

Editorial Page

White Man's Burden

Observers looking closely at such big northern cities as Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia have now established beyond question the fact of the "white revolt" against the heavy Negro pressures exerted in 1963.

"Too far, too fast" is the phrase which tersely sums up the way many whites in these cities view the Negroes' efforts — and the response by white leaders from President Kennedy down to the local level.

Mutterings are heard constantly in bars, restaurants and other public places. Poll takers knocking at the doors in white neighborhoods to check political and other sentiment find the conversation almost inevitably drifting to racial matters.

Survey samples, as always, are small. But if the scientific techniques used mean anything at all, they measure a big hostile response among white Americans.

What is not clear at this point is how deep and lingering the revolt may be.

Some white and Negro leaders in these communities believe it in the nature of a "shock response" and will tend to wear off — unless 1964 sees Negro drives and demonstrations comparable in number and intensity to those witnessed this year.

Others, particularly white political leaders, see it another way. They think the causes of the rebellion may endure, and perhaps even grow stronger.

This is based on the now widely established fact that much of the anti-Negro

stir is greatest among those lower income whites who most fear competition for jobs and housing which rising Negro demands may heighten.

The expectation is that these demands will not slacken, though they may be pressed in different ways from year to year.

Today there are some 20 million Negroes in this country, roughly one in every 10 persons. By 1975 the total U.S. population may be 230 to 240 million. If the ratio holds, we then will have 24 to 25 million Negroes.

Thus one cannot easily imagine that their pressures will lessen in any important way in the years ahead. They will be seeking millions of jobs, homes, opportunities for schooling.

It is not altogether plain what the northern "whites in revolt" would have their leaders do about this rising, insistent tide.

The rebellion could conceivably penalize politically many of those leaders judged to have given too much ground to the Negroes.

If any substantial number of such leaders should be swept from office, then those in revolt could address their protests to new ears.

The big question thereafter would be what new policies could be devised which would please the millions of fretful whites and still cope with the hard fact of mounting Negro millions.

To manage that might prove the best trick of the century.

and delay the efforts of the policy-makers. Its impact on them today is far, far greater.

The elected and appointed officials at the top of the government structure are, when they take over, heavily dependent upon the experience and expertise of the trained specialists in the administrative corps. The more special the work, the more dependent are the leaders.

One of the silliest arguments ever heard in presidential or governorship campaigns is that some particular candidate should not be elected because he should not be given "on-the-job training" at the people's expense.

There is really nothing, aside from actually holding the office a while, that truly prepares a man for these high posts. On-the-job training is not only a necessity, but the only thing possible.

Indeed, in two, four or eight years he may just be really mastering the work when his service is up. The shorter his learning period in office, the less likely it is that he will be able to make any solid dent in the great iceberg of government.

So, while government appears in important ways to be getting more and more expert, we may be increasingly at the experts' mercy. Not only can they be wrong, like the rest of us, but from their entrenched posts they may be almost immovable.

Solutions for this puzzle do not come readily to hand.

Moon Try Two-Nation Job

In the weeks since President Kennedy suggested a joint U.S.-Russian expedition to the moon, enough experts have taken potshots at this trial balloon to cause it to spin rapidly back to the hard earth.

Desirable as the proposal may be idealistically, practically it is unworkable — for a number of reasons:

—America's Apollo program, and probably its Russian equivalent as well, are too far advanced to make any merging of techniques feasible.

—Military potentialities of the giant booster rockets being developed make co-operation impossible from a security standpoint.

—There is simply not enough mutual trust or desire for such a project.

This doesn't mean, however, that the President's suggestion was entirely utopian. Missiles and Rockets magazine suggests that there is one very important area where Soviet-American co-operation is not only possible but desirable — and practical.

This is the establishment of a permanent moon base, the next step beyond Project Apollo (or Apolloski).

The magazine points out that the cost of building and maintaining a lunar base will require funds that will make Apollo look like peanuts — \$100 billion or more for a moon base compared to \$20-\$30 billion for Apollo.

Such a Russo-American effort could begin immediately, without requiring costly technical revisions in either country's moon rocket programs and without getting involved in problems of national security.

Possible areas of co-operation include:

- Selecting the most desirable site for a base.
- Deciding on scientific studies to be undertaken.
- Agreeing on common communications frequencies.
- Sharing information from unmanned moon probes.
- Dividing the engineering and logistical tasks.

The most immediate advantage from such a joint program would be to reduce the financing to a more acceptable level for both countries. It would also enhance each nation's moon-trip projects, turning what many consider a wasteful prestige race into a genuine scientific competition with a worthwhile goal at the end.

Americans and Russians have been co-operating for years in Antarctica — an area that is only slightly more hospitable than the moon — sharing personnel and facilities and scientific findings.

Surely by 1970 we shall have matured enough on both sides of the world to be able to do the same thing on the moon.



By COL. RAY CROMLEY
Newspaper Enterprise
Military Analyst

WASHINGTON (NEA)—With some embarrassment, the United States now finds itself involved in tricky accidental teamwork with Red China's Mao Tse-tung in actions against Nikita Khrushchev and the Soviet Union.

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Red China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai are using the same arguments, and in some cases using even the same documents to prove:

1. That the Soviet Union is an imperialistic ruler of conquered colonies.
2. That Russians mistreat minorities.

The State Department has reproduced maps, taken from a

1933 Soviet textbook published in Moscow which describe as Russian "conquests" and "seizures" a goodly part of the land Red China now claims Russia "conquered" and "seized" from her.

American diplomats are using these maps to show that the Soviet Union acknowledges it is now ruling conquered lands, peopled by Asians.

Both Rusk and Chou have the same first objectives: to win the Africans and Asians away from Soviet influences.

To some extent this drive has already been successful in small measure. Russians have been pushed aside in some Afro-Asian meetings on the grounds that they are not Asians as they claim, and because in addition,

they qualify as rulers of Asian colonies by holding lands claimed by China.

The State Department men have managed to circulate with some success reports of Russian discrimination against Africans, gypsies and Asian peoples in the Soviet territories.

But there is already some concern in the Department of State and in the Pentagon over these early successes of U.S. and Red Chinese actions.

The American diplomats acted to halt the spread of Russian communism and to build up support for U.S. stands in the United Nations: restraint toward Portugal in her African colonies and toward the Union of South Africa, for example.

Some diplomats are worried that these U.S. steps may drive

some of these African and Asian nations straight into the hands of the Red Chinese. State Department hands figure this would be worse even than having them under Russian influence.

There's no doubt that Communist Chinese missions are moving into the troubled spots, trying to take advantage of every Russian weakness in winning over key people in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

U.S. strategists think that the Chinese also may have another aim. Contrary to much that has been written, these U.S. government analysts are not convinced that Mao's men are really trying to get back the old lands they claim were once a part of the Chinese empire.

They're not impressed by the furor the Chinese Communists are kicking up over the continued "Soviet occupation."

These experts are not certain what the Chinese are up to, but they think that the Reds have more in mind than using their claims as a wedge to win Africans and Asians.

What do Mao's men want? Best guess there is that they are aiming at a form of international blackmail. Says one U.S. government specialist: "I think they'll tell the Russians they'll blacken their name in Communist circles as exploiters

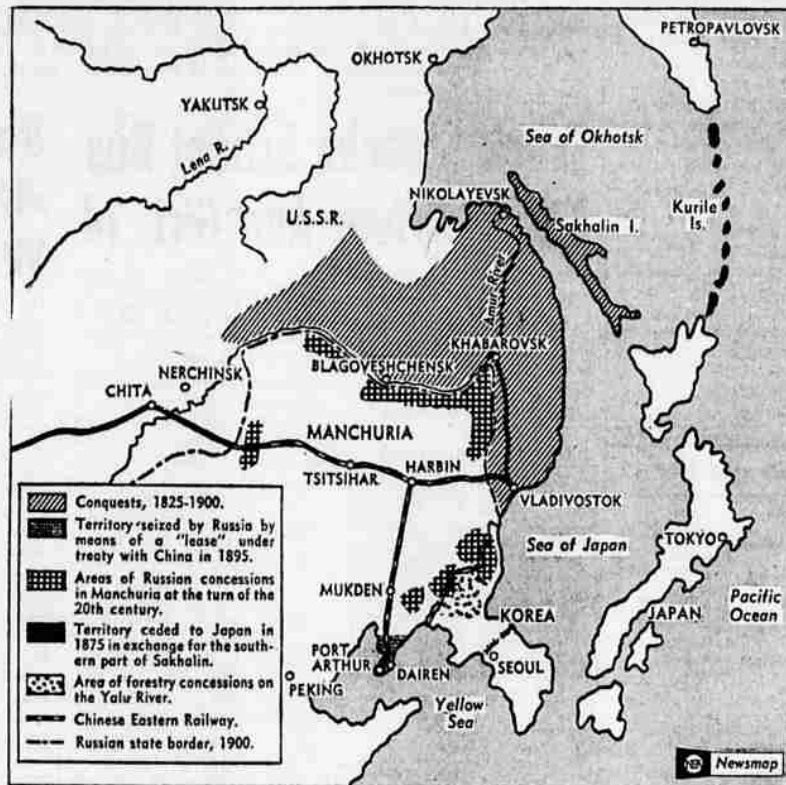
and colonialists unless the Russians agree to pay some sort of royalty on the key minerals now being mined in lands they claim were formerly China's. I don't think they have any idea of getting any of this land back. But they can certainly make the Russians look bad among their fellow Communists.

"The Russians had been hoping to keep anyone from talking about these lands until they had moved in enough colonists to drown out the native people. Then it would have been a full over. But the Chinese have caught them before the colonization was complete. They can show that in wide areas, large numbers of native Asians are under white Russian rulers."

These questioned areas held by the Russians have deposits of copper, lead and zinc, uranium ores, petroleum, coal and gold. Some of these deposits are believed to be extensive. In recent years, Russian engineers have moved over wide areas, and extensive mining operations are under way. In areas where development had been carried on for a long time, production apparently is being expanded.

No one here is estimating whether the Red Chinese will be successful in their attempts to shake down the Soviet Union—if that is their aim. But these officials expect a lot more fireworks.

Washington, Peking Take Look At The Map



RUSSIA'S ADVANCES ON CHINA: Soviet encroachments of Chinese territory are depicted in this map, redrawn from that appearing in "Russian History From the Earliest Times," by M. N. Pokrovsky, Moscow, 1933, Vol. 4.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON

GOP Seeks 13 Big States

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — Nine months before the Republican national convention opens in San Francisco, the battle of the presidential candidates is on to capture the 13 largest states.

Taken together, these states have 692 of the 1,306 convention votes—seven more than the 655 needed to win the nomination.

Five of the favorite son candidates who are expected to have support from their delegations, on the first ballot at least, comes from these big states.

They are Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania (64 convention votes), Gov. James A. Rhodes of Ohio (58), Gov. George Romney of Michigan (48), Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey (40), and Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin (30).

When these states start to switch, that's the time to watch which way the bandwagon will go.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York (92 votes) has the

advantage in his own state.

No organization for Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona has yet been announced for the most populous state. But Elmer Weil of Buffalo, a former Erie County attorney, recently put out a statement that he would head a Goldwater movement in western New York, which has been considered not too friendly to Rockefeller.

California (86 votes) presents a special problem. It has the last primary, June 2, just three weeks before the convention opens in San Francisco. And in the convention, California is the first big state to vote.

Republican efforts to present either Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel or Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb as California favorite son candidates now seem to have been abandoned.

Both Rockefeller and Goldwater are campaigning extensively in California, though neither seems to want a knock-down drag-out fight there because of the expense.

Goldwater seems to have stol-

en a march in the state by naming former Sen. William F. Knowland as chairman of his advisory committee of 70 or 80 local California leaders.

Pennsylvania will be for Scranton as long as he wants to hold. He has said he would accept a genuine draft, though he does not want to be considered an active candidate.

If by any chance Rockefeller should lose out in key primary states like New Hampshire, West Virginia, Wisconsin or Oregon — or if he should withdraw for any reason, which isn't expected—much of his support might go to Scranton.

Goldwater's organizing efforts in Pennsylvania have so far been limited, and his Hershey, Pa., speech fell flat.

Illinois and Ohio (58 votes each) present contrasting situations. Illinois has no favorite son as yet, and the fact that Rockefeller is his only opposition helps Goldwater in that state.

Charles H. Percy, campaigning for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in Illinois, had been expected to support Rockefeller, but he is now reported ready to shift.

Little Rockefeller support has been reported in Ohio, but the Buckeye state is leery of Goldwater because of his support for right to work laws. Republican espousal of that cause resulted in defeat of the whole GOP ticket in 1958.

Romney still insists he is not a candidate. That will be decided when Michigan convention delegates meet in caucus to select the man they will back.

One curious situation developing in Michigan is that former GOP National Committee Chairman Arthur Summerfield may attempt a political comeback as a Goldwater supporter. Romney and Summerfield are not the closest of political pals.

Texas (56 votes), Florida (35), Indiana (32) and Virginia (30) are now considered Goldwater country. New Jersey (40), Massachusetts (34) and other smaller eastern states have leaned to Rockefeller, but might be shifting.

Wisconsin (30) expects agreement from both Rockefeller and Goldwater not to go into the state, to give Rep. John Byrnes a good run as favorite son.



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

In the wake of the Valachi testimony before the Senate investigating committee, it was only to be expected that law enforcement officials would ask for more stringent measures and better tools to fight organized crime.

But none of these new tools — which include permitting wire-tapping — would be effective, except against the isolated criminal who is not protected by influential "connections." And he is not the main problem in our modern urban society.

There are only two ways to get rid of organized crime, and neither will be acted upon by communities. The first is to eliminate all contributions to political parties; the second is to double police salaries and remove the police department from political influence.

The community itself should provide a budget for political campaigns, so that candidates and parties are not dependent upon large contributions from dubious sources. This would be infinitely cheaper in the long run than permitting racketeers to buy immunity through vast political donations under the table.

The second, and complementary, way of reducing organized crime is to drop the thousands of useless and parasitic political workers from the cities'

payrolls, and to use these additional funds to recruit a higher type of police candidate who is paid a wage commensurate with the dignity, the importance and the danger of the job.

If political influence were removed from the police forces, and if racketeer influence were removed from the financial needs of political parties during campaign years, organized crime would soon go out of business.

It is axiomatic in knowledgeable circles that organized gambling, prostitution, and similar illegal operations could not exist for 24 hours in a town in which the police were incorruptible and free from political influence. Nations like Great Britain, for example, have no "syndicate" problem because of the police, the courts and the political parties are not sleeping together, as they so often are here.

There are three kinds of crime: emotional, private, and organized. The first two are part of the human condition, and we will always have them, in greater or lesser degree. The third kind is a cancer that is peculiar to the modern urban structure, and can be cut out of the body politic. But not as long as the body politic refuses to depoliticize its administration of law enforcement and justice.

Letters To The Editor

Helpful

Just before leaving town I picked up your Wednesday paper and was impressed with the thorough and accurate manner in which your reporter, Dick Briggs, wrote up the technological employment meeting. The writing is clear, simple, easy to read, and gives a concise picture of the problems raised by automation as well as giving an accurate account of local testimony.

While I recognize that automation presents a national as well as a state problem, I feel the problems presented are so important that the combined efforts at national, state and community levels will be necessary to avoid real hardship. Articles such as the one in your paper will help us in alerting local communities to the impact of automation on future job and employment trends.

Sen. Alfred H. Corbett
Portland, Ore.

'Mind If I Read Over Your Shoulder?'



BERRY'S WORLD



"Funny thing, ever since I put that sticker on, it's been pulling to the left."