

Editorial Page

Your Money

The Treasury Department, reportedly at the request of the President, has asked Congress to put its OK on a law to make insurance premiums paid by employers taxed as income to the worker. In other words, just as if the money paid by an employer were wages. Now we come to the era when we're thinking of taxing the fringe benefit.

Tax authorities are raising a howling protest. They say this would be double jeopardy in that the employee, who would never see

the money, must pay taxes paid by someone else and the Internal Revenue men will move in anyway to collect estate taxes when the insured dies.

The men who said—way back when tax cuts were promised by the Kennedy administration—that it might be a cold day in July or August before taxes were reduced, was a wise fellow indeed. Again we say don't borrow money from the bank on the strength of getting a reduction in taxes.

What Goes On?

(The Christian Science Monitor)

Similar observations were made by Latin-American diplomats who recently returned from Cuba. They said that Dr. Castro had personally assured the governments of Brazil and Mexico that he would abandon his campaign to subvert the Latin-American nations.

Is there any other basis on which the apparent softening of Washington's attitude toward Castro Cuba could be explained?

We, like most Americans, are largely in the dark and we would like to know more about what goes on.

Fragments of evidence, all too incomplete, suggest that Washington is impressed with Mr. Castro's latest gestures toward easing tensions. "United States officials," reports the New York Times from Washington, "who have been analyzing Dr. Castro's offers to 'normalize' relations believe they are motivated by a genuine desire to relieve external pressures on his regime at a time when it must concentrate on solving pressing economic difficulties."

"Similar observations were made by Latin-American diplomats who recently returned from Cuba. They said that Dr. Castro had personally assured the governments of Brazil and Mexico that he would abandon his campaign to subvert the Latin-American nations."

"Personally assured"... What goes on?

The OAS Council has just voted a mild resolution to curb travel to Cuba and to tighten inter-American security measures. But this reportedly replaced a stronger resolution. The United States is not now pressing for an economic embargo as it earlier said it would.

Why? Is it because of the supposed easing of Castro's militance? Is there a change of American policy despite the usual denials? Or has Washington been unable to persuade Britain and other European countries to stop trading with Cuba (their trade has been sharply increasing in recent months) and cannot therefore request their western hemisphere allies to cut their trade merely to have the Europeans take it over?

Mr. Castro's present mildness could, conceivably, be part of an important new gambit of the Soviet bloc which Mr. Kennedy knows about because of his letter Mr. Khrushchev. But it could be tactical, too. Mr. Castro would have ample precedent for smiling while Soviet and western traders replenish his economic larders, only to turn on the Americas with renewed strength and aggression later on.

These are surmises and Mr. Kennedy owes us some facts.



It Takes Two to Scale the Heights



IN WASHINGTON...

Unilateral Disarmament

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The military performed before the Senate according to a script written at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. There were one or two hold-outs, but the Joint Chiefs of Staff—contradicting earlier testimony they had reportedly given in secret to the Senate Armed Services Committee—supported the test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. Only the expressions on their faces and the tone of their voices gave away their real feelings, and these don't show up on the printed record.

But it can be reported that the Joint Chiefs are a very worried group of men. They do not like the test ban because they see it as one more instance of a psychologically disarmed United States. They are certain that the

"safeguards" promised to them

will be forgotten once the treaty is ratified. And they know from past experience that the U.S. will let down its guard and allow our nuclear installations to be thoroughly clobbered.

I say "from past experience" because the Joint Chiefs have been forced to drastically cut back our armed forces and their nuclear striking power. The general public has been largely unaware of this and takes the whopping \$3 billion defense budget as a sign that the U.S. is going all-out in its efforts to maintain a military lead. The test ban treaty fits in with the pattern.

"What can I do about the treaty and what's going on in the Pentagon?" I was recently asked. "Write to your Senator."

I said, "It may be the most important letter you'll ever write in your life."

What the Joint Chiefs see happening is this:

The Administration has not inaugurated a single new weapons system since it took office. What we have today was planned and phased in prior to January, 1961. At the same time, existing weapons systems are being allowed to obsolesce or are being phased out. The catalogue is a grim one:

1. Production of the Minuteman missile, America's most powerful and reliable, has been cut back from 2,000 to 950. The Minuteman is a solid fuel missile with a range of 3,500 miles.

2. A 50 per cent cutback of nuclear productive capacity is now in the works. This means that the handicap of not being able to test in the atmosphere will be increased by a nuclear shutdown.

3. Military space programs, including the Midas spy-in-the-sky satellite, have been abandoned or slowed down.

4. Though President Kennedy, during the 1960 campaign, pledged to push ahead with the B-70 program, production of this first real supersonic bomber has been interrupted. All the outlays of Congress, which appropriated money for the plane, have been ignored.

5. The Skybolt air-to-ground missile, a revolutionary advance in warfare—and an answer to bomb attacks on U.S. fixed missile sites—has been jettisoned.

6. The B-47 bomber has been cut back from 1,000 to 650, and it will be completely phased out by 1966.

7. The B-32 bomber, capable of carrying a 50-megaton bomb, has been taken off assembly lines after production of 650 planes. It is also being phased out in the next four to five years.

8. The B-58, which cost billions to develop and put into production, was taken off the assembly lines after only 80 planes had been turned over to the Air Force.

9. Missile bases in Italy, Turkey, and Great Britain were shut down right after becoming operational. This removed from U.S. military scene 49 launching points for IRBMs with a 1,500-mile range.

10. The Nike-Zeus anti-missile missile has been cancelled. The Army fought bitterly for further development of the Nike-Zeus, but to no avail.

11. Military bases in more than five countries have been shut down, with others scheduled to meet the same fate.

12. Though the Polaris missile is still reported subject to "bugs," the Administration seems to be putting all its eggs in that basket—even to planning for the gradual elimination of our carrier fleet. But this reliance comes at a time that the U.S. has designed the Subroc, an effective anti-submarine missile which can track and destroy undersea vessels. If we have it, the Soviets will either develop one of their own or steal the idea from us.



WILLIAM S. WHITE...

Freedom Movement Could Be Subverted

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

WASHINGTON — A clear and present danger is rising for the American Negro community and its leadership in the wake of the undeniably orderly and moving but nevertheless unjust "March on Washington" which so many are now somewhat emotionally saluting.

This is a danger long foreseeable to those able to look beyond the appealing emotionalism of the moment. It simply is that the movement for an end to discrimination may be seized and perverted by forces whose interest is in quite other things than racial progress or racial harmony.

The very success of the march in its own context—its good order and, on the whole, its sense of reason—is playing into the hands of just such forces. The technique of massive street demonstration appeals to them as a means of mounting pressures on national, state and local governments in no reasonable way related to the aspirations of Negro citizens for vindication of their civil rights.

All this is now perfectly plain in the activities of such of the Negro "militants" as Bayard Rustin, who coordinated the Washington demonstration. A Philip Randolph, the elderly and respected "father" of the Negro movement, has publicly declared that young Rustin has "absolutely no connection with Communists in any form."

It is a fact, however, that Rustin—who was once a member of the Young Communist League—and others are using the Negro movement itself to seek to foment endless street demonstrations and "marches" on state capitols for purposes quite beyond that of establishing civil rights for Negroes. The demand is for not for the legal rights sought by Negroes but for such vaguely defined objectives as "jobs." The unemployed, Rustin has said before the National Socialist Party Workshop, should adopt the techniques of the civil rights groups so that "a new wave of militancy would sweep the nation," as one news report puts it.

This columnist makes no suggestion that what is involved here is a "Communist plot." Accepting

that Rustin has no present connection whatever with communism, however, this essential point remains: The massive and interminable street marching Rustin and others are now proposing is strictly within the operating tradition of the Communist and Fascist marching movements of the 'thirties—and has no relationship whatever to orderly petitions by minority groups for the legal lifting of the burdens of racial discrimination.

No fair man would suggest that the Negro march on Washington was in any way Communist-inspired or that its intention was to provoke disorder to promote other than racial progress. But the Rustins now demonstrably intend to use the public acceptance of that march in order to take to the streets endlessly to promote their own economic and political lines. The mere fact of unemployment is surely not a violation of any civil right, except perhaps where employment is denied because of race. The Rustins are going far beyond the Negro aim of equality before the law to seek to create a bi-racial force which, in his words, "can manipulate and does manipulate economic power."

All this is why the march on Washington was not a good thing. Rather, it was a bad thing organized and run off in a sincere and understandable and lawful cause, as eventually the people generally will see.

And unless the responsible Negro leaders awaken soon, they may find it a bad thing, indeed, for their own cause and for their country, in the hands of men openly resolved to use their ties with the Negro movement to force constituted authority from Washington down to the state houses, to accept political and economic programs in no way uniquely related to Negro problems.

The lesson here goes to the heart of the responsible objections to the march voiced by some before it occurred. The great point is this: The right of petition, when petitioning is being done by hosts of men and women and children in the streets, can so easily be exploited and turned into actions that are certainly not petitions, and certainly not right, either, but are only mass and brutal intimidation.



WASHINGTON REPORT...

'Radical Left' Will Get GOP Spotlight

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Democrats, who will make the Radical Right a major campaign issue, may find themselves on the defensive next fall.

Republican National Chairman Bill Miller has served notice that the GOP will throw a powerful spotlight on the "Radical Left" and its peculiar affinity for the party of Jefferson and Jackson.

He has issued a public challenge to his Democratic counterpart, John Bailey, to repudiate the resolutions passed by Young Democratic leaders in 12 states who met last week in Berkeley, Calif.

The Young Dems demanded a resumption of diplomatic relations with Fidel Castro; a non-aggression pact with the Communist satellites of Eastern Europe; and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, now under Communist siege.

Chairman Bailey has hung out the "no comment" sign to those reporters who have sought access to his office.

Other Democrats, perhaps fearful of the "Radical Left" tag that Republicans hope to pin on their party, are not so silent. Congressman Rufe Lister, Iowa Democrat, who faces a tough re-election campaign, issued an immediate statement denouncing the "Radical Left's" take-over of the Young Democrats.

"I feel I have an obligation," Representative Harding told his constituents, "to oppose extremism on the left and that is exactly what I considered these resolutions to be."

"I want to completely dissociate myself from these three resolutions. They are not only unwise but extreme."

Under GOP attack next fall will come members of the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action, who heavily populate the Kennedy Administration. Says a spokesman:

"Chairman Bailey makes the broad and unsubstantiated generalization that the ultra-right is taking over the Republican Party. He names no names, because there is not a single member of the John Birch Society or any other ultra-conservative group in a position of influence in our party structure. On the other hand, I can name names, and I will."

Among those names, of ADA members, or former members, in the President's Administration: Cabinet member Freeman, advisers Sorensen, O'Brien and Schlesinger; the State Department's Harriman, Williams,

Bowles, and Rowan.

Also Ivan Nesting, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Under Secretary of Agriculture, Charles Murphy; and Henry Fowler, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Other ADA wheelhorses include Assistant Labor Secretary George Weaver and Assistant Postmaster General Frederick Belen, plus the U.S. Solicitor General, Archibald Cox, and hundreds of assorted underlings.

The Democratic membership in the Senate is full of Americans for Democratic Action, Miller insists, and the House has a more-than-liberal quota.

Some of these groups are the Students for a Democratic Society, the Young People's Socialist League, the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, and the Communist Party.

Both Marvin Markman, executive vice president of Advance (the New York City Communist youth group), and Mortimer Daniel Rubin, National Youth Director of the Communist Party, USA, have been observed at the current convention in Bloomington.

At a recent press conference in Washington, NSA President W. Dennis Shaul explained his concern of the student political spectrum. A Washington Post reporter quotes Shaul as saying: "We always thought we could work with both the national Young Republicans and Young Democrats. But now it's impossible to work with the Young Republicans because they are outside the political consensus of students." This frank admission may have serious legal repercussions since NSA has obtained a tax-exempt status as a non-partisan educational organization. Its constitution states: "Nobody acting on behalf of NSA shall participate in partisan political activities." Dennis Shaul, himself, serves on the national board of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

Attempts to "reform" NSA have gone on in vain for many years, and recently the trend has been toward abolition of the organization. Since 1961, 33 major colleges and universities have voted to withdraw while an additional 14 have rejected attempts to affiliate.

The atmosphere in Bloomington for this year's convention is far from cordial, since the meeting is being held on the campus of Indiana University, which just recently joined the growing list of schools to withdraw from the National Student Association.



HOLMES ALEXANDER...

After The D.C. March

By HOLMES ALEXANDER
WASHINGTON, D.C. — It was the day of dread, Aug. 28, and this reporter got up early to face it. At 6:30 the alarm clock shattered some dream, not worth trying to recall. For the realities of the Negro March on Washington were going to satisfy any journalist's desires. The day, according to prediction, would be news-packed, mobile, spirited, fraught with emotion, excitement, perhaps peril.

Maybe he ought to stay home and guard the household. From the local newspapers all week had come the likeliness of pionic signals, the sort that are flashed in this not-quite-Southern city when the Weather Bureau forecasts a three-inch snowfall. Don't get downtown unless you must. Better stay put. The news may take you, but they might not bring you back. The newspapers weren't quite predicting race riots and pandemonium, but they came close. It was enough to make a journalist want to be there, yet cautioned him to worry about what might happen to those in his home.

But, reassuringly, the neighborhood was heavily policed, and the battle area a couple of miles distant. This reporter went off on his bicycle, the ideal conveyance on a day of restricted motor transport. At 8 o'clock, the streets between home and office were warm, bright, and as with an eastern morning—and with services in the churches, just on Pennsylvania Avenue, there, past the White House, a car with a New York license plate, overloaded with Negroes, ran past a red light. The white policeman indulgently gazed at the sky.

At 9:30, having touched base at his office, your reporter returned to the streets. A military policeman had replaced the jolly cop who officiates at the National Press Club corner, 14th and F streets. Had the Army already taken over? But as the reporter biked to the Washington Monument grounds, the spirit of the day began to assert itself. Hawks were selling baggies, penknives and ice-cream sticks. Strolling groups of Negroes and whites bought up the souvenirs of the March like fans going to a football game.

The Monument grounds were filling with gossipy folks, often accompanied by children, people remarkably like the everyday tourists, only more numerous. Around 10 o'clock, a dark-skinned girl (from a distance she might have been white, mulatto or merely sunburned) warbled feelingly into a microphone from a platform.

"Oh-ho, Freedom!" she crooned. "And before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in mah grave."

The thickening crowd edged toward the stand. There amid the press of bodies, stirred by an appealing and felching voice, moved by poetic words, the reporter felt the first tinkle of a thrill. These people! These youths of both American races! These family folks, come from afar! These masses thousands! Would there be enacted this day some tremendous scene of upsurge and violence, a landmark or a catastrophe in national history?

"Oh-ho, Freedom!" The songster called for the crowd to join the refrain, and the plaintive chant rose from many throats, to be repeated... repeated. The scene quickened with an expectation of rising emotion—but then expired as the singer finished her number.

Some hours later, having spent that time at the Lincoln Memorial and with the Marchers along Constitution Avenue, the reporter returned for luncheon at the Members' Bar of the National Press Club—that crossroads of the most informed opinion on earth. By now the demonstration, though it had several hours to run, and ten rousing speeches to go, had settled into a character that was not to change and into a background that did not alter. It was essentially a prayer meeting in the public parks; but the public business on Capitol Hill proceeded as usual. Both Houses of Congress had sought the Civil Rights bills out of sight and out of mind. They were working against the clock on railroad legislation to

head off a strike that was everybody's business.

By 6 o'clock your reporter was pedaling home through a capital city that hadn't changed a ny more than the country had changed. He judged that the Congress, despite this massive exertion of the right of petition, hadn't altered by a couple of votes its made-up mind about the Civil Rights bills.

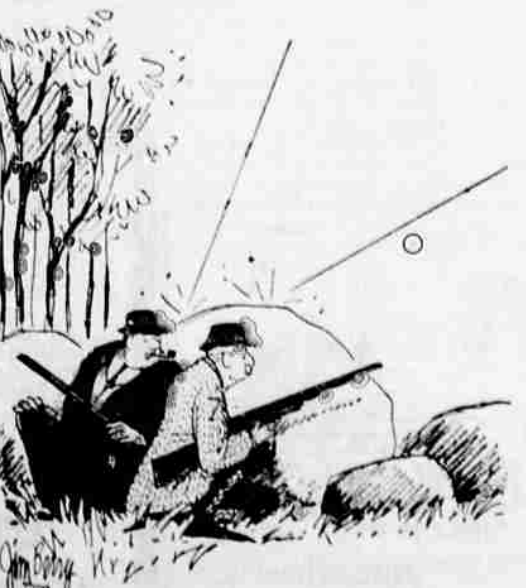
Why should it? Those people who'd musically vowed never to be "slaves" were freely enjoying a summer day's outing. They'd been protected by solicitous police. They'd been pampered by the attention of the world's most powerful and popular government. That communal crooning of "Oh-ho, Freedom!" and the rest of it was not the dirge of downtrodden bondsmen. No, thought the reporter, all that singing, all that cheering, all that speeches, was not much different than he'd heard at Alumni Reunions when old grads got leary and obstreperous in whooping it up for the Alma Mater.

Yet nobody except ill-wishers of the country would wish anything otherwise.

There is a race problem, and it ought to be recognized. There is an underdeveloped nation-within-a-nation that must be aided. There is inequality, and it must be overthrown by liberty.

Only through cooperation for violence and upheaval went home that evening in disappointment. The day of dread ended in thinking quite akin to thanksgiving.

BERRY'S WORLD



"... probably just some gronie shooting back!"



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Have you ever noticed that it is generally the same people who talk about the need for "incentive" to make a man work successfully, who resent the idea of "incentive" to make a man think successfully?

If incentive is important in the world of action, it is equally important in the world of thought. The human animal resists thinking unless it is made uncomfortable, just as we resist working if the challenge of survival is taken away from us.

The men who would zoom a game of golf if the cups were three feet wide, and who delight in the difficult task of overcoming a tricky course, at the same time demand that the books they read, the music they listen to, and the paintings they look at be as simple and effortless as tit-tat-toe.

When I hear people complaining about the "obscurity" of a poem or the "hardness" of a book, it seems to me that they are making a confession of weakness that they would be ashamed to admit in their work or in their play.

If we want simplicity, there is nothing simpler than being a slave. The enslaved Russian people are told what to think and what to believe in A-B-C language, and their intellectual problems are solved before they are even stated.

Democracy does not mean that everyone sinks to the lowest level, but that everyone rises to the highest level. The founders of the Republic envisioned a nation of educated men and women who had cultivated the mental agility to grapple with difficult problems on a high plane of thought.

There is a misconception in modern society that the writer of art is an act of collaboration between the artist and the audience, and when the latter refuse to collaborate, the artist petulant-

ly locks the door of his ivory tower.

As Randall Jarrell remarks in his excellent book, "Poetry and the Age," we could respect those who call modern poetry "hard" if they read older poetry—Shakespeare or Milton or Shelley.

But they read nothing of the sort, and use the "obscurity" of the modern idiom as an excuse for intellectual sloth. Literature, like society, must be based on incentives; if you resent the "welfare state" which gives people something for nothing, you should resent "welfare art" which no lazy mind is entitled to accept. Freedom both of the body and of the mind depends on our willingness to work for it.

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Friday, Sept. 6, the 249th day of 1963 with 116 to follow.

The moon is approaching its last quarter.

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

Those born today are under the sign of Virgo.

On this day in history: In 1820, the Pilgrims left England for the New World. In 1899, President McKinley was shot and critically wounded in Buffalo, N.Y.

In 1909, Percy was received that Adm. Robert Peary had discovered the North Pole five months earlier.

In 1962, the Soviet Union again rejected Western proposals for peace talks to ease the tensions in Berlin.

A thought for the day: British

warmtime Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill said: "There is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies."