

Editorial Page

Blunder On The Right

Some lawyers and specialists in federal-state relations are saying there is now virtually no likelihood any of the so-called "states' rights" amendments to the U.S. Constitution will make serious headway toward passage.

In recent weeks they have been condemned by the American Bar Association and the National Association of Attorneys General (of the 50 states).

The National Legislative Conference, a body of state legislators who last year started these amendments on their way, this summer took a wobbly stand whose net effect is rated negative.

The amendments, of course, are those which would 1) alter the constitutional amending process to make it easier for states (without participation of Congress) to initiate and ratify amendments; 2) bar the federal courts from any role in state legislative reapportionment; 3) create a special 50-member Court of the Union, superior to the U.S. Supreme Court, to hear cases involving federal-state relations.

Roughly a dozen state legislatures have approved the first two, but only five have endorsed the Court of the Union. And relatively few legislatures will convene in 1964.

Each proposal would have to have the en-

dorsement of 34 state legislatures before it could move on to the second stage in the present, more complex amending process.

Yet even though chances are now regarded as slim that this will happen on any of these proposals, some persons continue to voice concern that they may somehow find new life in the months ahead.

One such is Archibald Cox, U.S. Solicitor General. In a Washington talk, he deplored the proposal he said would "eliminate the national voice" from the constitutional amending process.

Cox points out that it would be possible to put together a combination of 38 states whose total population would be less than 40 per cent of all Americans.

This hardly seems a sufficient proportion to be given a controlling voice in altering the Constitution and perhaps affecting the whole course of American life for decades to come.

Fallout Shelters Again

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

The Kennedy Administration has conspicuously rejected Dr. Edward Teller's advice against a test ban treaty, but is enthusiastically following his advice in proposing to spend close to \$200,000,000 next year for fallout shelters. If this does not seem to make sense, perhaps it doesn't.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Stuart L. Pittman, who is pressing the Administration's bill for construction of public shelters in federal buildings and financial aid to state and local governments that will participate in the program, must have been aware of some inconsistency when he testified before the House Armed Services subcommittee which has approved the measure. He said:

"If the test ban is ushering in a period of relaxation of international tension, as we all hope, it is the joint duty of Congress and the executive branch to be sure it doesn't usher

in a premature relaxation of efforts to maintain and improve our defenses."

We congratulate Mr. Pittman for avoiding a favorite Pentagon word, "euphoria," but the question is how much a massive shelter program would contribute to the maintenance of the nation's defenses. Our nuclear arsenal exists, so the people are told, solely to deter attack. Building fallout shelters, however, assumes that the attack is not going to be deterred. But if that assumption is correct, should we not be developing nuclear weapons to the utmost, and therefore testing extensively instead of accepting a test ban?

Dr. Teller would say "yes" to that, but in our opinion he would be wrong. The test ban treaty stands on the judgment that new weapons development would not significantly add to the deterrent power of our present arsenal; and neither would that deterrent power be augmented by embarking on a shelter-building spree which could become the greatest of boondoggles.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

It is a comforting thought on a grim day that what keeps the world from falling wholly into crime and corruption is the psychological fact that evil is a separatist thing, while goodness is a unifying thing.

We would be utterly under the rule of evil, were it otherwise; for evil is industrious, while virtue is too often apathetic; evil

is cunning, while virtue is credulous; evil is attracting and exciting, while virtue makes no similar appeal to the senses.

But the one redeeming factor, the one element that tends to cancel out all the other advantages of evil, is that by its very nature it separates itself, not merely from the good, but from other evil as well. It is not only destructive; it is ultimately self-destructive.

Samuel Johnson put it pithily two centuries ago: "Combinations of wickedness would overwhelm the world did not those who have long practised perfidy grow faithless to each other."

Thieves fall out; thieves must fall out, for it is the essence of their character, the mainspring of their behavior. They can have no enduring loyalty to one another, no basic trust, no disinterested activity. What is anti-social in the beginning turns into anti-one-another in the end.

This is worth remembering in an age when evil seems ascendant, powerful, organized, and ruthless; when society assumes the dimensions of a magnified racket; when expediency becomes the mark of policy; when nations, like sophisticated gangsters, engage promiscuously in threats, bribes, blackmail, and all the lower forms of intimidation.

It is no mere sentimentalism to insist that—barring some cosmic cataclysm—evil cannot survive and flourish; for it contains the seed of its own destruction. Its center does not hold, it flies apart, it cannot cope with the one thing it wants above all—success.

For success, to have any meaning, requires order, coherence, unity, proportion, and equity. All these factors are alien to the spirit of evil. Most of all, success calls for co-operation at the deepest level—and co-operation is impossible for the separatist spirit.

Rival gangs kill one another off; within each gang, struggles for power disintegrate the group. Hitlers and Stalins cannot maintain "non-aggression pacts" for very long. Tyrants are assassinated by their own lieutenants. The same instinct that drives a man into wickedness drives him to dominate and destroy his associates in the enterprise. Evil in its very nature is self-defeating; in dark days, this truth is sometimes all that good men have to cling to.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

The Dark Side Of JFK's Moon Landing Proposal

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Now that the dust has begun to settle on President Kennedy's offer to the Soviets of a joint moon-landing effort, Capitol Hill has begun to ask, "Why did the Administration jeopardize its space budget by uncorking so controversial an issue?" The result was pre-

dictable—and more than one legislator who disapproved of the vast moon - project expenditures has been emboldened to question the wisdom of the entire program.

The answer to the puzzle is no longer a secret, though no one at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue or at the National Aeronautics and

Space Administration is pushing to get it into the papers. Very simply, Mr. Kennedy knew that if he wanted to make propaganda hay at the U.N. with a new space gimmick, he had to move fast. For through Soviet Academician A. Blagonravov, Comrade Khrushchev had made the suggestion to Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, the Deputy Administrator of NASA, days before the President popped the question in New York.

The Soviet suggestion is not based on a desire to "ease tensions." The Reds would like to join the United States in lunar exploration because they are sure that this country will end up with most of the tab. The Kremlin is having a hard time making ends meet—and space research is an expensive pastime. The fall harvest was disastrous and industry is limping. Comrade Khrushchev will need every ruble he can scrape up to get the economy back to its normal bad shape.

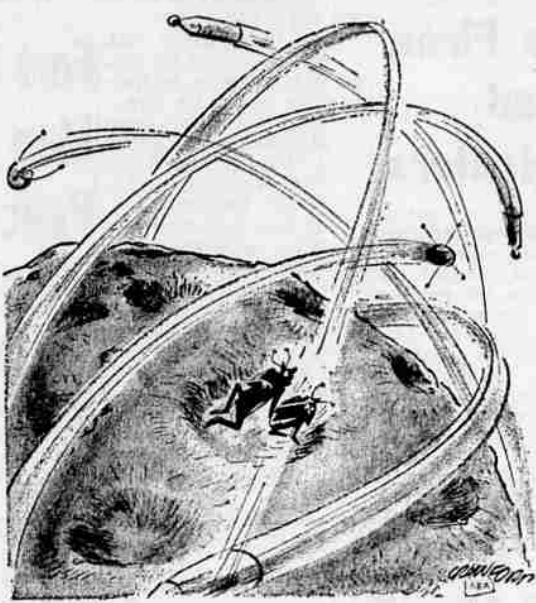
Economic planners in Moscow, unlike those Americans who insist that the U.S. must get to the moon first in order to "defeat" Soviet propaganda, are far more hard-headed. According to reliable Intelligence, there is a group within the Kremlin that would like to ditch the Soviet moon landing and get down to more mundane problems. Academician Blagonravov confirmed this when he told Dr. Dryden that "not everyone in Russia is enthusiastic about placing a man on the moon." The Soviet Academy of Science, an arm of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party and the Politburo, waits for Comrade Khrushchev to make the decision, but it has let its masters know that scientific feeling is lukewarm.

Members of the House Space Committee have been given the benefit of Comrade Blagonravov's views and call the new Soviet position a complete about face. There are others who don't trust what appears on the surface as a gift offering. Some members of the President's official family felt that it was dangerous for him to make his "offer" publicly—and that it may merely open the way for months or years of fruitless negotiation. They are suspicious of the sudden Soviet frankness.

It is being suggested by some that the Soviet offer was prompted by the hope that Mr. Kennedy would rise to the bait. This, the Soviets might well be saying to themselves, will slow down the American effort while the merits of a U.S.-Soviet cooperative venture are debated. Even those who favor an exchange of information and the pooling of efforts point out that Red scientists have said that joint work would be out of the question until both countries have achieved at least one instrument landing on the moon.

If this remains the Soviet position, then we are being led down a garden path. An unmanned landing will not be achieved for at least a year. One that will supply the kind of information the Soviets want before they open discussions with us may be three years off. Scientists note that in the interim period, both Soviet and American launching vehicles, spacecraft, and techniques will have "hardened" to the point that interchangeability will no longer be possible. To convert one

'Now There's Talk They'll Pool Their Forces'



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .



Civil Rights March Just Another Parade

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.
(First of two columns on the effects of the March on Washington—one month later.)

WASHINGTON (NEA)—A month after the March on Washington by a quarter of a million advocates of civil rights reform, the situation is considered not a great deal different than it was before.

The warm and rosy glow of satisfaction that prevailed after the march was over still lingers as a happy memory. It was a success. There was no violence. It had been shown that peaceful protest was possible.

But the march settled nothing, as realists foresaw. In the month since then there have been demonstrations, picketing and violence in scores of cities. There have been protests against housing restrictions, against job discrimination, against school segregation and other denials of civil liberties supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution.

The general expectation is that there will be more in the months ahead. And they will probably get worse.

The peaceful march on Aug. 28 had its aftermath in the silent marches held in many cities on Sunday, Sept. 22, in mourning for the four children killed by the bombing of the Birmingham church the week before.

That horror may have had more effect on the course of civil rights reform in America than the original march for jobs and freedom.

The march has been unjustly cited by a few observers as the inspiration for the Birmingham disaster. But it has also produced many grave warnings that the patience of the Negroes is not inexhaustible. The more Birmingham there are, the greater the likelihood of violent reaction.

The death of four little girls at Sunday School has raised doubts about the efficacy of the responsible Negro leaders' pleas for nonviolence. "Self - defense against violence is justifiable," said James Killem, presiding at a biracial memorial service in New York.

There has been talk of boycotts. "America has no right to celebrate Christmas this year," says Negro author James Baldwin.

The North has come in for its share of the blame, from ex-President Harry Truman and from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, accusing northern employers of southern labor.

There has been good mixed with the bad. There has been a \$30 million fund drive with a \$15 million Ford Foundation grant to aid Negro colleges, a fundamental requisite to providing better jobs. There are smaller drives for funds to rebuild the Birmingham church and aid its victims' families.

Leaders in the 150 southern communities where desegregated schools opened this September have won praise from President Kennedy. Recognizing that it is a "slow, step-by-step" procedure, he says he thinks "progress is being made at about the right

tempo." In Prince Edward County, Va., schools closed for four years have been reopened with assistance from Washington.

There are long-range political controversies ahead.

An all-Negro slate of candidates has been entered in an Essex County, N.J., election this fall, first of its kind.

The big drive for 1964 will be to increase voting registration.

The Gallup poll indicates 95 per cent of the Negroes favor President Kennedy, even though their leaders say the President's civil rights program is too little and too slow.

Five per cent of the Negro voters are said to favor Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. But President Kennedy admits the rights fight may cost him white votes in the south.

The premarriage charges by Sen. Strom Thurmond, D-S.C., and others that it was being planned and infiltrated by Communists have been pretty well discredited. But the march leaders made a political error after it was over by moving next day into a Socialist Party meeting in Washington which backed their cause.

The overwhelming support the march and the entire civil rights movement have received from America's churches of all denominations is a major point in their favor.

(Next: Civil Rights and Congress.)



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Freeman Error Costly

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

WASHINGTON — The American housewife, who in one year has been socked \$600 million, can blame Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman for the skyrocketing price of sugar.

Freeman last year unveiled a radical new scheme that would, he promised, cut the price of sugar paid by Mrs. John Q. Public. He proposed the United States scrap the regulated price-quota system under which sugar prices had remained stable for 45 years. Up until 1962, Uncle Sam had purchased his sugar on a quota basis from free world nations at a flat rate that remained constant over the years.

Freeman then proposed the U.S. buy its sugar at the "world market" rate. Experts tried to explain the "world market" was but a refuse heap of hopeless sugar left over when all the world quotas were filled.

They explained that the "world market" price was lower than the cost of growing sugar and would sharply rise if Uncle Sam went into the world market.

They further explained that the Communist bloc controlled three-fourths of the "world market" and could drive up its sugar prices any time it chose.

Freeman's response: "Your experts are wrong."

Over the anguished protests of Representative Harold Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture

Committee, Administration lieutenants rammed the Freeman plan through Congress.

A Pennsylvania Congressman, Joseph M. McDade, has whipped out his slide rule and figures the price of sugar has leaped \$600 million in the past year. He says:

"U.S. consumers will pay three cents more per pound for the 20 billion pounds of sugar used annually because the price is tied to the world market instead of the regulated price - quota system which had been in effect until 1962."

"Since an American family of five uses 300 pounds of sugar every year, it will pay out an additional \$15 this year, a figure equal to about one-fifth of the estimated savings per family under the proposed tax cut law."

McDade, who has devoted months to a comprehensive study of the subject, urges a return to the old quota system. It will mean, he says, substantial savings to U.S. housewives and better relations with allies who will be assured of U.S. sugar purchases.

Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, a self-styled "grass man," will press for federal funds with which to build still another national park.

There is nothing startling in this save the proposed park's location: Tanganyika, Africa. Udall, who recently climbed Tan-

ganyika's Mt. Kilimanjaro, also favors federal dollars for "two major natural resources development programs," likewise in Tanganyika.

Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to pack the Supreme Court. He failed. John Kennedy tried to pack the Senate Finance Committee. He failed. Anthony Celebrezze tried to pack the Social Security Advisory Council. He succeeded.

The council, made up of twelve representatives of business, labor and the "public," was set up by Congress to advise the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (Celebrezze) on Social Security. The members are named by the secretary.

Missouri Congressman Tom Curtis charges the Council has been packed with Administration lackeys. Even before members were named, the Commissioner of Social Security was quoted in the New York Times as saying they would urge expansion of the Social Security program. The commissioner claimed he was misquoted. Replied the Times reporter: "Bunk."

Now Curtis discovers ten of the twelve members favor Medicare. Pure coincidence, says Celebrezze. Not so, says Curtis, who discovers the secretary has managed to find representatives of business who favor Medicare, and that's no easy matter.

WASHINGTON — The new shadows of disorder falling over Latin America in the overthrow of the Dominican Republic's elected government have moved a piece of unfinished Congressional business from the category of the desirable to the category of the essential.

This unfinished business is a resolution recently approved by the House Insular Affairs Committee to set up a bipartisan commission to make a ways-and-means inquiry leading to a vote by the people of Puerto Rico to determine for all time the future status of that green and hopeful outpost of American Democracy.

Puerto Rico is not a state but rather a free American commonwealth with its own constitution, elected officials and court system. The ultimate choices open to its people would be three: To remain in commonwealth status, with the economic advantages inherent in that system because of present favorable tax treatment. To opt, instead, for statehood, as state No. 51. Or — and this is most unlikely in any event — to become a separate nation.

The principal practical reason for holding such a plebiscite is simply that Castro communism has long been howling the falsehood that free Puerto Rico is in fact a stooge-point for "American colonialism." Academically, at least, it has long been obvious that a clarification of Puerto Rico's status, making clear beyond chemical trace of doubt that it is entirely and unarguably a free area, would make sense.

Proper provision for such a clarification now, however, would do more than make sense. It would make a positive contribution toward stability in a Latin world to our southward where, to put the thing at its mildest, we could surely use some stability. Castro Cuba's fall to international communism already had left free and progressive Puerto Rico a pearl of very special price in the Caribbean. Now, the harsh new difficulties in the Dominican Republic have added new problems of unknown dimensions.

The word "showcase," as applied to a free area of this world, has always struck this columnist as an unnecessarily crude term. Still, crude term or not, that is what Puerto Rico is — a showcase of the vitality and decency of the American system.

As to the measure for the Puerto Rican commission, the issue was long bogged in Congress by internal Puerto Rican politics. One side feared some hidden political advantage to the other; and so on. The bill as finally approved by the Insular Affairs Committee, however, seems to have been drawn with care to reach an even-handed result.

All that now menaces it is simply the heavy work load before Congress. Still, if the House Rules Committee — which normally controls the flow of legislation to the floor — will clear this measure its ultimate approval by House and Senate will likely follow. So the Rules Committee, assuming it is satisfied that every faction and interest in Puerto Rico is adequately protected, could do a much worse hour's work than to bring out this bill to the House floor.

For one thing at least is sure: The people of Puerto Rico, whatever their domestic political divisions, are not divided at all on the point that they are all what they are: free citizens of the United States of America.

Some here would perhaps not see any burning necessity for the Puerto Ricans to prove what has long been true — that they wear no Yankee collar of any size or kind. But if they want a plebiscite — and apparently they do — why should we not cooperate with them, so long as it seems clear that in so doing we will not be meddling into their affairs? The charge for good manners is never high.

No doubt it is true that no matter what is done or not done the Communists will go on screaming "Colonialism!" All the same, it is possible to reduce their credibility among the credulous. And all the same, too, we are not dealing here with some alien state of people. We are dealing with our fellow citizens; and self-determination from our beginning has been our historic doctrine.

'Naturally, Would Have To Consider Any Limitations in the Atmosphere'



WILLIAM S. WHITE . . .
Plebiscite Important To Puerto Rican Voters

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BERRY'S WORLD



"How does this one grab ya, baby? We have these two look-alike babes doin' dishes, see? . . . Then this off-stage voice says, 'How do you keep your hands looking as lovely as your daughter's, Madam Nhu?'"