

Editorial Page

Facts About The Foe

More and more schools and colleges in this country are teaching the study of communism.

The trend is a wise one. We need to know and understand this complex force which bulks so large in the world power struggle.

A point already pretty well made is that such teaching should not be in the hands of either amateurs or self-appointed experts on communism—of whom there are many.

Sidney Hook, a New York University professor who is a genuine expert on this subject, makes another sturdy argument. He says you are not teaching the study of communism when you merely denounce it, speak generally of its evils, indicate that only fools could embrace it.

Writing in the New York Times magazine, Hook asserts that our study will have to be much tougher than that if it is to be of any use to us.

It is very comforting, though hardly very enlightening, for us to declare communism a failure because it cannot solve its agricultural problems, keeps hundreds of millions at depression level, suppresses the liberties of those same peoples.

But that is not exactly the entire story. And we need to know the whole of it if we are to gauge—and counter—the most powerful adversary of freedom that has ever gained foothold on this earth.

Whatever its glaring, awesome failures, communism is in fact the ruling system for well over a billion people in the world. Most may not have consciously chosen it, but that does not alter the fact that they have it.

The question for us is: "How did it happen?"

What is the real history of how communism became established in the Soviet Union, in China, in satellite eastern Europe, in Cuba?

Unless we can grasp the circumstances, the techniques of politics and subversion which worked in these places, we will really not know how to combat communism here and in other free places.

We have also to understand that communism's failure is not total. By one of the great, wrenching shifts of modern times, the Soviet Union in four decades converted itself from a peasant agricultural land to a mighty industrial country competing for leadership in the space and nuclear fields.

We do not help ourselves when we ignore this. How can you combat an enemy when you do not face up to what he is?

We further cannot blink the truth that communism, for all its failures, for all the ideological stresses between Moscow and Peking, still exerts an enormous appeal for millions of underdeveloped peoples around the globe.

Our studies must show us why this is so, how the appeal is made to register, what we can do to combat it by exposing it for the fraud it is.

This last, Hook suggests, can be managed only by attacking communism in its specifics, by revealing its history. Calling it evil has become a boring generality even to many who hate it.

Studying communism, then, is a major education enterprise that deserves the best of our scholarship and the fullest participation and support of the whole American citizenry—adult and student alike.

Locking Is The Key

This has been not only a bumper year for automobile production, it's been a bumper year for automobile thefts.

No less than 249,368 cars — worth more than \$225 million—have been stolen in the first nine months of 1963, reports the National Automobile Theft Bureau. This is a 13 per cent increase over the same period in 1962.

The bureau cites two factors contribut-

ing to the spread of car thievery—population explosions in both automobiles and teenagers, who take eight out of every 10 cars stolen.

Because teen-age theft is usually spur of the moment, the bureau says auto owners could drastically cut the theft rate by simply removing their ignition keys and locking their cars every time they park.

The Pot And The Kettle

Snobbery is not a very attractive attitude of mind. But, unhappily, it is not the exclusive possession of any narrow economic or social stratum. It turns up everywhere.

The American workingman is often described as the salt of the earth, the living embodiment of the democratic ideal. But some of his fellows can be every whit as snobbish as the most highly placed executive traveling in "exclusive" social circles.

Some of these workers would never consider for a moment trying to understand the man on the higher economic rung. They have him all figured out, all decked out in clear black and white. Their badge of honor is that they do NOT talk to him any more than necessary.

Strangely, this kind of snobbery often saddly distorts religious feelings. Differences there will always be, but they lose their value if not steadily underscored by the idea of universal brotherhood.

Nor is the great racial struggle free of this kind of thing.

Negroes want not only better treatment but also better understanding and good will from the white population. Many of them

realize that this is a two-way street. But large numbers do not.

While asking much, they too often give little. They want full understanding of their problems, but think seldom of white men's problems.

Warped to its worst aspect, this inverse snobbery is expressed in the reckless comment of an Adam Clayton Powell: "We've got the white man on the run!"

What multiracial society can long prosper in which one group has another "on the run" and wants it that way?

Obviously, too, there is snobbery among nationality groups. Pride of nation is natural. But those who live on this soil as full-fledged citizens are Americans — not Poles or Italians or Germans.

Snobbery is a barricade. We have no business trying to erect such barricades in a society whose hallmark is its fluidity.

Snobbery does not become democratic when practiced by a man with a grievance, real or alleged. It is just as undemocratic when exhibited by a man in overalls, a Negro, a Catholic as it is when shown by a corporation president, a white man or a Protestant.

Rare Art Masterpiece

Few of us ever have folding money in our pockets long enough to become very well acquainted with it. And even fewer people have enough familiarity with money to have bred contempt for it.

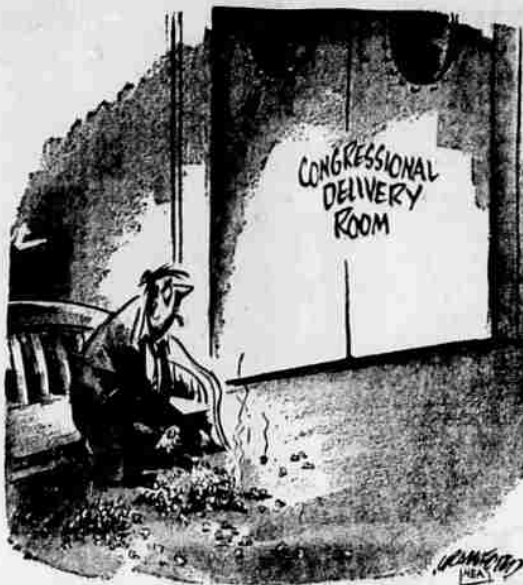
But there's a fellow in Miami, Fla., who has complained to his congressman about the \$10 bill. He thinks the obsolete car in the picture on the back gives America a bad image and certainly does not convey the idea of progress which this nation is so proud of.

Actually, the street scene in front of

the Treasury Building was ridiculously inaccurate even when it was engraved in 1929. There are a mere four motor vehicles and 12 pedestrians in sight. Washington hasn't been that depopulated since the British were careless with matches in 1814.

However, as one Treasury spokesman commented, the out-of-date ten-spot is "a symbol of the stability of the American economy."

On that controversial note, perhaps it is best to close the subject.



WASHINGTON WINDOW . . .

Political Platforms Contain Something For Everybody

By LYLE C. WILSON
United Press International

Sen. Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.) should be able to lick Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller in any showdown debate of their disagreement on what a presidential platform should contain. Rockefeller wants an itemized platform containing specific promises on such major issues as taxes, foreign aid and civil rights.

Goldwater is against that. The senator wants a platform consisting of a statement of Republican principles without spelling out promises to do this, that and the other thing.

Rockefeller has precedent going for him. It is customary for the political parties to make specific promises in their presidential platforms. Some of the Kennedy administration's recent trouble with the civil rights bill in the House Judiciary Committee flowed from the ambiguous specifications of civil rights action to which the Democratic Party pledged itself in the 1960 presidential campaign.

It has been the custom, however, for political parties to make specific promises. So, Rockefeller defends a well established position in his proposal that the Republicans do likewise next year. Only if the platform were specific and satisfactory, Rocky said, would he support Goldwater if the senator were nominated for President.

The weakness of Rockefeller's position and the strength of Goldwater's opposition is that platform specifics have been carried to the point of absurdity and political dishonesty. Platforms now are written to include something for everyone—vote catchers. The platform writing committee of any national convention is a pressure

group lobbyist's paradise.

Suppose the spokesman for the NAACP and other Negro organizations appears before the committee to proclaim aggressively that there are millions of Negro voters in key states and that they want U.S. Senate rules changed to prevent filibusters.

Most of the politicians seeking the presidential nomination are pretty sure then to endorse the proposition and denounce filibusters. They do that to win delegate votes in the convention and Negro votes in the election. They endorse and denounce even if they know they can't make good on their promises. Language satisfactory to NAACP goes into the platform.

That happened at the 1960 Democratic National Convention. Such things occur also among the Republicans. And such things are giving platforms, politicians and political conventions a bad name. The name is for political dishonesty.

So long as nominating conventions write specific political promises into their party platforms, just so long will this bad name prevail. Moreover, these specific platforms compound political sealawagery by inducing the habit of political dishonesty. Phoney platforms make con men of politicians. Confronted with campaign promises after an election, they have been known to brush them off as mere campaign oratory. In such an environment there thrive in Washington the little scandals, the little messes, the mis-use of official stationery to arm-twist political donations.

Why blame Senate Democratic Clerk Bobby Baker for adjusting himself to the established political environment? The rotten apple is buried deep in the nominating convention barrel.



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Speaking of bridge, as I was yesterday, reminded me that the most decisive element in any bridge hand is usually the opening lead. More than half the time, this move determines the success or failure of a contract.

The Spanish have a saying, "The first step is half the distance," whose truth we do not fully appreciate. I have found it to be true even in so subjective a process as writing a daily column. To write the first sentence is much harder than writing all the rest of it.

If my "opening lead" is right, then whatever follows is smooth and well-proportioned; hardly a word needs to be changed or a sentence restructured. If the opening sentence is poor, it is easier for me to throw it away and start another topic than to proceed from a maladroit lead. The importance of getting off to a good start with a child, for instance, can hardly be overestimated. The first year is by far the most important—yet many, if not most, people wrongly believe that a baby is simply a lump of protoplasm which does not need serious and tactful attention (beyond changing and feeding) until it can stand up and babble a few words.

A wrong start, by its very nature, keeps getting more and more awry, and each day it becomes increasingly difficult to correct the curve. Once a boy, for example, becomes tagged as a "delinquent," his tendency is to become more so—not necessarily because of his nature, but because his treatment by others sets up a vicious circle of mistrust and resentment. Only heroic efforts (on both sides) can erase the initial impression his conduct has made.

Equally, in our relationship with a new person, if we get off on the wrong foot, things can

only go from bad to worse. How often have we found, however, after not seeing such a person for a long time and then re-meeting, that we were wrong in our first impressions, and it is possible to be friends. Making an utterly new start is the only way out.

We commonly think of the "beginning" as just a point in time, from which developments proceed in regular movements; this is a wrong conception. The beginning includes the end, contains the seed of its own future, and is thus more crucial than any other part of the event.

Anyone who remembers, as a



WASHINGTON CALLING . . .

Mississippi Languishes

By MARQUIS CHILDS

WASHINGTON — The strategy of the Southern segregationists in their war against the Kennedys and the North is not to be discounted. The goal is to hold change to a bare minimum in the conviction that Northerners will themselves be alienated by the tactics of Negro leaders who seek by public demonstrations to make their case.

Thanks to the one-party system prevailing in most of the South and to seniority, their representatives in Congress are strategically placed to delay and obstruct civil rights legislation. The odds at the moment are probably against passage of a civil rights bill at this session. While Northern bickering and bungling have something to do with it, if this is the outcome the Southern bloc can take a big share of the credit.

The deepest of the Deep South is Mississippi and there, as this reporter observed recently, the effort is to keep the struggle on a cold war basis. The visitor is told that everything is fine. If it weren't for a few outside agitators there would be no trouble at all.

Gov. Ross Barnett says Mississippi's industrial development is moving right ahead. If figures provided by the Department of Commerce in Washington show that other Southern states are making faster progress, then those figures are wrong and Mississippi's figures are right.

Under a system of community bond issues plants are built with public funds, the key handed to an incoming industrialist who pays a form of rent that services the bonds and then after a period of years he owns the plant. A right-to-work law incorporated in the state constitution keeps union influence down and wages correspondingly low. Claude Ramsay, state head of the AFL-CIO, calls this a kind of "socialism for the rich."

Resisters and nonconformists are squeezed out. At the beginning of last year 28 younger Methodist ministers signed a statement calling for freedom of the pulpit and for public schools to remain open if they were integrated. Only 12 are left in the state and one more is soon to go.

Recently six teams of Methodist ministers from Illinois were joined by Negroes in Jackson, the capital, and they sought to join in Sunday worship. Three teams were arrested, law enforcement officers entering the

churches in two instances to carry out the arrest, according to the ministers. They were held in jail under \$1,000 bond. Federal Judge William H. Cox, an appointee of the Kennedy Administration, said:

"You came here looking for trouble and you found it."

The University of Mississippi at Oxford is now 100 per cent white with the dismissal of Cleve McDowell, a Negro law student, who was found to be carrying a pistol. Up to 20 per cent of the faculty have left since the riots over the admission of James Meredith. One of those leaving was the distinguished dean of the law school, Robert J. Farley.

The cold war can turn hot. The murder of Medgar Evers in Jackson in June removed an outstanding leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People whom many consider irreplaceable. No one has been prosecuted for that murder.

The visitor is told of threats and intimidation contributing to fear and suspicion seldom reflected on the deliberately calm outer surface. When Ralph Bunche came to Jackson on United Nations Day, which Governor Barnett has refused to recognize, he spoke at a small Negro institution, Tougaloo College. For whites to attend that meeting in the college hall apparently took courage.

The chaplain of Tougaloo is a young white Methodist minister, the Rev. Edwin King. A Mississippi educated in the North, he was assigned to a parish in Vicksburg and then ejected for his racial views. Tougaloo is integrated, with seven white students attending.

The Reverend King is running as lieutenant governor with the NAACP leader, Aaron Henry, of Clarksdale in a write-in campaign to show what the Negro strength would be if Negroes were allowed to vote. This might be described as an act of ultimate defiance of the white majority. King speaks quietly of the threatening telephone calls and other acts of intimidation directed against him.

The price of conformity can be high. The Illinois Methodists reported they could find no Mississippi Methodist willing to go to the jail to administer communion to the ministers held there. Finally two Catholic priests took the elements of communion to the jail for use by the ministers.

Are Northern whites being alienated by Negro tactics. Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, the traditionalist Democrat running for governor, says he has had 65,000 letters from every part of the North sympathizing with the segregationist stand. Time, if one accepts this view, is on the side of the resisters.

'Frankly I'm Pooped . . . Why Don't You Take A Break . . . !'



EDSON IN WASHINGTON

'New Negro' Is Impatient



By PETER EDSON

WASHINGTON (NEA) — A new kind of advocate for passage of a strong civil rights bill by Congress has appeared on the capital scene.

He is Jerome Smith, a 24-year-old Negro from New Orleans, who is field secretary and organizer for CORE—the Committee on Racial Equality—and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

He was one of the original freedom riders in the South. He has been arrested 12 or 13

times, he says, imprisoned three months in Mississippi and a month in Louisiana for breach of the peace.

Young Smith is appearing in Washington under the sponsorship of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

This is a federation of 65 church, labor union and Negro organizations which have pooled efforts to lobby for stronger legislation than the moderate Kennedy bill.

Smith's assignment is to call on congressmen to let them see what a young Negro leader looks like, how he talks, what he is thinking. But he says he has been having trouble seeing anyone. Congressmen are so busy.

He is a tall, slender, clean-cut young Negro. He wears blue denim, a blue cotton shirt open at the collar and tieless to show a clean white cotton undershirt.

"This is the uniform of the cotton fields," he says simply. "I'm part of the cheap labor of the South."

He has worked on the docks and helped his father, who is an auto body repairman in New Orleans.

They have trained him almost too well. His phrases are too tight from repetition. His vocabulary and English are good, but he uses too many big words. His sincerity and devotion, however, come through.

It is not pleasant to hear what he has to say, and it may be more shocking to read. But it is worth hearing and reading because it brings you right up against what the Negro masses in America are being told by their own people in this period of internal strife and confusion.

"I'm appalled by the controversy over the civil rights bill," he begins. "When government has a conflict within itself, it has forgotten about the country and the people. The Negro will lose faith in his government if this goes on."

"It's suicide to think that the

President's bill will suffice for the Negro in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. What a was good yesterday is not good enough for today. All America must go for broke to make sure we get a broad bill.

"I don't believe the President understands the passion of the people in the street. My freedom does not reside in President Kennedy but in myself. He's not after what I'm after. My concern is not whether the President gets re-elected.

"I put thumbs down on moderation. I can't think in terms of moderation while police beat us over the head and dogs rip up real flesh. But I'm plain enough to know that bitterness won't help. I must use my energies to bring about creative change.

"I am nonviolent. But that doesn't represent the attitude of the masses of people in the country.

"Nonviolence is not a constant thing. This is not consistent with human nature. They will finally react out of sheer frustration. The mood of the world is bringing about change.

"Every Negro in America is active. This is nothing new. It has been going on since the first Negroes came to America in chains."

BERRY'S WORLD



"What do YOU think I think about challenging the Cosa Nostra to a touch football game?"

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Wednesday, Nov. 6, the 310th day of 1963 with 55 to follow.

The moon is approaching its last quarter. The evening stars are Jupiter and Saturn.

On this day in history:

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States.

In 1960, the first formal intercollegiate football game was played between Princeton and Rutgers at New Brunswick, N. J.

In 1900, William McKinley was elected President on the Republican ticket.