "evaluation and assessment." They have a "disinclination . . . to believe . . . the ominous portent." They adopt "the most optimistic estimate possible" and this habit is "in sharp contrast to the military practice."

Underestimating the enemy is the cardinal sin in military strategy. When we did it last year, the Russians moved into Cuba in such force that we dare not try to dislodge them. If we underestimate this year on the matter of Russia's nuclear potential, "School's out!"

That's the opinion, not of a newsmen, but of our foremost military airmen, Gen. Curtis LeMay, and of other military men who are less outspoken.

Purely Theoretical?



THE GLOBAL VIEW . . .

New China Policy Coming?

By LEON DENNEN
Newspaper Enterprise Analyst
NEW YORK (NEA) — Some thoughtful Asian diplomats wonder if the nuclear test ban agreement between Russia and the West doesn't create the need for completely rethinking United States policies on such basic matters as:

—Admission of Red China into the United Nations.

—A "two-China" policy involving recognition of the Peiping as well as the Nationalist governments.

Paradoxically, some of communism's bitterest foes have been turning over such thoughts in their minds.

This line of thinking is absolutely contrary to consistent American policy running through Republican and Democratic administrations since 1949.

Should it be given even casual examination now? To answer, it is necessary to trace this new thinking step by step.

Step one: President Kennedy's advisers seem to have a simple approach to the Chinese problem. As they see it, the Russians have cut off their military and economic aid to Peiping, are isolating Mao Tse-tung. The "extreme revolutionary" Chinese are now harmless—according to this view. So Khrushchev proceeds to concentrate on peaceful coexistence with the West. Administration advisers seem to believe we can turn this to our advantage.

Step two: But is the Soviet premier, who hates Mao, right in thinking that Red China can be banished to utter darkness? Should the NATO nations accept Khrushchev's way of punishing Mao Tse-tung?

Moscow's apparent concern is to maintain world peace—or, at least, to save Russia from nuclear destruction and an un-

ably costly arms race. This should not obscure the fact that the Russians, for internal reasons, have been extremely tough with the Chinese.

Step three: It would be naive to assume that the Russians will be content with merely turning their back on the Chinese. Moscow's quarantine of China is surely intended to bring about changes in Peiping's foreign policy or among Red China's top leaders—or both.

If a revolt against Mao's regime started, say, in Manchuria or Sinkiang, with which the Russians have good connections, it would not be difficult for Khrushchev to find an excuse for armed intervention in China.

Step four: Is the United States, then, prepared to help Khrushchev—actively or passively — to defeat the Chinese in order to make Russia master in Asia?

Suppose the Chinese cannot be starved into submission. Might they not—even as the Russians before them — endanger world peace by embarking on new adventures? India, Formosa or Southeast Asia could be targets.

Step five: Khrushchev and some of President Kennedy's advisers may want to ignore the fact. But Mao Tse-tung derives his strength not solely from communism, but also from the tremendous upsurge of nationalism in the underdeveloped nations. He led a Communist revolution in China, but intrinsically he symbolized the convulsive Asian revolt against centuries of "white" — including Russian — domination.

Mao Tse-tung, with or without nuclear weapons, will hardly remain inactive when he finds himself blockaded by the West in alliance with Russia. China believes she can sacrifice 200 million people and still emerge victorious in a nuclear war.

Step six: The dimension of the Chinese problem will change even more dramatically once Mao Tse-tung acquires the ability to explode even a crude atomic device. This will terrorize 190 million people of Southeast Asia.

Step seven: The danger of Red China, then, is not remote but ever present. Unfortunately, no new or fresh ideas on the Chinese problem are percolating in the Kennedy administration, so hypnotized are the President's advisers by the nuclear test ban treaty and by Khrushchev's peace pose.

Step eight: Yet in the view of some specialists on communism, now is the time for the West to take advantage of the rift in the Red camp and start to negotiate with the Red Chinese.

This can be done, among other things, by exploring Peiping's recent proposal to world governments, including the United States, for the convocation of a nuclear disarmament conference in which Red China as well as Nationalist China would be represented.

Khrushchev does not like this proposal since he has his own accounts to settle with Mao. But why should the West play his game?

Should the United States take another look at the idea of "Two Chinas" — a Red China on the mainland and a Nationalist China on Formosa? Should the West agree to Mao's admission to membership in the United Nations?

Admittedly, these are controversial issues. The political risks involved in reopening the debate on China have made President Kennedy reluctant to generate a search of new ideas.

But specialists on communism warn that a delay until after the U.S. presidential election in 1964 and until the Red Chinese declare themselves a nuclear power will leave the West with hardly any room for diplomatic maneuver. Should Russia and Red China become reconciled, the West would be left in a most uncomfortable trap.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Lodge In Political Hornet's Nest In Viet

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.
WASHINGTON (NEA) — The only safe prediction to make now on troubled Viet Nam is that new United States ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., is going to find Southeast Asia politics even tougher than trying to beat the Kennedy machine in Massachusetts.

While Washington has condemned Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem's latest repressive actions against the Buddhists, there is reluctance to abandon him to his many enemies. If his declaration of martial law does not prevent it, or if Diem himself is not overthrown by a coup beforehand, Viet Nam is scheduled to elect a new one-chamber national assembly.

There are 350 candidates for 123 seats. Eighty per cent of the candidates are said to be "independents." Up to now, a big majority of the assembly has supported Diem and the National Revolutionary Movement he leads.

The Buddhists have no political party of their own and no candidates. But they have advocated boycotting the election, to show non-support of the Diem government. The Communists, as the National Liberation Front, tried this tactic in 1961 but failed.

Diem was overwhelmingly elected for a second five-year term as president, although when the French picked him to head a provisional government in 1954, they said he would not last six months.

Washington thought so, too. But he is now entering the 10th year in office.

And the American position is that there is no better man in sight for the job.

Whether Diem can complete his term ending in 1966 is questionable, however. For a coup is feared from any one or a combination of the many elements opposing his regime.

For one, Diem's principal adviser, his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, heads a Revolutionary Workers Party and there are reports of a power grab on his part. It is Nhu's beautiful wife Mme. Nhu who is the principal mouthpiece

and cause of embarrassment. There are also socialist, democratic socialist and other splinter parties of opposition.

The most active opponent, of course, is the Communist Viet Cong, recruited and supplied by North Viet Nam, fighting guerrilla warfare in scattered pockets all over the country.

They tried to organize a revolt in 1959 but failed.

They are still trying, first to neutralize the country, then to drive out what they call the "United States-Diem regime." Reunification with North Viet Nam under Ho Chi-minh is the ultimate aim.

President Diem's non-Communist opponents are put in numerous groups. Many of them are headed by former ministers of government whom Diem has fired as incompetents.

In a second category are leaders of militant sects that controlled private armies. When they lost their local power under Diem's nationalization program they fled the country. Some went to Cambodia, some to Paris. From these points they propagandize against Diem and for their return.

There are some military leaders in exile—backers of Col. Thi, who led his 500 paratroopers in a 1960 attack on the presidential palace. They were forced to flee by the loyalty of the regular army.

The military is still rated by American advisers as a good army, with increasing success over the last six months in fighting the Viet Cong and defending the strategic villages where three-fourths of the people live.

Diem's greatest trouble comes from the Buddhists. Last May the government made the mistake of banning all flags except the national emblem, as part of a unification program. In a protest demonstration, eight Buddhists were killed by security forces.

Buddhist protests have grown since and Mme. Nhu's comments made a bad situation worse.

What the Buddhists want, in summary, is equal status with the Catholics. Diem has proposed new laws that would grant such rights. They will be taken up by the new National Assembly when it convenes Sept. 17. If he can stick it out till then, he has a chance.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

House Members Seek Senate 'Promotion'

By FULTON LEWIS JR.
The late Sam Rayburn never had much use for those Congressmen who used the House of Representatives as a stepping stone to the Senate.

The beloved Speaker made it crystal clear he would help any member, Republican or Democrat, who had as his goal a career in the House.

"The House of Representatives," he insisted, "is not the 'lower House,' as some have termed it. It is the co-equal House."

Over the years many of Mr. Sam's charges took his advice. Powerful men such as Hale Boggs and Carl Albert and Howard Smith and Charles Halleck and Carl Vinson and Jerry Ford long ago decided to make the House their life work.

Others — John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and John McClellan and Everett Dirksen — ignored the Speaker's words.

Once again, many of Mr. Sam's boys will try to make the big jump. New Mexico's Joe Montoya will risk six years of House seniority in an attempt to unseat Republican Senator Ed Meyer.

Ohio's Bob Taft Jr., elected Congressman-at-large last fall, will almost certainly go for the Senate seat once held by his late great father.

Four Indiana Congressmen are known to be flirting with a race for Democratic Vance Hartke's seat. They are Don Bruce, Ross Adair, Bill Bray and Richard Roubidoux.

In Maryland, Democrats Richard Lamford and Carlton Sickles are under consideration for the Senate seat now held by the aging Republican, J. Glenn Beall. If Beall should not run, the nomination could go to GOP Representative "Mac" Mathias.

Tennessee's Bill Brock, a freshman Republican elected in a smashing style last fall, may, too, seek a Senate seat. Two seats will be up for grabs next year, those of the late Estes Kefauver and the very much alive Albert Gore.

New York's Congressman Sam Stratton, a Democrat, is competing at the bit. He'd love to take on Republican Ken Keating, Pennsylvania Democrat, William Moorehead may tackle GOP Senator Hugh Scott. Each of Hawaii's two Congressmen would

like to oppose incumbent Senator Hiram Fong, a Republican.

Representatives Bill Avery (Kansas), Charles Jonas (North Carolina) and Arch Moore (West Virginia) are talked of as gubernatorial candidates. And rolly-polly Elmer Hoffman would like nothing better than to give up his House seat and run on the GOP ticket for Secretary of State in his native Illinois.

Note: Congressmen contemplating a Senate race may consider what happened to those colleagues who tried to move up last year. New Hampshire's two Congressmen, both Republicans, ran for the Senate and lost.

Illinois' Sidney Yates gave up a safe Cook County seat to challenge GOP Senate Leader Everett Dirksen. The Democratic nominee was clobbered.

Pennsylvania's Jim Van Zandt gave up years of seniority in a losing effort against Democrat Joe Clark. Connecticut Representative Horace Seely — Brown lost his seat when he ran against Ab Ribicoff for the Senate.

Utah Democrat David King tried for the Senate seat his father once held. Incumbent Wallace Bennett won easily.

Only Peter Dominick, Colorado Republican, successfully made the jump from House to Senate. South Dakota's George McGovern gave up his House seat in 1960 to run unsuccessfully for the Senate. He won last fall on his second try.

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Sunday, Sept. 1, the 244th day of 1963 with 121 to follow.

The moon is approaching full phase.

The morning star is Jupiter. The evening stars are Mars and Saturn.

On this day in history:

In 1897, Aaron Burr was acquitted of treason in Richmond, Va.

In 1878, the first woman telephone operator was hired in Boston.

In 1932, New York City's Mayor Jimmy Walker, resigned after an investigation of corruption by the Seabury committee.

In 1929, World War II broke out as Germany invaded Poland.

BERRY'S WORLD



"How'd you ever get hooked into this deal Mr. Lodge?"