

# Editorial Page

## A Lesson In Citizenship

Outside the bounds of Alabama, the newly programmed desegregation of southern and border state schools proceeded this year almost without incident. The question is why.

No one can imagine that when such changes occur they are welcomed, particularly in Deep South states like Georgia and South Carolina.

Yet they are usually accepted in orderly fashion. Counsels of calm prevail.

It is apparent that the millions of southerners have a deep commitment to law and order, just as do millions of Americans in other sectors.

Often many may disagree with the purpose and content of particular laws. They may not like what some courts decree as they interpret either the laws or the federal and state constitutions. But they believe that the courts must be obeyed if we are to have rule by law rather than by the whims of men.

It is significant that a high proportion of this year's "new desegregation" took place on a voluntary basis. That is, the school districts developed their plans without waiting to be ordered into action by a federal court.

This marks recognition in many quarters that most legal remedies sought as a means of barring desegregation have been exhausted. This being so, more and more communities regard a court fight as a fruitless waste of time, energy and money on all sides.

It is a further sign, too, that most Americans of whatever region want their schools open and functioning. The education of millions of American children for a new and more challenging day is too important to permit of any roadblocks.

Many southern communities are mindful as well that they are playing an important and growing role in the economic and scientific revolution that is sweeping the nation. They prize their new place in the scheme of things. They see no point in allowing the racial issue—or any other—to interpose itself between them and further progress.

Taken together, these are the reasons some racial change came so quietly this year in parts of the South and border zones.

The performance, generally, was indeed a lesson for the whole country.

## A Prayer

(Oregon Statesman, Salem)

Among the foremost foes of religious and racial discrimination are the Jews. This is their reaction from the centuries of oppression which they have suffered, some of which they still suffer, even in enlightened America. It is safe to say that out of that group experience Rabbi Leon M. Adler, of Temple Emanuel, Kensington, Md., framed the prayer which he offered as invocation at the opening of the House of Representatives on August 12th. It is a prayer worth reading for its literary quality as well as its philosophy. We quote it—

O Lord, Thou hast given us language, the loom on which we weave our thoughts and feelings. Help us this day, as with this gift we try to weave a design that may have some meaning for our times.

"Black is black," say those who hate the black. "Black heart, black ball, black mass." "And white is white," say those who hate the white. "White as a ghost, whitewash, deathly white."

"And never the twain shall meet," is their cry who see the world in simple terms of "black" or "white."

But—and this Thou knowest well, O God—the world is not so simple.

Black is also black beauty, black-eyed sultan; black is the color of my true love's . . .

And white is also pure white, white sand, white as the driven snow.

And if this is true of language, how much the more true of men.

Woe unto us if we fail to recognize how complicated are the colors which enter into humanity's design, how inter-woven the black and white threads, however the twain must and do meet.

May we be granted this knowledge, O Lord, for on this slender thread may hang mankind's survival. Amen.

## Shorter Mile

(Atlanta Constitution)

In these days of disquietude, news that the mile is not as long as it used to be adds but another quiver to the trembling earth of our times.

A resurvey of the Mason-Dixon line recently (they're not contemplating a wall, are they?) revealed the original surveyors of the 87-mile-long line used a measure 10 to 12 feet longer than the present-day mile.

We have the word of the Coast and Geodetic Survey for it: the mile isn't what it used to be; it doesn't go as far.

You don't have to take anybody's word to know the dollar doesn't either.



## Letters To The Editor

### Move Slowly

I notice in the Herald and News of Sept. 5, 1963, that Goldwater endorsed former President Eisenhower's recommendation that to the test ban treaty a reservation be made that the treaty would not impede U.S. rights to use nuclear weapons in defense of its security. Surely this recommendation of Eisenhower's is a reasonable amendment to be made to the treaty.

Even the average layman knows that oral discussions outside of a written contract concerning the written contract carry little weight. We are advised by our leaders that we will be able to use nuclear cannons and other small nuclear arms in our defense and that all of this is understood. But, apparently, language concerning this defense is not included in the treaty itself.

We do not need to remember very far back the airlift that we had to put into effect to get coal and food supplies into West

Berlin. It was understood then, surely, that we had a right-of-way into West Berlin, but since it was not included in the contract or treaty, some question of interpretation came up which has made for a nervous world from time to time.

We have certain proponents for the test ban treaty who want the Americans to ratify this treaty without further study and without any amendment.

There are certain people who wanted to bring our troops home from Germany after a victorious conclusion of World War II. Because we brought those troops home, we were confronted with much more of a cold war than it would have been had we maintained troops in Berlin of war-time strength instead of acting in haste.

The test ban treaty and whether or not it will lead to peace or war and whether it is militarily advisable is discussed in the U.S. News and World Report of Sept. 2, 1963. Dr. Teller is flat-

ly opposed to it as written as are some of our military leaders, and there are other military leaders who are giving it very reluctant support. There are some of our civic and military leaders who feel that this test ban treaty may bring on war.

I further note in the aforementioned copy of the U.S. News and World Report on page 27 . . . "There are hints that Khrushchev is beginning to think in terms of a large line of credit from the United States . . . would be one approaching \$10 billion."

It is my thought that some of the civic and congressional leaders who are attempting to rush us into a test ban treaty without amendment and without further reservations will be the ones who will be in the forefront when the time comes recommending that we make a \$10 billion loan to Russia. I personally feel that this \$10 billion loan could be used to expand world communism especially in the Western Hemisphere.

What a loss of prestige it would be to the United States if the Russians did not withdraw completely from Cuba and we were, in due course, to make them a loan of any size.

In view of this, is Goldwater's proposal that the Russians withdraw from Cuba all of their weapons and all of their personnel an unreasonable reservation?

The Goldwater proposal coupled with the Eisenhower proposal would seem to be in the interest of the United States.

As one individual I feel that further discussion and negotiation should be indulged before the United States ratifies this treaty. This further negotiation and indulgence does not mean that we cannot evolve a test ban treaty which would be fair to all concerned and preserve the rights of all concerned and our future security and world prestige.

Now is the time to indulge in further deliberation with a meticulousness and particularity which we have not shown in the past, for the American public is entitled to reasonable safeguards.

M. A. Carter, 1836 Lowell Street.

## STRICTLY PERSONAL



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Every so often, I am greeted by a young, tremulous voice on the telephone, asking me if I will grant an interview. The voice usually wants to be a writer, and is earnestly desirous of advice on writing.

These requests remind me of a trenchant and amusing article by Wendell Johnson which appeared in Language, Meaning and Maturity, a book of essays on semantics.

Using the provocative title, "You Can't Write Writing," Prof. Johnson made the obvious—but often neglected—point that it is impossible to write "writing" as it is to read "reading," or speak "speaking." One has to write, read and speak something.

A poet, for instance, does not write writing; he does not even write "poetry." He writes poems—or, more accurately, a poem at a time.

What is wrong with young people who want to be writers is that they think of writing as an abstract form that can be learned separately from content. You learn to be a writer, and then you can write—but what? They think that writing makes it easy to find a "what," when actually it is the "whatness" that determines how one writes.

Shelley and Byron, for example, were superb poets. Were they "writers"? Obviously not, for when they tried to write dramas, they failed miserably.

In our time, Bernard Shaw is considered perhaps the greatest "writer." Yet his first five novels were failures, and deserved to be. He was a fine playwright and social critic; he was not a "writer."

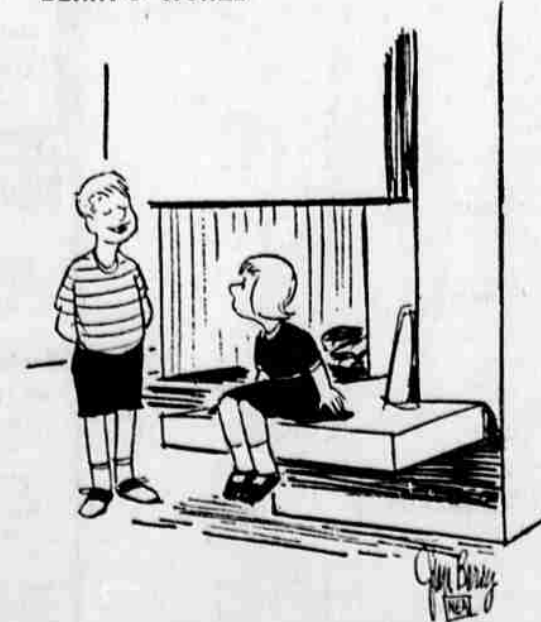
If writing has to be about something, these young people would be better off learning something—that is, getting a liberal education—than learning "how to write." A man cannot be relatively ignorant of history, politics, psychology, religion and other areas of human inquiry, and still be a "writer" in any meaningful sense of the word.

Indeed, the most serious flaw in many men who call themselves "writers" is that they really have nothing much to write about.

They either possess too little knowledge, or have not sufficiently organized the knowledge they do have, or else their preoccupation with style blinds them to the fact that even the most stylish hat looks empty on a blockhead.

When the content is rich and disciplined, all one can do is hope that the style will write itself. If it doesn't, one has simply chosen the wrong occupation. As final proof, let it be noted that while there may be rules for writing, those who write the rules are generally incapable of writing anything else!

## BERRY'S WORLD



"No—I'm not an angry young man! They came out naturally."



## Korea, Congo, Other Problems Plague UN

By PETER EDSON, Washington Correspondent, Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — Nearly all of the political issues before the U.N. General Assembly this year are holdovers.

Thirteen years after the United Nations tackled its first peace-keeping operation in Korea, it is still on the agenda with no better prospects for solution.

In the past, Soviet Russia has proposed that North and South Korean representatives be summoned to New York to give the Assembly both sides of the problem.

Two years ago the United States agreed that North Koreans might come if they would agree to accept U.N. decisions on their country's future. They didn't come. The same condition was offered last year.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to Korean stability that can be made this year would be for South Korea's young military leader Park Chung Hee to allow democratic elections for the presidency, scheduled for Oct. 15. This would silence North Korea's carping against the South Korean dictatorship.

By suppressing minorities and jailing his principal opponents for the presidency, Gen. Park has shown his determination to hang onto power, regardless of consequences.

The Congo is probably the most important issue before General Assembly again this year. Secretary General U Thant would like to close out the U.N. Congo missions by the end of the year for lack of money to finance them.

So far, the Congolese leaders have refrained from trying to carve each other up. Premier Cyrille Adoula is still regarded as the most competent man on the scene, but the country is faced with ruinous inflation and needs help.

The Belgian position on the Congo has changed completely. For two years Brussels opposed the U.N. and all its works. Now, most of the Europeans back in the Congo advising the new government are Belgians. They want

the U.N. to stay till the country and its economy are more stabilized.

Continuation of the U.N. Emergency Force of 5,000 men to observe the armistice between Israel and her Near East neighbors is another financial problem.

Costs of this operation since 1957 have been \$112 million. But only \$76 million has been paid up and the operation is \$36 million in the red.

The murder of two Israeli farmers near the Syrian border became a recent Security Council issue to emphasize the importance of the UNEF role. Magnifying these small incidents into international crises is said to deter their recurrence.

Presence of the UNEF in the Near East made possible the sending of a 200-man detachment into Yemen when revolt broke out a year ago. The U.N. assignment has been to effect a disengagement between Egyptian and Saudi Arabian forces supporting rival Yemeni factions. The two countries have agreed to meet UNEF costs for two months more, though both are working against it on the ground. It is a tough problem for the U.N.

Fifty Afro-Asian countries are demanding that the Viet Nam situation be aired in the General Assembly. Presence in the United States of Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of Viet Nam's President Diem, while the General Assembly is in session adds a complicating factor to the debate.

The United States is trying to have the Viet Nam situation presented as a political issue, not as a matter of persecution of the Buddhists, which Ceylon and other countries want to make it.

Up to now there is no indication that Fidel Castro's government, with Communist bloc backing, will launch the customary tirade against the United States on "aggression" against Cuba.

Other international political disputes and threats to peace in the shadows of the General Assembly agenda include the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, India's charges of aggression by Red China and the Laos situation.



## Young Democrats' Leader On Rampage

By FULTON LEWIS JR., WASHINGTON — A paunchy young man named Josiah Beeman is giving leaders of the California Democratic Party nightmares.

Beeman, an official of the Council of Churches, won election earlier this year in a rough-and-tumble fight for the Presidency of the California Young Democrats. He triumphed over a moderate Young Democrat, a Negro, who refused to advocate left-wing solutions to many of the country's problems.

Since then, Beeman has been active in the 13-state conference of Western YDs who won praise from Peoples World, a Communist newspaper, for their views last month. In that convention Young Democrats advocated friendly relations with Fidel Castro; a non-aggression pact between the NATO nations and those of the Communist Warsaw Pact; and removal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, where Communist armies threaten a pro-West government.

Democratic strategists shuddered when Republican leaders, including GOP National Chairman Bill Miller, seized upon the YD policy stands. Miller demanded that his Democratic counterpart, John Bailey, repudiate the extremist YDs. California Gov. "Pat" Brown, a Democrat, was asked to make a similar repudiation.

Neither has yet opened his mouth.

To his credit, freshman Rep. Charles Wilson, Los Angeles Democrat, has been forthright in his denunciation of the YDs. The Far West YDs, he said, had faithfully echoed the Kremlin line. They were, he said, "firmly in the grasp of a highly vocal group of emotional radicals, peace - at - any - prices, and assorted lunatics."

When Wilson arrived at his office several days later, he found a blistering letter from Beeman, who accused the Congressman of rightist sympathies. Wilson is a liberal Democrat; he makes no bones about it.

His voting record in the California State Assembly and the U.S. House has always been liberal. He is not, as Beeman charged in his letter, an advocate of go-slow Civil Rights legislation. He was, in fact, one of the comparatively few Congressmen present at the Aug. 28 civil rights rally.

In his reply, Wilson told Beeman

man he would consult with officials of the Democratic National Committee on steps that might deny the California YDs use of the party name. He would, he wrote, continue to press for an official party investigation of Beeman's outfit.

Wilson then took the House floor to review other policy positions of the Western YDs. They had, he said, opposed any federal program of civil defense. "Presumably," the Congressman noted, "the Soviet Union is left free to safeguard its citizens."

The 88th Congress has been a "mockery and disgrace to the democratic process," according to the YDs, who urged party leaders to repudiate the entire South.

The YDs had further advocated lifting all restrictions on Cuban travel and abolition of the McCarran Internal Security Act, Representative Wilson observed:

"I am sure the Soviet Union and Red China would be only too pleased to see us adopt the policy position of the Western State Young Democrats. Must we sit idly by while the good name of our party is dragged through this political gutter? I do not believe we would be fulfilling our duty as members of the Democratic Party if we were to remain silent."

Beeman was not shaken by Wilson's forthright stand. He chaired a subsequent convention of California Young Democrats where many of the same stands were repeated. On Sept. 8, the California YDs came out for recognition of Red China, conditional recognition of East Germany, normalization of trade and diplomatic relations with Fidel Castro, and a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—Is the bald eagle, America's national bird, in danger of extinction?

A—There are only about 4,000 bald eagles in the U.S., excluding Alaska, and there has been a severe drop in the number of young eagles being hatched.

Q—What does the U.S. Constitution stipulate regarding recessing of Congress?

A—Neither branch of Congress may recess for more than three days without consent of the other.



## Reuther Seeks Muzzles

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The time: Autumn, 1961.

The place: Attorney General Robert Kennedy's offices in the Justice Department.

The topic: How to suppress the so-called radical right.

Present at the meeting were United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther and his left-wing brother Victor. They had asked for the conference with the Attorney General to urge him that the time had come to wipe out what they called the "conservative rebellion." Attorney General Kennedy listened to their ideas and then asked them to prepare a memorandum.

This memorandum has been acknowledged as valid by one of Robert Kennedy's executive assistants. I have been able to obtain a copy. It is a blueprint for the suppression of conservatives, using the power of government and what sounds suspiciously like the suspension of civil liberties.

The memorandum, I am informed, was distributed to all high Kennedy Administration officials and to "certain sympathetic senators and congressmen."

What Victor Reuther, the real author of the memorandum, seeks is:

1. To muzzle the military, to keep conservatives off active duty, and to ban military participation in the fight against Communism. This has been accomplished by Defense Secretary McNamara.

2. To add to the Attorney General's subversive list the names of conservative organizations

which annoy the Reuthers and their friends.

3. To frighten off financial contributions to conservative groups by ordering the Internal Revenue Service to announce that it was investigating those with tax-exempt status.

4. To threaten radio and TV stations which broadcast conservative programs with loss of their licenses.

5. To put a damper on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover because he "exaggerates the domestic Communist menace."

The Reuther memorandum argues that "an unknown number of millions of Americans of viewpoints bounded on the left by Senator Goldwater and on the right by Robert Welch" of the Birch Society have been organizing and presenting their views to the American people. The public, presumably, is too stupid to evaluate the arguments of left vs. right and must therefore be protected from conservative "subversion" by Big Brother.

"New radical right organizations"—and the Reuthers lump all conservatives under that designation—"have sprung up like weeds in the last few years," says the memorandum. "It is estimated by the Anti-Defamation League that almost a hundred such organizations have been organized in 1961 alone." The Reuthers feel that this is somehow un-American. They are particularly disturbed because John Dalton, then governor of Missouri, "even officially proclaimed an anti-Communism week" in 1961 when Dr. Fred Schwarz ran an Anti-Communist School in St. Louis.

If there were anything clande-

stine about Dr. Schwarz's activities, there might be grounds for concern. But he does his work on lecture platforms, before TV cameras, and in front of banks of microphones. He has the support of legitimate business concerns, movie actors and producers, and John Q. Public. The Reuthers argue that this must stop, and if there are no laws under which the Attorney General can act, then he should go over Dr. Schwarz's income tax returns.

The Reuthers, when they are wearing their Sunday best, proclaim loudly the virtues of the Bill of Rights. Free speech, free press, free association—these get their blessing. They argue that the Communists, so long as they simply talk, write, and meet openly (without plotting the violent overthrow of the government) should not be molested.

But where the right wing is involved, they take a somewhat different view. The Reuthers throw up their hands in alarm because "there are vast quantities of literature, films, and records emanating from the radical right and even such things as radical right bookshops are beginning to spring up."

This is really a horrendous thought. Americans are being exposed to books by William F. Buckley Jr., editor of National Review, by Senator Goldwater, even by the writer of this column. Perhaps the Reuthers feel that these books should be burned and the bookshops that sell them should be smashed. But Senator Goldwater writes a newspaper column. To smother his ideas would require repeal of the First Amendment.