Correspondence concerning Arnaud Marts article, "The Street"

"THE STREET"

by

ARNAUD C. MARTS

Do you understand the meaning of this phrase?

"The Street" has been known and used for several generations in certain other lands, where the people are less experienced in self-government. Its importation into the United States is so recent that very few American citizens have become familiar with the expression, or have become aware of its nature.

It is high time for us who love and value the self-government under which Americans have prospered for two centuries to begin to understand this new import; for it is a "fact of life" in 1962 America, and some elements of it are not good for America or for the free world.

It is difficult to discover anything about "The Street" in our usual reference books, libraries or publications, for, curiously enough, few journalists seem to have noticed as yet its manifestations in America. I have search(ed) files and catalogues diligently and have found not the least reference to "The Street" by this name which is so well known in other sections of the world.

Yet we read about its outbreaks in the United States continuously in our newspapers and journals, and constantly see them pictured on our screens.

What is "The Street"? Let us begin to understand it and to evaluate it.

First, let me relate what it is in the lands from which we recently imported it and then call your attention to how "The Street" operates in our own nation.

"The Street" seems to have originated in certain Arab lands which enjoyed little or no self-government; where the citizens are not experienced in democratic processes of parliamentary government, and are largely illiterate. Under our system we, the people, nominate candidates for public office and stage election campaigns with heated debates. We go to the polls on a certain day; each voter withdraws behind a curtain and in secret records his vote for the candidates and issues of his or her choice.

The elected candidates take office; debate continues in legislative halls; laws are passed; executive officers proceed to administer these laws; court officers proceed to pass judgment on the interpretation of the laws.

In one or two or four years, this whole process is repeated and our citizens again register their opinions and their judgments in regard to their self-government. The periodic elections provide frequent outlets for the expression of judgments and desires.

In other lands, where the people are ruled rather than rule themselves, "The Street" is a political tool of revolt.

An astute journalist describes how he witnessed "The Street" in its area of origin. Mr. Richard Starnes, Columnist and Reporter for the New York Sun and World Telegram, recently wrote in his column:

> "I was sitting in Jack's bar at the Semiramis Hotel in Cairo some years ago when a fist-sized rock sailed through a window and clattered to the floor. My companion, who was an

old, old Egypt hand, inclined his head toward the stone. "So much for Naguib and the revolution," he said with finality. "In the end it is the street that is Egypt's destiny."

> "The Street" was a term I was to hear many times in the Middle East. It meant the terrifying insensate street mob, but it also means the mob skillfully manipulated by demagogic politicians. Political expertese in Arab lands used to begin and end with the aphorism that whoever controls "the street" rules the nation."

"The Street" is a mass demonstration in the public streets by groups of people, determined protagonists or antagonists of a political cause or of a political leader. Their purpose is to inflame public opinion re their cause; and to frighten political leaders into expediting action.

Before describing "The Street" in our own U.S.A., perhaps it will help you to understand its background in its native area if I quote other reporters who saw it in operation elsewhere. Following are brief selected dispatches:

Time Magazine of February 25, 1961, reported:

> "A battered corpse lay buried at the bottom of a secret grave thousands of miles away in the desolate western Congo bush. Patrice Lumumba, ex-beer salesman, ex-embezzler, ex-Premier, was dead.
>
> "Fire and Ink. As if at the push of a button, turmoil erupted in dozens of countries on five continents.

In Moscow, a mob assaulted the Belgian embassy, smashed windows and broke bottles of ink against the walls while militiamen stood by and watched. The demonstration was so well organized that whether the students from Africa were French-speaking or English, they showed up with placards in English - for the benefit of U.S. TV cameras. Hours later similar crowds were in action in Belgrade, Amsterdam, Paris. In Columbo, Dublin, Rome, Teheran, Melbourne and Delhi, demonstrators marched through the streets shouting 'Lumumba' and waving anti-Belgian placards. In Cairo, the Belgian embassy was set afire."

The A. P. reported from London on February 18, 1961 as follows:

"London, Feb. 18 (AP) - Student mobs attacked American and Belgian property in Asia, Africa and South America today in continuing violent protests over the slaying of former Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba."

From Moscow Walter Lister of the Herald Tribune Bureau reported on April 12, 1961:

"Moscow, Apr. 12 - Thousands of pro-Castro demonstrators, led by teen-agers throwing rocks and ink bottles, churned outside the American Embassy for about six hours today--more or less controlled by some 1,500 Soviet soldiers and militiamen.

"Thirty window panes were broken and the ten-story embassy was splattered with blue and red ink, but no American personnel were injured.

Gaston Coblentz reported in the New York Times in May, 1961 from Bucharest, Rumania.

> "At the height of the Cuban crisis, the United States Legation in Bucharest was subjected to one of the worst attacks suffered by any American mission abroad.
>
> "The attack began after a crowd of several thousand Rumanians jammed into the narrow street in front of the large Legation building and simultaneously surrounded the building from the rear."

These "Street" outbreaks led Art Buchwald to write in his entertaining column from Paris published in this country:

> "Whenever the United States does anything that the rest of the world objects to, thousands of students and workers rush down to their nearest American Embassy or United States Information Agency building and start flinging bricks and ink bottles at the nece large glass windows.
>
> "Replacing glass windows in American diplomatic missions is one of the biggest expense items in the State Department budget and yet the United States refuses to be intimidated by such demonstrations. Proof of this is that every new American embassy being designed now provides for larger windows than the previous one."

Three Vicious "Street".

1. Japan. Do you remember the chanting, rythmic, prancing antics of thousands of Japanese students who tried to drag Mr. James Hagerty, press secretary to President Eisenhower, out of his auto and possibly to his death in the streets of Tokyo; whose determined public

riots prevented President Eisenhower from paying a friendly visit to Japan?

This was "The Street" at its "perfect worst."

Now it was organized and stimulated was told recently by a group of the young men who led the riots, on their visit to the U.S.A., as members of Moral Re-Armament, the religious group which they joined when they realized they had been duped by Communist agents.

2. Venezuela. Do you remember "The Street" mobs in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1960 who tried to drag Vice President and Mrs. Nixon from their auto during their visit as guests invited by the President of Venezuela? Do you remember how these frenzied youths spat upon Mrs. Nixon and seemingly tried to destroy our Vice President physically, while they chanted "Freedom, si; Yanks, no!"?

3. Algeria. You remember Algiers, "The Street" riots there are so recent and deadly. It is tragic indeed to see the pictures of these screaming mobs.

The sole element of morality and dignity in Algiers is the view of the great President de Gaulle as he strides, unarmed, dressed in his old Brigadier General's uniform into "The Street" and cries out to the mobs, "Give up your out-of-date myths and your absurd disturbances and help Algiers become a sovereign state."

Is There a Pattern?

As I study the pictures and the accounts of scores of Street disturbances in other lands, there seems to be a pattern and also a timing and a synchronization that can scarcely be spontaneous or fortuitous.

The placards carried by "The Street" are often a dead give-away as to the mobs' real animosity. In Santo Domingo, some read -

"Bad Yankees", "Yankees get out."

In Brazil,Peru, Paraguay, Columbia during our Ambassador Stevenson's recent visits, the placards were similar.

In Venezuela they read -

"Kennedy, No."

The anomalous thing was that pictures of "The Street" show their placards written in English, not in their native tongue. Whom were "The Streets" trying to impress? The United States, and why? Because back of them were men who hate the U.S.A.

The same give-away signs showed up in pictures from Burma, Indonesia, and other far places.

In Rangoon, a picture reproduced widely shows "The Street", mobs of men and women marching by the American Embassy bearing Uncle Sam in effigy, and placards (in English)

"Yankee Go Home"
and
"Belgium -U.S. -U.N.
Killed Lumumba."

Synchronized Timing?

Another type of evidence suggests control from a central switch board, - the apparent synchronized timing of violent "Street" demonstrations in widely scattered nations. A copy of a published round-up of world news following Lumumba's death in the Congo, reported -

"On Tuesday, the Soviet Union withdrew recognition of Hammarskjold, branding him "an accomplice of the Belgians and Katangese in Lumumba's death. It promished "all possible assistance and support" to Gizenga's rump government...

"Then the mobs went to work. Thousands of Russians, with a sprinkling of African and Asian students from Moscow's Friendship University, bombarded the Belgian Embassy with stones. In Belgrade and Warsaw, howling youths stormed Belgium's chancelleries, burning files and spattering diplomats with ink. Mobs in Cairo set the Belgian Embassy aflame. African students in New Delhi shattered windows.

"Violence Came on Cue.

"The riots raged through the week. Students in Bogota, Caracus and Havana stoned Belgian embassies. Ceylonese unionists burned Hammarskjold in effigy in Columba...."

Direct Testimony by Participants in a "Street"

We also have direct personal testimony from persons who led one of the most spectacular "Street" outbreaks, -The student riots in Tokyo in 1960.

This testimony was given in the United States in the spring of 1961 by a group of Japanese University students and other young people on a world tour in support of Moral Re-Armament.

In Carnegie Hall, New York City, the group presented "The Tiger", a drama of the Tokyo riots written and acted by men who took part. During this public presentation certain members of the cast addressed the public as follows:

One of the cast, Mr. Shoei Omote, former President of the students of Meiji University, said: "I fought as a leader of the Zengakuren because I felt that Communism alone could answer the corruption of Japan. I was ready to give my life for it. But the harder we fought the more bitterness and division there was in the

country. I heard about MRA. I saw that, as I am, so is my nation. When I put right what was wrong in my own life I realized that anti-Communism is too small and neutrality of no significance. It is Moral Re-Armament or Communism."

Yoshikazue Katakura, Vice President of the Waseda University Debating Society and executive member of his branch of the Zengakuren, and Member of the cast of The Tiger spoke in this manner:

"When I went to university, I joined the Zengakuren which stands for the All-Japan General Organization of Students Self-Governing Bodies. It was founded in 1946 as one of the means of leading Japan in democracy. From the very beginning the Communists came into the organization under slogans of safe-guarding democracy.

"Within two years they had taken it over. At one time it was officially affiliated with the Japanese Communist Party, but three years ago it was expelled for its Trotskyist leanings. Now the Zengakuren is regarded as being further left than the Japanese Communist Party."

These idealistic young men were misled by Communist organizers in Japan to join in the violent street riots in Tokyo, which terrified and shocked people throughout the world. The anti-American riots had the triple purpose (1) of degrading and humiliating the President of the United States at a time when his triumphant tour of the world was rallying democratic forces against the spread of Communism. (2) To overthrow the Government of Prime Minister Kishi. (3) To bring Japan into the Communist group of nations.

In sorrow and in shame this group of ex-Japanese Communists made their apologies in person to James C. Hagerty whom they had tried to kill on the streets of Tokyo. The Japanese group as a whole visited

the United States Capital and there in a Congressional Committee room publicly apologized to the United States of America for participating in the "Street" demonstrations.

THE APPARATUS

One is not required to look too long to discover the apparatus by which the peoples of many lands are being excited to "Street" disturbances.

For the techniques have been codified and published in a Communist handbook, a copy of which was picked up somewhere in Europe by the CIA. Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Inspector General of the CIA, presented the subcommittee of the Senate Internal Security Committee a copy of this how-to-do-it text-book. It contains charts, gives techniques showing how to assemble street mobs, how to incite and inflame them, and once inflamed, how to manipulate them to paralyze and frustrate police control. You may learn from this handbook how your "Street" can swallow up an approaching patrol of police by suddenly splitting into two wings.

Kozak's "Guide to Plotters"

If you are interested in further documentation of Communist incitation of "The Street" or mob rule, it was all written down by a dedicated Communist, Mr. Jan Kozak, a Czech.

It was written and published as a guide to plotters in all countries. Communist leaders promptly realized it was a tip-off to the outside world and tried vigorously to prevent its distribution outside of Communist circles.

But two key chapters had been taken out of the country, as related by Hon. Peter Zenkl, Ex-Vice-Premier of Czechoslovakia in This Week of October 29, 1961, and were translated into English and published as a 45-page book by the Independent Information Centre, 4 Holland Road, London W. 14, England. A copy may be had for six shillings (.85¢). Mr. Zenkl comments:

"You will see instantly how many seemingly unrelated Communist maneuvers follow the pattern laid down in Kozak's book--such events, for example, as Krushchev's outrageous shoe pounding with the cynical aim of degrading the parliamentary respectability of the UN General Assembly...the street demonstration in front of the UN...mob riots in Tokyo, Leopoldville, Ankara, Caracas...world-wide meetings protesting Lumumba's death...the UN balcony demonstration timed to interrupt the speech by Adlai Stevenson, etc."

"The Street" in the English Speaking World

"The English-speaking peoples were rather slow to import "The Street", probably because of their successful experiences in free parliamentary self-government, and probably because their emotions have a higher boiling point.

But in due time "The Street" was imported to England, and has been used frequently by Earl Bertrand Russell and others. Lord Russell has called his "Street" out from time to time to make massive street demonstrations <u>against</u> the U. S. Polaris Missile submarines at H Holy Loch; <u>for</u> unilateral nuclear disarmament; <u>against</u> all Nato bases in England, and so on.

"Go Limp" was Lord Russell's recent order of the day to his "Street." "Go limp if the police attempt to move you." Time Magazine reported:

"When the great day finally came, the Gandhiose effort was a bit of a flop. When his silent horde of 3000 arrived outside the Ministry of Defense to squat on the cold pavement,---the 400 bobbies perversely refused to touch a soul.

"P.S. Earl Russell had been jailed for a week on charges of inciting the public to commit a breach of the peace."

In the U.S.A. - Little Rock

The first really lethal "Street" riot in the U.S.A. which occurred in 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas. The Governor of Arkansas had turned out the State Militia to prevent the High School from desegregating. The President of the United States had ordered Federal troups to the City to enforce the desegration law, and Negro children were admitted. The "The Street" turned out, hundreds of angry white men and women who threatened injury to the brave little Negro children who enrolled. The school authorities were forced by the mob to send the Negro children home.

San Francisco

The next spectacular "Street" demonstration chronologically, was in the spring of 1960, when hundreds of college students were assembled in front of the Federal building in San Francisco. The House Committee on Un-American Activities was to hold a session at that place to hear testimony as to charges of un-American activities on the west coast.

You can find a full description in a booklet issued by the U. S. Government Printing Office, entitled -

> "A Report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Illustrating Communist Strategy and Tactics in the Rioting Which Occurred During House Committee on Un-American Activities Hearings, San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960."

New Orleans

In the fall of 1960 we witnessed a particularly repulsive "Street" in New Orleans, where mobs of white women and men interposed themselves, physically and vocally, between the orders of the United States Courts, and a few frightened, but brave, little Negro children who attempted to enroll in a public school.

Disgusting as this spectacle was to Americans, there was never substantial evidence of any Communistic origin of it. On the contrary, it was said to have been a strictly home-made, indigenious outburst, master-minded by local Louisiana talent.

New York

"The Street" then seemsd to have become contagious. In 1960 a small, bold band of Negroes stormed forcibly into the United Nations, broke up a formal session of the General Assembly as our Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was speaking, and engaged in fist fights with the guards in the balcony.

A few weeks later, a small group, calling themselves the United African National Movement, used "The Street" in Harlem to stage a "funeral" for Lumumba, the dead Premier of the Congo. Their huge sign read "They have killed our Savior." The speakers who harangued the crowd blamed the murder of Lumumba on either the U. S. State Department, President Kennedy, Governor Rockefeller, or white men in general. Their phonograph machine played records of such songs as "A White Man's Heaven is a Black Man's Hell." Their purpose was obvious. (I have often wondered why noisy demonstrators in the New York streets are not treated as London bobbies treated Lord Bertrand Russell for "Breach of the Peace.")

Sit-Ins and Freedom Riders

1961 brought a series of "non-violent" sit-downs in Southern cities to demand equal treatment for Negro diners, travelers, etc.

Then followed a series of "freedom riders", demonstrations in "The Street" by idealistic college students and teachers, and others. Their"non-violent" acts, adapted from Gandhi's career, were aimed at provoking arrest for violation of discrimnatory racial laws which they were protesting.

There is sharp disagreement as to the social value of these "Streets. Two outstanding political leaders have expressed opposite

views on the subject; one, the Governor of a great northern state said in response to a reporter's question concerning the "Freedom Riders" - "I admire all of them." But a former President of the United States replied to a similar question, that they are "stirring up trouble" and hurting the cause of civil rights in the South. He said they "should stay home and attend to their business" and allow civil rights to be advanced in "an orderly and legal manner."

Since Ihave stated that many "Streets" in various parts of the world have been Communist inspired, it is only fair to the Sit-Ins to say at this point that they had no Communistic connections, in my belief. I know some of the men who were back of the Sit-Ins.

I asked one of these men if there were Communists amongst the organizers. He replied, "the Communists have given up on our people for the reason that we believe in God, and will have nothing to do with the Godless outfit."

Amusing "Streets" Also

Not all the "Streets" in the United States in 1961 and 1962 have been revolutionary in their purposes and violent in their methods. Some have been amusing, some noble-minded, some rather pitiful. Apparently, the "Street" method of exposing a minority's protest to public view is appealing to a wide variety of citizens. Following are a few headlines chosen at random from a great many news reports of "Street" demonstrations.

Syracuse, N. Y.

"We Want Our Rights." Students at Rally ~~Change~~ at Syracuse University demonstrate to protest campus housing and social activities.

New York

Greenwich Villagers Storm City Planners -- armed with boos, jeers, cat-calls and chants - ran wild at City Hall yesterday to fight a decision."

New York

400 Students march six miles to City Hall to protest a change in the School's diplomas.

Cambridge, Mass.

"Latin, Si, Pusey No!" Harvard Boys Riot

Rochester, N. Y.

Students Rally to Protest U. of Rochester Teaching.

New York

Hunter and City Collete of New York students parade for Rith GMT to Listen to radical speakers, etc.

Jackson, Michigan

20 Divorcees on Picket Lines.

The women have been picketing to protest policies in the collection of alimony and child support payments from ex-husbands.

New York

Hundreds of senior citizens stage a "stroll" on 42nd Street to underscore their desire for Federal medical aid.

Washington

Student Peace Fasters Picket the White House

Washington

Rival srudent pickets Yum Noses at Peace Fasters.

New York

A group of property owners wearing striped prison garb picket Court to protest rent control.

New York — Women Protest Bums in the Park.

New York and Washington — Youths and Women Protest Nuclear Bombs

"The Street" versus the Ballot Box

If our present enthusiasm for "The Street" continues to proliferate ideas for demonstrations of this, that or the other hope and desire, we will soon rate very high on the world list of "Street" demonstrators. At the moment money, we would seem to be out-ranked in this field only by Algeria, Cuba and San Domingo.

But let us not follow the tragic leadership of Mr. Castro who has decided to substitute "The Street" for the ballot box in Cuba.

This profound student of parliamentary government had announced in 1959 when he seized power in Cuba, that he would hold elections within a year. But the short cut of "The Street" is more to his liking now.

Recently at the climax of 17 hours of mass parading before him, he shouted - "Do you need elections?"

The multitude of 500,000 roared back, "No, No!".

Castro then added, as told by Mr. Roscoe Drummond, distinguished reporter, -

> "A revolution is an election held daily. It is a constant meeting of the people, like this meeting. The revolution has changed the conception of pseudo-democracy for direct government of the people."

The "New Watching Nations"

Let us be ever mindful of the role we have had for two centuries as an example for other peoples who yearn and struggle toward freedom and self-government.

Recently an official U. S. representative on a United Nations Commission made a speech in which she appeared to extol recent "Street" protests. She is reported to have said -

> For the new watching nations in Africa and Asia the spirit of freedom has been re-enacted and re-born in the sit-ins, in the peaceful demonstrations at the lunch counters and the freedom riders.

I beg to disagree, most respectfully. We can teach the "new Watching Nations" very little with a"Street" demonstration. Some of them invented it.

Would not the "New Watching Nations" profit far more from our continual example of our dignified system of debate, elections, legislation, law administration, courts of justices?

There are few short cuts to human freedom. But it is worth the cost in patience, intelligence, character, diligence!

LETTER OF THE WEEK



Relief in Courts

We must not have government by clamor, class, cloth, or color, or even by "citizen" committee, however well intentioned. We must have government by duly elected representatives free to exercise their best judgment.

If others disagree with that exercise the remedy is at the polls and not in the streets, hallways or classrooms. If any legal rights are being denied the courts provide the remedy. And a worthy board of education will not yield its voter-given rights and responsibilities to others.

Recently the actions of the few have gone beyond free speech and assembly and have become coercive, beyond doubt and by deliberate intent. If these actions continue our government by duly elected representatives will yield to government by coercive minority, and ultimately to anarchy and chaos. . .

Let us all who sincerely believe in our democratic form of government pause, reflect, and regain perspective, before it is too late. . . .

RUSSELL E. LEASURE,
Union Commerce Building,
Cleveland

This article has nothing to do with purchasing or business in particular, but it pertains to all of us in general. We think that every American should give some serious thought to what is contained in this article.

Paisley Boney

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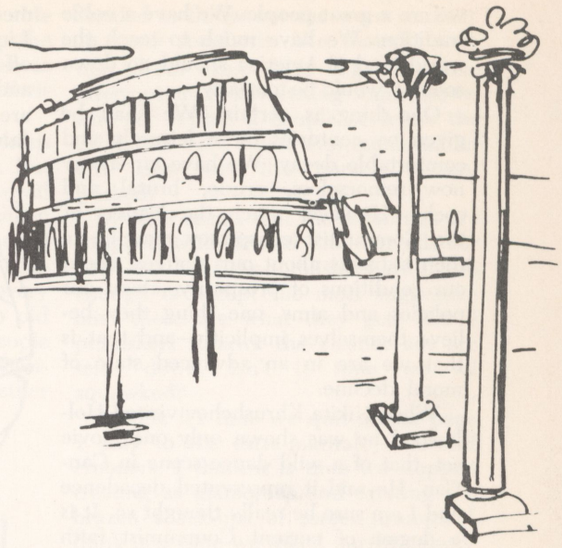


WHO IS TAMPERING WITH
The Soul of AMERICA?

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor the Tulsa Tribune

I AM about to inflict upon you a jeremiad.

Long before the prophet, Jeremiah, uttered his lamentations about the evil behavior of the Children of Israel the world had seen many calamity-howlers. We have cuneiform tablets describing the moral decay of Babylon and Chaldea. We have hieroglyphic inscriptions predicting that Osiris and Ra will smite the Egyptians for their wickedness. And so today when I make some comments about the moral climate of America, and about our responsibilities therefore as temporary custodians of America's press, I speak in a very old tradition.

The calamity howler! It is customary to dismiss such fogeyism as I am about to display with a tolerant laugh. For while it was freely predicted all through the ages that the world was going to Hell, it hasn't gone to Hell yet. Who can deny that in practically all the crafts and certainly all of the sciences we are farther advanced than we ever have been? Why not be cheerfully optimistic?

I think I can tell you why. Human progress has never been steady. It has washed back and forth like waves upon a beach. Happily, there has also been an incoming tide, so the waves have washed higher and higher as each great civilization came on.

But the pathway of history is littered with the bones of dead states and fallen empires. And they were not, in most cases, promptly replaced by something better. Nearly a thousand years elapsed between the fall of Western Rome and the rise of the Renaissance, and in between we had the Dark Ages in which nearly all of man's institutions were inferior to those which had gone before. I don't want my children's children to go through a couple of centuries of dialectic materialism before the sun comes up again.

So the Jeremiahs haven't been so wrong, after all. It is sad to watch the beginnings of decay. It is sad to see an Age of Pericles replaced by the drunken riots of Alcibiades. There was, indeed, just cause for gloom when into the palaces of the Caesars went Nero and Caligula, and when the once-noble Praetorian Guard became a gang of assassins willing to sell the throne to the top bidder.

Alaric's Goths finally poured over the walls of Rome. But it was not that the walls were low. It was that Rome, itself, was low. The sensual life of Pompeii, the orgies on Lake Trasimene, the gradually weakened fibre of a once self-disciplined people that reduced them at last to seeking safety in mercenaries and the payment of tribute—all these brought Rome down. She went down too early.

And so I look upon our own country and much that I see disturbs me. But we are a great people. We have a noble tradition. We have much to teach the world, and if America should go down soon it would be too early.

One thing is certain. We shall be given no centuries for a leisurely and comfortable decay. We have an enemy now—remorseless, crude, brutal and cocky. However much the leaders of the Communist conspiracy may lie to their subjects about our motives, about our conditions of prosperity, about our policies and aims, one thing they believe themselves implicitly—and that is that we are in an advanced state of moral decline.

When Nikita Khrushchev visited Hollywood he was shown only one movie set, that of a wild dance scene in Can-Can. He said it represented decadence and I am sure he really thought so. It is a dogma of current Communist faith that America is Sodom and Gomorrah, ripening for the kill.



Do you know what scares me about the Communists? It is not their political system, which is primitive and savage. It is not their economic system which works so badly that progress in a few directions is purchased at the price of progress in all the rest. It is their puritanism. It is their dedication and self-sacrifice.

It does no good to comfort ourselves with the reflection that these are products of endless brainwashings, of incessant propaganda, of deprivation by censorship and jamming of counter-information and contrary arguments. The dedication is there. The confidence that they are morally superior is there.

The naive questions of your Intourist reveal only too quickly that she thinks she is talking to a self-indulgent fop from the court of some latter day Louis XIV. In the schoolyard the children rush up to show you, not their yo-yos, but their scholarship medals. And when you offer them new Lincoln pennies as souvenirs they rip off their little Young Pioneer buttons and hand them to you, proud that they are not taking gifts, but are making a fair exchange.



The Russian stage is as austere as the Victorian stage. Russian literature may be corny but it is clean, and it glorifies the Russian people and exudes optimism and promise. Russian art is stiffly representational, but the paintings and the sculpture strive to depict beauty and heroism—Russian beauty, of course, and Russian heroism.

And what of us?

We are now at the end of the third decade of the national insanity known as "progressive education". This was the education where everybody passes, where the report cards were non-committal lest the failure be faced with the fact of his failure, where all moved at a snail pace like a transatlantic convoy so that the slowest need not be left behind, and all proceeded toward adulthood in the lockstep of "togetherness". Thus the competition that breeds excellence was to be sacrificed for the benefit of something called "life adjustment".

With what results? We have watched juvenile delinquency climb steadily. We have produced tens of thousands of high school graduates who move their lips as they read and cannot write a coherent paragraph. While our Russian contemporaries, who were supposed to be dedicated to the mass man, have been busy constructing an elite we have been engaged in the wholesale production of mediocrity. What a switch!

When was the last time you, as editors and publishers, examined the curricula of your local schools? How did your schools rank on the standardized Iowa tests? When have you looked at your schools' report cards and the philosophy behind their grading system? Have you asked to examine any senior English themes? Have you offered any recognition to your schools' best scholars to compare to the recognition you accord your schools' best football players?

For the funny thing about "progressive educators" is that theory vanishes when the referee's whistle blows for the kick-off. In the classroom they pretend to grade subjectively, against the student's supposed capacity, lest he be humiliated by natural inadequacy. But on the football field they never put in a one-legged halfback on the theory that, considering his disability, he's a great halfback. They put in the best halfback they've got, period. The ungifted sit on the bench or back in the stands even though they, too, might thirst for glory. If our schools were as anxious to turn out brains as they are to turn out winning football teams this strange contradiction wouldn't exist.

Having neglected disciplines in education, it was quite logical that we should reject disciplines in art. The great painters and sculptors of the past studied anatomy so diligently that they often indulged in their own body-snatching. And today, after many centuries, we stare at the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel or at the walls of the Reichsmusee and marvel at their works.

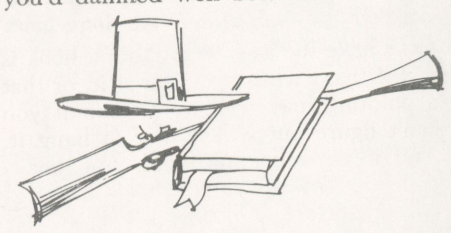
But this self-discipline is of little concern to the modern nonobjective painter. All he needs is pigment and press agent. He can throw colors at a canvas and the art world will discover him. He can stick bits of glass, old rags and quids of used chewing tobacco on a board and he is a social critic. He can drive a car back and forth in pools of paint and "Life" magazine will write him up.

Talent is for squares. What you need is vast effrontery. If you undertake to paint a cow, it must look something like a cow. That takes at least a sign painter's ability. But you can claim to paint a picture of your psyche and, no matter what the result, who is to say what your psyche looks like? So our museums are filled with daubs being stared at by confused citizens who haven't the guts to admit they are confused.

But the Age of Fakery in art is a mild cross that American civilization bears. Much more serious is our collapse of moral standards and the blunting of our capacity for righteous indignation.

Our Puritan ancestors were preoccupied with sin. They were too preoccupied with it. They were hag-ridden and guilt-ridden and theirs was a repressed and neurotic society. But they had horsepower. They wrested livings from rocky land, built our earliest colleges, started our literature, caused our industrial revolution, and found time in between to fight the Indians, the French and the British, to bawl for abolition, women's suffrage and prison reform, and to experiment with graham crackers and bloomers. They were a tremendous people.

And for all their exaggerated attention to sin, their philosophy rested on a great granite rock. Man was the master of his soul. You didn't have to be bad. You could and should be better. And if you wanted to escape the eternal fires you'd damned well better be.



In recent years all this has changed in America. We have decided that sin is largely imaginary. We have become enamored with "behavioristic psychology." This holds that a man is a product of his heredity and his environment, and his behavior to a large degree is foreordained by both. He is either a product of a happy combination of genes and chromosomes or an unhappy combination. He moves in an environment that will tend to make him good or that will tend to make him evil. He is just a chip tossed helplessly by forces beyond his control and, therefore, not responsible.

Well, the theory that misbehavior can be cured by pulling down tenements and erecting in their places elaborate public housing is not holding water.

The crime rates continue to rise along with our outlays for social services.

We speak of underprivilege. Yet the young men who swagger up and down the streets, boldly flaunting their gang symbols on their black jackets, are far more blessed in creature comforts, opportunities for advancement, and freedom from drudgery than 90 per cent of the children of the world.

We have sown the dragon's teeth of pseudoscientific sentimentality, and out of the ground has sprung the legion bearing switch-blade knives and bicycle chains.

Clearly something is missing. Could it be what the rest of the world's children have been given—the doctrine of individual responsibility?

Relief is gradually becoming an honorable career in America. It is a pretty fair life, if you have neither conscience nor pride. The politicians will weep over you. The state will give a mother a bonus for her illegitimate children, and if she neglects them sufficiently she can save enough out of her ADC [Aid to Dependent Children] payments to keep herself and her boy friend in wine and

ars to compare to the recognition you accord your schools' best football players?

For the funny thing about "progressive educators" is that theory vanishes when the referee's whistle blows for the kick-off. In the classroom they pretend to grade subjectively, against the student's supposed capacity, lest he be humiliated by natural inadequacy. But on the football field they never put in a one-legged halfback on the theory that, considering his disability, he's a great halfback. They put in the best halfback they've got, period. The ungifted sit on the bench or back in the stands even though they, too, might thirst for glory. If our schools were as anxious to turn out brains as they are to turn out winning football teams this strange contradiction wouldn't exist.

Having neglected disciplines in education, it was quite logical that we should reject disciplines in art. The great painters and sculptors of the past studied anatomy so diligently that they often indulged in their own body-snatching. And today, after many centuries, we stare at the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel or at the walls of the Reichsmusee and marvel at their works.

But this self-discipline is of little concern to the modern nonobjective painter. All he needs is pigment and press agent. He can throw colors at a canvas and the art world will discover him. He can stick bits of glass, old rags and quids of used chewing tobacco on a board and he is a social critic. He can drive a car back and forth in pools of paint and "Life" magazine will write him up.

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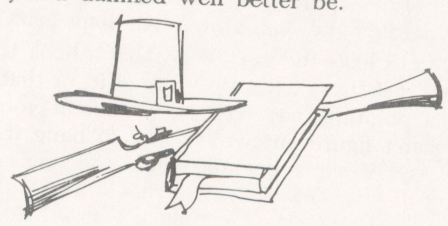

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I don't know how long Americans can stand this erosion of principle. But I believe that some of my starry-eyed friends are kidding themselves when they pretend that every planeload of Puerto Ricans that puts down at Idlewild is equivalent in potential to every shipload of Pilgrims that put into old Plymouth. Nations are built by people capable of great energy and self-discipline. I never heard of one put together by cha-cha-cha.



The welfare state that taxes away the rewards for responsible behavior so that it can remove the age-old penalties for irresponsible behavior is building on a foundation of jelly. It is time we stopped this elaborate pretense that there is no difference between the genuinely unfortunate and the mobs of reliefers who start throwing bottles every time the cops try to make a legitimate arrest.

Finally, there is the status of our entertainment and our literature.

Can anyone deny that movies are dirtier than ever? But they don't call it dirt. They call it "realism." Why do we let them fool us? Why do we nod owlishly when they tell us that filth is merely a daring art form, that licentiousness is really social comment? Isn't it time we recognized Hollywood's quest for the fast buck for what it is? Isn't it plain that the financially-harrassed movie industry is putting gobs of sex in the darkened drive-ins in an effort to lure curious teen-agers away from their TV sets? Recently the screen industry solemnly announced that henceforth perversion and homosexuality would no longer be barred from the screen provided the subjects were handled with "delicacy and taste." Good Lord!

And we of the press are a party to the crime. Last year the movie ads in our newspaper got so salacious and suggestive that the advertising manager and I decided to throw out the worst and set up some standards. We thought that due to our ukase there might be some interruption in advertising some shows. But no. Within a couple of hours the exhibitors were down with much milder ads. How was this miracle accomplished?

Well, it seems that the exhibitors are supplied with several different ads for each movie. If the publishers are dumb enough to accept the most suggestive ones those are what they get. But if publishers squawk the cleaner ads are sent down. Isn't it time we all squawked?

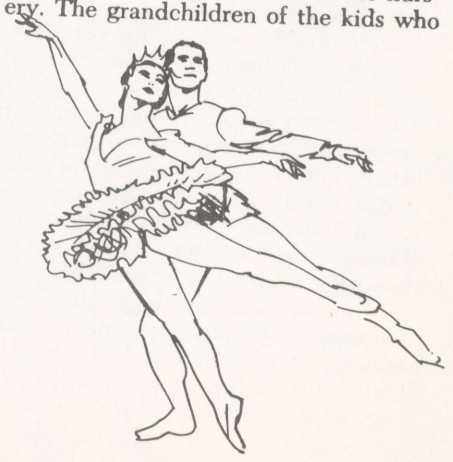
I think it's time we quit giving page 1 play to the extra-marital junkets of crooners. I think it is time we stopped treating as glamorous and exciting the brazen shack-ups of screen tramps. I think it is time we asked our Broadway and Hollywood columnists if they can't find something decent and inspiring going on along their beats.

And the stage: They raided Minsky's so Minsky's has spread all over town. Bawdiness has put on a dinner jacket, and seats in the orchestra that used to go for six-bits at the Old Howard and Nichols' Gayety are now scaled at $8.80. Oh, yes. And we have lots of "realism". Incestuous Americans. Perverted Americans. Degenerate Americans. Murderous Americans.

How many of these "realistic" Americans do you know?

Several months ago an American touring company, sponsored by the State Department and paid for by your tax dollars, presented one of Tennessee Williams' more depraved offerings to an audience in Rio de Janeiro. The audience hooted in disgust and walked out. And where did it walk to? Right across the street where a Russian ballet company was putting on a beautiful performance for the glory of Russia! How dumb can we get?

We are drowning our youngsters in violence, cynicism and sadism piped into the living room and even the nursery. The grandchildren of the kids who



used to weep because the Little Match Girl froze to death now feel cheated if she isn't slugged, raped and thrown into a Bessemer converter.

And there's our literature. The old eye-poppers of the past, which tourists used to smuggle back from Paris under their dirty shirts, are now tame stuff. Compared to some of our modern slush, "Ulysses" reads like the minutes of the Epworth League. "Lady Chatterly's Lover" has been draped with the mantle of art, and it is now on sale in the corner drugstore to your high-school-age son or daughter for 50 cents. Henry Miller's "Tropic of Cancer," which resembles a collection of inscriptions taken from privy walls, is about to join Lady Chatterly. The quick-buck boys have apparently convinced our bumfuzzled judges that there is no difference between a peep show and a moral lecture.

And, of course, we have our latter-day historical novels in which the romance of man's upward movement from savagery is lost in a confused welter of bundlings and tumblings. The foreign reader of one of these epics on the development of the American West must marvel that our forefathers found time to quell the Comanches, plow up Kansas and build the transcontinental railroad, while spending practically all their time in the hay.

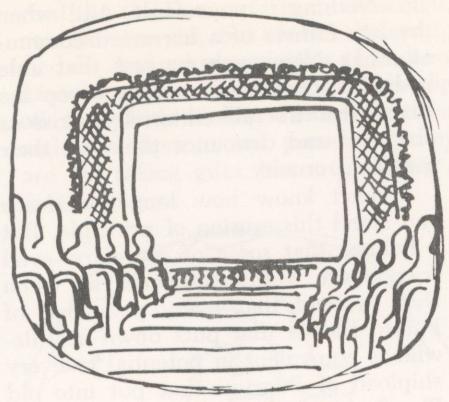
Don Maxwell of the Chicago "Tribune" has recently asked his book department to quit advertising scatological literature by including it in the list of best sellers. The critics and the book publishers have denounced him for tampering with the facts. I would like to raise a somewhat larger question: "Who is tampering with the soul of America?"

For nations do have souls. They have collective personalities.

People who think well of themselves collectively exhibit *elan* and enthusiasm and morale.

Decline of Greatness

When nations cease believing in themselves, when they regard their institutions with cynicism and their traditions with flippancy, they will not long remain great nations. When they seek learning without effort and wages without work, they are beginning to stagger. Where they become hedonistic and pleasure-oriented, when their Boy Scouts on their 14-mile hikes start to hitch, there's trouble ahead. Where payola becomes a way of life, expense-account cheating common, and union goonery a fiercely defended "right," that nation is in danger. And where police departments attempt to control burglary by the novel method of making it a department monopoly, then the chasm yawns.



Do not let me overdraw the picture. This is still a great, powerful, vibrant, able, optimistic nation. Americans—our readers—do believe in themselves and in their country.

But there is rot and there is blight and there is cutting out and filling to be done if we, as the leader of free men, are to survive the hammer blows which quite plainly are in store for us all.

We have reached the stomach-turning point.

We have reached the point where we should re-examine the debilitating philosophy of permissiveness. Let this not be confused with the philosophy of liberty.

The school system that permits our children to develop a quarter of their natural talents is not a champion of our liberties.

The healthy man who chooses to loaf on unemployment compensation is not a defender of human freedom.

The playwright who would degrade us and the author who would profit from pandering to the worst that's in us are no friends of ours.

It is time we hit the sawdust trail. It is time we revived the idea that there is such a thing as sin—just plain old willful sin. It is time we brought self-discipline back into style. And who has a greater responsibility at this hour than we, the gentlemen of the press?



So I suggest:

Let's look to our educational institutions at the local level, and, if Johnny can't read by the time he's ready to get married, let's find out why.

Let's look at the distribution of public largesse and if, far from alleviating human misery, it is producing the sloth and irresponsibility that intensifies it, let's get it fixed.

Let's quit being bulldozed and bedazzled by self-appointed long-hairs Let's have the guts to say that a book is dirt if that's what we think of it, or that a painting may well be a daub if you can't figure out which way to hang it. And if some beatnik welds together a collection of rusty cogwheels and old corset stays and claims it's a greater sculpture than Michelangelo's "David" let's have the courage to say that it looks like junk and probably is.

Let's blow the whistle on plays that would bring blushes to an American Legion stag party. Let's not be awed by movie characters with barnyard morals even if some of them have been photographed climbing aboard the Presidential yacht. Let us pay more attention in our news columns to the decent people everywhere who are trying to do something for the good of others.

In short, let's cover up the cesspool and start planting some flowers.

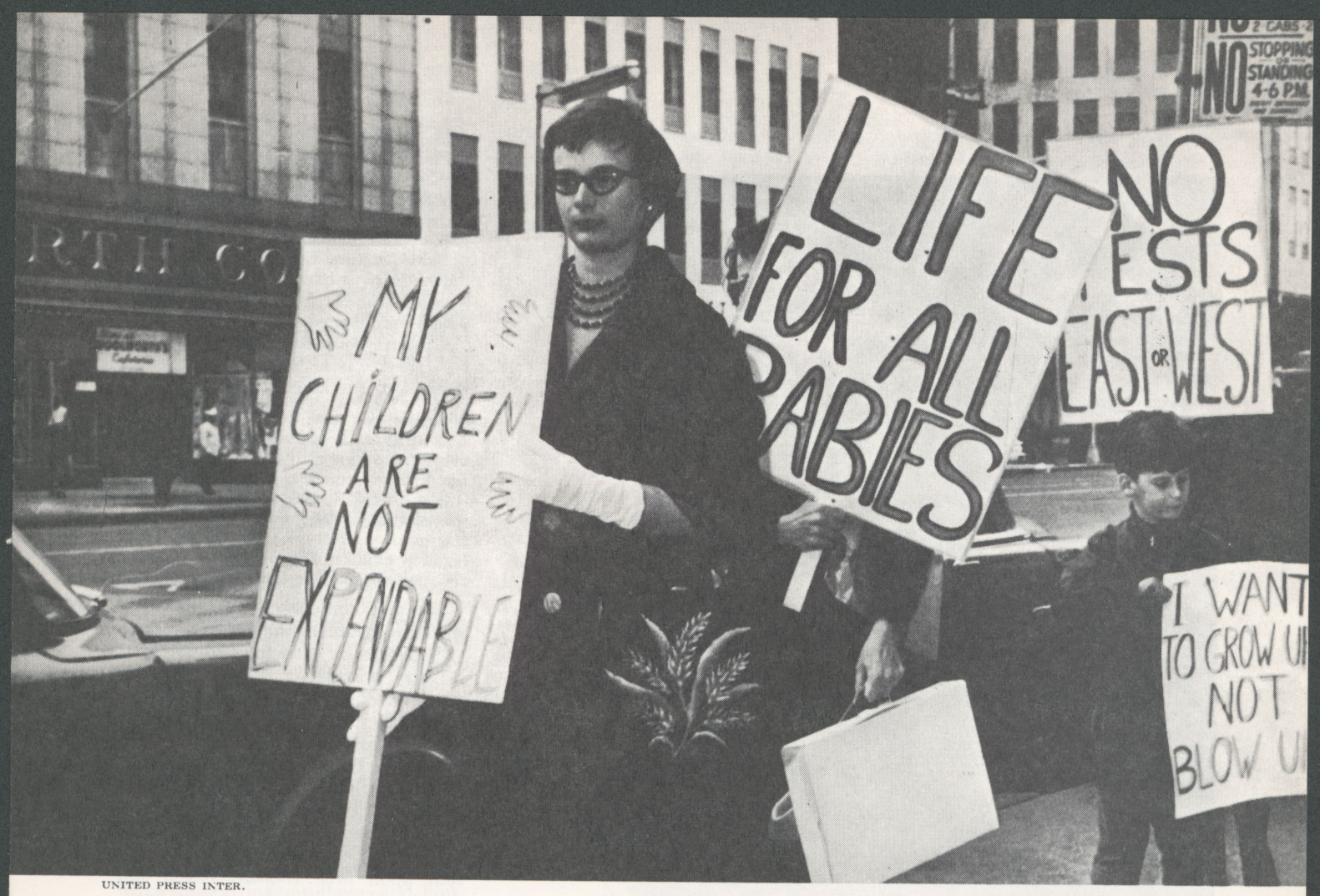
Well, that's the jeremiad. I never thought I'd deliver one of these. I never dreamed I'd go around sounding like an advance man for the Watch-and-Ward Society. I used to consider myself quite a liberal young man. I still think that on some people bikinis look fine.

But I am fed up to here with the educationalists and pseudo-social scientists who have underrated our potential as a people. I am fed up to here with the medicine men who try to pass off pretense for art and prurience for literature. I am tired of seeing America debased and low-rated in the eyes of foreigners. And I am genuinely disturbed that to idealistic youth in many countries the fraud of Communism appears synonymous with morality, while we, the chief repository of real freedom, are regarded as being in the last stages of decay.

Unless I misread the signs a great number of our people are ready for a fresh breeze, a breeze of new honesty, new idealism, new integrity.

And there is where you come in. You have typewriters, presses and a huge audience.

How about raising hell? ●



UNITED PRESS INTER.

THE STREET

By ARNAUD C. MARTS

IT'S an expression that is well understood in Europe and Asia: *The Street*. In the United States, we are not yet using the term, but we have begun to see The Street in action. Its implications, to which few have seemed to pay much attention, are disturbing.

Last year, for example, 118 organizations—12,000 men, women and children—picketed the White House on one or more days, representing a variety of "causes." That was only one face of The Street.

The Street is the name that has been given to public demonstrations by which a group seeks to achieve political ends, either by sheer pressure or by "dramatizing" its objective into the newspaper headlines and onto television screens.

A reason for concern in democratic countries is the fact that The Street bypasses the due processes of law by which free men change law. It acts as if no law exists but the law which permits it to operate. The Street, personalized term for a depersonalized force, attempts to wield a strength out of proportion to its weight—and often succeeds.

The Street has been known and used for generations in lands not experienced in self-government. Its importation into the United States is so recent that not many American citizens have become familiar with its nature. We who love and value the political system under which Americans have prospered for two centuries had better begin to understand this new import.

The Street seems to have originated in certain Arab lands which enjoy little or no self-government, where the citizens are not experienced in democratic processes of parliamentary government and are largely illiterate.

Under our system we, the people, nominate candidates for public office and hold election campaigns with heated debates. We go to the polls where each voter ballots in secret for the candidates and issues of his choice. The elected candidates take office. Debate continues in legislative halls; laws are passed; executive officers administer these laws; court officers interpret the laws. In one or two or four years, this process is repeated. These periodic elections provide outlets for the expression of judgments and desires.

In lands where the people are ruled rather than rule themselves, The Street is a tool of political revolt.

WIDE WORLD



Richard Starnes, columnist and reporter for the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, recently wrote:

I was sitting in Jack's bar at the Semiramis Hotel in Cairo some years ago when a fist-sized rock sailed through a window and clattered to the floor. My companion, who was an old Egypt hand, inclined his head toward the stone. "So much for Naguib and the revolution," he said with finality. "In the end it is The Street that is Egypt's destiny."

"The Street" was a term I was to hear many times in the Middle East. It meant the terrifying insensate street mob, but it also means the mob skillfully manipulated by demagogic politicians. Political expertese in Arab lands used to begin and end with the aphorism that whoever controls The Street rules the nation.

The Street is a mass demonstration by groups of people, determined protagonists or antagonists of a political cause or of a political leader. Their purpose is to inflame public opinion and to frighten political leaders into action.

The Street operates in a considerable variety of ways.

Time magazine of February 25, 1961, reported:

A battered corpse lay buried at the bottom of a secret grave thousands of miles away in the desolate western Congo bush. Patrice Lumumba, ex-beer salesman, ex-embezzler, ex-premier, was dead.

As if at the push of a button, turmoil erupted in dozens of countries on five continents. In Moscow, a mob assaulted the Belgian embassy, smashed windows and broke bottles of ink against the walls while militiamen stood by and watched. The demonstration was so well organized that whether the students from Africa were French-speaking or English, they showed up with placards in English—for the benefit of U.S. TV cameras. Hours later similar crowds were in action in Belgrade, Amsterdam, Paris. In Columbo, Dublin, Rome, Teheran, Melbourne and Delhi, demonstrators marched through the streets shouting "Lumumba" and waving anti-Belgian placards. In Cairo, the Belgian embassy was set afire.

From Moscow, Walter Lister of the New York *Herald Tribune* reported on April 12, 1961:

Thousands of pro-Castro demonstrators, led by teen-agers throwing rocks and ink bottles, churned outside the American Embassy for about six hours today—more or less controlled by some 1,500 Soviet soldiers and militiamen.

Thirty window panes were broken and the ten-story embassy was splattered with blue and red ink, but no American personnel were injured.

Gaston Coblentz reported in the New York *Times* in May, 1961, from Bucharest, Rumania:

At the height of the Cuban crisis, the United States Legation in Bucharest was subjected to one of the worst attacks suffered by any American mission abroad.

The attack began after a crowd of several thousand Rumanians jammed into the narrow street in front of the large legation building and simultaneously surrounded the building from the rear.

Do you remember the chanting, rhythmic, prancing antics of thousands of Japanese who tried to drag James Hagerty, press secretary to ex-President Eisenhower, out of his auto and possibly to his death in the streets of Tokyo and whose determined public riots prevented President Eisenhower from paying a friendly visit to Japan? This was The Street in action.

Do you remember the frenzied mobs in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1960, who spat upon Mrs. Richard Nixon and threatened the life of our Vice President? That was The Street.

As I study the pictures and the accounts of scores of Street disturbances, patterns that can scarcely be coincidental emerge.

PLACARDS carried by The Street are often a give-away. In Santo Domingo, they read: "Bad Yankees" . . . "Yankees get out!" In Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia during Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's recent visits, the placards were similar. In Venezuela they read, "Kennedy, No."

These placards were written in English, not in the native tongues. Whom was The Street trying to impress? Obviously, the United States.

The same give-away signs showed up in pictures from Burma, Indonesia and other far places. In Rangoon, a picture reproduced widely shows mobs of men and women marching by the American Embassy bearing Uncle Sam in effigy and placards (in English) reading: "Yankee Go Home" and "Belgium-U.S.-U.N. Killed Lumumba."

The apparent synchronization of violent Street demonstrations in widely scattered nations suggests control from a central switchboard. A copy of a published round-up of world news following Lumumba's death reported:

On Tuesday, the Soviet Union withdrew recognition of Hammarskjold, branding him "an accomplice of the Belgians and Katangese in Lumumba's death. It promised "all possible assistance and support" to Gizenga's rump government. . . .

Then the mobs went to work. Thousands of Russians, with a sprinkling of African and Asian students from Moscow's Friendship University, bombarded the Belgian Embassy with stones. In Belgrade and Warsaw, howling youths stormed Belgium's chancelleries, burning files and spattering diplomats with ink. Mobs in Cairo set the Belgian Embassy aflame. African students in New Delhi shattered windows. Violence came on cue.

The riots raged through the week. Students in Bogota, Caracas and Havana stoned Belgian embassies. Ceylonese unionists burned Hammarskjold in effigy. . . .

One does not have to look long to discover the apparatus by which the peoples of many lands are being excited to Street disturbances. The techniques have been codified and published in a Communist handbook, a copy of which was picked up in Europe by the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Inspector General of the C.I.A., presented the subcommittee of the Senate Internal Security Committee a copy of this how-to-do-it textbook. It contains charts and gives techniques showing how to assemble street mobs, how to incite and inflame them, and how, once inflamed, to manipulate them to paralyze and frustrate police control. It was all written down by a dedicated Communist, Jan Kozak, and published as a guide to plotters in all countries.

Communist leaders promptly realized it was a tip-off to the outside world and tried to prevent its distribution outside Communist circles. But two key chapters had been taken out of the country, as related by Peter Zenkl, ex-vice premier of Czechoslovakia, in *This Week*, October 29, 1961, and were translated into English and published as a 45-page book by the Independent Information Centre, 4 Holland Road, London, W. 14. (A copy may be had for 85¢.) Mr. Zenkl comments: "You will see instantly how many seemingly unrelated Communist maneuvers follow the pattern laid down in Kozak's book—such events, for example, as Khrushchev's outrageous shoe pounding with the cynical aim of degrading the parliamentary respectability of the U.N. General Assembly . . . the street demonstration in front of the U.N. . . . mob riots in Tokyo, Leopoldville, Ankara, Caracas . . . world-wide meetings protesting Lumumba's death . . . the U.N. balcony demonstration timed to interrupt the speech by Adlai Stevenson."

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Communist leaders promptly realized it was a tip-off to the outside world and tried to prevent its distribution outside Communist circles. But two key chapters had been taken out of the country, as related by Peter Zenkl, ex-vice premier of Czechoslovakia, in *This Week*, October 29, 1961, and were translated into English and published as a 45-page book by the Independent Information Centre, 4 Holland Road, London, W. 14. (A copy may be had for 85¢.) Mr. Zenkl comments: "You will see instantly how many seemingly unrelated Communist maneuvers follow the pattern laid down in Kozak's book—such events, for example, as Khrushchev's outrageous shoe pounding with the cynical aim of degrading the parliamentary respectability of the U.N. General Assembly . . . the street demonstration in front of the U.N. . . . mob riots in Tokyo, Leopoldville, Ankara, Caracas . . . world-wide meetings protesting Lumumba's death . . . the U.N. balcony demonstration timed to interrupt the speech by Adlai Stevenson."

English-speaking peoples were rather slow to adopt The Street, probably because of their successful experiences in free parliamentary self-government, and probably because their emotions have a higher boiling point. But in due time The Street was imported to England, and has been used frequently by Bertrand Russell and others. Lord Russell has called out his Street from time to time to make demonstrations against the U.S. Polaris missile submarines at Holy Loch; for unilateral nuclear disarmament; against all NATO bases in England, and so on. "Go Limp" was one of Lord Russell's orders to his Street. "Go limp if the police attempt to move you."

The first really lethal Street in the U.S.A. occurred in 1957 in Little Rock. The Governor of Arkansas had turned out the state militia to prevent the high school from desegregating. The President of the U.S. ordered Federal troops to the city to enforce the desegration law, and Negro children were admitted. Then The Street turned out—hundreds of angry white men and women. The school authorities were forced by the mob to send the Negro children home.

The next spectacular Street demonstration in America was in May, 1960, when hundreds of college students assembled in front of the Federal building in San Francisco. The House Committee on Un-American Activities was to hold a session at that place to hear testimony. The rioting which occurred is still being talked about.

In the fall of 1960 The Street materialized in New Orleans, where mobs of white women and men interposed themselves, physically and vocally, between the orders of the United States Courts and a few frightened Negro children who attempted to enroll in a public school.

Then The Street became contagious. In 1960 a band of Negroes stormed forcibly into the United Nations, broke



up a formal session of the General Assembly as Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was speaking and engaged in fist fights with the guards in the balcony.

A few weeks later, a small group calling themselves the United African National Movement used The Street in Harlem to stage a "funeral" for Lumumba, dead premier of the Congo. Their huge sign read, "They have killed our Savior." The speakers who harangued the crowd blamed the murder of Lumumba on either the U.S. State Department, President Kennedy, Governor Rockefeller, or white men in general.

The year 1961 brought "non-violent" sit-ins to demand equal treatment for Negro diners and travelers. Then followed a series of "freedom rides," demonstrations of The Street by college students, teachers and others. Two outstanding political leaders expressed opposite views on these Streets. New York's Governor Rockefeller said of the Freedom Riders, "I admire all of them." Former President Truman said that they were "stirring up trouble" and hurting the cause of civil rights in the South; they "should stay home and attend to their business" and allow civil rights to be advanced in "an orderly and legal manner."

Though many Streets in various parts of the world have been Communist inspired, the sit-ins had no Communistic connections, in my belief. I know some of the men who were back of the sit-ins. I asked one of them if there were Communists among the organizers. He replied, "The Communists have given up on our people for the reason that we believe in God, and we will have nothing to do with that godless outfit."

The basic issue is not who is behind The Street, but that The Street evidences distrust of the democratic process.

Not all The Streets in the United States in 1961 and 1962 have been revolutionary in their purposes and violent in their methods. Some have been amusing, some noble-minded, some rather pitiful. Apparently, The Street as a method of exposing a minority's protest to public view is appealing to a wide variety of citizens.

¶ At Syracuse University, students demonstrated to protest campus housing and social activities.

¶ In New York City, Greenwich Villagers stormed City Hall to protest an urban renewal project.

¶ In Cambridge, Mass., Harvard boys rioted because diplomas were no longer to be issued in Latin.

¶ In Jackson, Mich., 20 divorcees picketed to protest policies covering the collection of alimony and child support payments from ex-husbands.

If our present enthusiasm for The Street continues to result in demonstrations for this, that, or the other "cause," we will soon rate very high on the world list of Street demonstrators.

In Cuba, Mr. Castro has substituted The Street for the ballot box. Recently at the climax of 17 hours of mass parading before him, he shouted, "Do you need elections?"

The multitude of 500,000 roared back, "No, No!"

Castro then added, as told by Roscoe Drummond: "A revolution is an election held daily. It is a constant meeting of the people, like this meeting. The revolution has changed the conception of pseudo-democracy for direct government of the people."

Do we want that kind of "direct government" here?

Recently an official U.S. representative on a United Nations Commission made a speech in which she seemed to praise recent Street protests in America. She is reported to have said: "For the new watching nations in Africa and Asia the spirit of freedom has been re-enacted and re-born in the sit-ins, in the peaceful demonstrations at the lunch counters and the freedom riders."

I disagree! We can teach the "new watching nations" very little about The Street. Some of them invented it.

Would not the new watching nations profit far more from the continuous example of our confidence in the American system of debate, elections, legislation, law administration, and courts of justices? ■

REPRINTED FROM

Christian Herald

APRIL, 1962

Printed in the United States of America

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LAW OFFICES OF
HENDERSON, QUAIL, SCHNEIDER & PEIRCE
1525 NATIONAL CITY BANK BUILDING
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO
MAin 1-4947

February 11, 1964

Mr. Arnaud C. Marts
Marts & Lundy
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Arnaud:

You have probably read about the racial tensions here in Cleveland revolving around integration in the Cleveland public schools. There was picketing of schools in which ministers from other areas participated followed by picketing of the Board of Education, demonstrations, and sit-ins.

I was reminded of the article you sent me several years ago in which you pointed out the dangers of picketing and demonstrations. I wonder whether you still have any copies of that article. If you do, I could use as many copies as you could spare up to a total of five or six.

You might be interested in the enclosed letter to the editor of the Plain Dealer from a lawyer in which he echoes your views which I also share.

Sincerely yours,

LSP:ssd
Enclosure

February 17, 1964

Louis S. Peirce, Esquire
National City Bank Bldg.,
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Louis:

I have just a few reprints of The Street article left, and am glad to be able to send you the number you mention.

This article was written two years ago! What a frightening American Chapter could be written now!

I simply cannot understand how leaders of the National Council of Churches, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, and many university and religious leaders can justify their endorsement of the current "Street" demonstrations, boycotts, etc. Possibly they do not realize that this technique is an import from countries which do not practice parliamentary democracy.

President King used to teach his students that the greatest enemy of "the larger good for the larger number" is a "lesser good for a lesser number."

There is no gainsaying the need for integration in our society. But I doubt that even this "good goal" justifies the massive breakdown of respect for democratic processes for improving laws which I believe is now taking place, as a result of "the street" techniques.

I am glad you have a deep concern about this matter, also.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

ACM:he

A. C. Marts

From the desk of
LOUIS S. PEIRCE

February 20, 1964

Dear Arno:

Thank you for sending me five copies of the reprint of your excellent article "The Street". I am sending a copy to my minister and to several other people.

I too share your deep concern about this matter.

Louis

February 20, 1964

Dear Dick:

You may have seen Russell Leasure's letter to the editor of the Plain Dealer which expresses more eloquently than I could the basic issue involved in the use of picketing, demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, and so forth.

I also recommend your reading the enclosed article by Arnaud Marts which appeared in the Christian Herald nearly two years ago.

I still think you made a serious mistake by participating in the mass picketing of schools.

Sincerely yours,

ORIGINAL SIGNED BY
LOUIS S. PEIRCE

Reverend Richard C. Pacini
Fairmount Presbyterian Church
2799 Scarborough Road
Cleveland 18, Ohio

LSP:ssd
Enclosures

The EPE
15-MINUTE REPORT
for College and University Trustees

Editorial Projects for Education
3301 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218

March 12, 1965

Dear Trustee:

Aftershocks from the resignation of the president of the U of California, and of the acting chancellor on Cal's Berkeley campus, are still being felt. First reaction: shock at possible loss of one of ablest university leaders... a champion of student freedom...the victim, indirectly, of student license. Second reaction, on many campuses: Can it happen here? Our special report:

Students in Rebellion: Berkeley and Points East

U of California has been on front pages for six months, due to student actions at Berkeley. And, as we noted in our letter last week, students are stirring on campuses coast to coast. Most are temperate; some, irresponsible.

The academic world is still stunned by President Clark Kerr's resignation ...the result of a profound disagreement between Dr. Kerr and some regents of the U of California over the proper way to handle a small, not-popular group of students who had loudly claimed the right to use a dirty word in public. Even if the resignation is not accepted, its impact will be widespread.

Events at Berkeley have been sensational...hence have made the headlines. But they no longer are an isolated case of student unrest.

* A continent away, a big-college president was summoned to a student meeting to receive a petition. Arriving unnoticed, a few minutes early, he heard himself vilified obscenely by a student speaker... who urged fellow students to ride roughshod over the president.

* At St. John's University on Long Island, where faculty members are demanding higher pay and a voice in university policy-making, students booed the president's name this week...jeered a priest who suggested they not air the university's "dirty linen and garbage" in the city.

* At U of Kansas this week, students staged a sit-in, got a promise from the chancellor that the university would end any bias in student housing and other matters...and reinstate 110 suspended demonstrators.

* At Sarah Lawrence College, a third of the all-girl student body marched to town in support of striking hospital workers....At Yale U and Brooklyn College, students staged protests against institutions' criteria in granting tenure to faculty members.

Says one experienced observer: "There is a stridency about it all that goes well beyond the level of conflict and controversy expected of democratic institutions...even those in the throes of rapid growth and change."

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What Lies Behind Student Unrest?

This week, at annual meeting of Association for Higher Education (AHE), educators considered the pressures on U.S. colleges and universities. One seemed dominant.

Repeatedly, talk at AHE conference turned to the subject of students... students who are no longer apathetic, no longer submissive to authority... students who are, some seemed to be remembering with surprise, the real point of higher education.

Why are so many students now in a mood of rebellion? We collected scores of opinions...from students, teachers, deans, presidents, psychologists, and a psychiatrist. Some of the factors they cite:

* Bigness...impersonality...of so many campuses today. One pilot study, run at two medium-size universities and four small colleges, showed students "significantly less satisfied" with faculty, fellow students, studies, and administration on the larger campuses. Many educators see this as the challenge: How to seem small as we grow big.

* Excessive paternalism of some institutions. For many students, strict rules at college contrast sharply with parental laxity at home.

* Lack of concern for students at some institutions. If this seems to contradict the preceding point, so be it. Young people differ. So do conditions on various campuses.

* Faculty neglect of undergraduate teaching...especially on campuses where research is emphasized and publication of results is a condition of faculty advancement. Much instruction is assigned to neophyte teachers...often graduate students. More about this on next page.

* Tremendous academic pressures...preoccupation with grades...a battle for survival. Hard for many adolescents to adjust.

* Growing mobility of faculty and students...less chance to build strong institutional loyalty...to work one's way up in student government. Actions often taken in ad hoc groups, rather than through established, orderly procedures and representative bodies.

* Students' sense of growing power...and intoxication with it....what one president called the "take-over mentality."

* A need to take part in some form of community action...even if it sometimes gets out of hand. "Our urge to establish a campus community has come from a breakdown in the external community," says one student leader. "Your family tells you, 'Don't come home for Christmas; we're having a party.' But then your teachers tell you, 'Don't bother me except from 1 to 2 p.m. on the second Monday of the month.'"

* Many students' sincere belief they should have part in running campus.

* Failure of many colleges to "establish a dialogue with students." Instead, they negotiate with students, as if they were adversaries.

The Worrisome Forms Of Student Protest

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Teaching: The Top Priority

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The Worrisome Forms Of Student Protest

> There is a new "tone" in student protests that worries many observers...the tone of people who mistrust legal channels as being in the control of an "establishment."

The manner in which some students have chosen to express dissatisfaction has perturbed many educators much more than the fact that they're protesting. The latter, indeed, pleases a number of people who only a short time ago were worried about student apathy...conformity...fears of engaging in controversy. But, as a professor said at this week's AHE meeting:

"One source of shock in the academic community is the realization that large numbers of students are apparently equating the collegiate structures in which they study with the power structure of Birmingham or Selma...and are willing to employ comparable tactics in pressing their cause: demonstrations, ultimatums, sit-ins, adamant verbal attacks on those who resist demands.

"Ad hoc leadership groups are emerging which bluntly by-pass traditional structures for student participation. Left at the post: the slow processes of committee study and legislative procedures...."

Teaching: The Top Priority

> Many colleges and universities have become so involved in public service and research that they are in danger of neglecting their primary function: teaching students.

Last week a Yale student, picketing in behalf of a popular professor, carried a sign that said, "Why not creative teaching?" At the AHE sessions, many an educational leader seemed to be asking the same question.

"Our primary obligation to students...implies a top priority for the teaching function," said Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education. "There is a danger in many places that the student may become the 'forgotten man' as our institutions become increasingly involved in off-campus concerns."

On emphasizing research: "Most faculty persons would benefit themselves and their institutions more by devoting greater effort to the improvement of teaching....My recommendation would be that we...trim the output of needless publication and upgrade the quality of instruction," Dr. Wilson said.

A college president suggested: "We must reassert...the importance of undergraduate instruction and insist...that the most experienced and gifted professors participate in undergraduate as well as graduate instruction....

"At the same time we are defending academic freedom, we shall have to abandon [the teacher's] immunity from evaluation and criticism....And with the thoughtful and reliable assistance the students are capable of providing... we shall all need to re-focus our attention upon the process of undergraduate teaching."

State Aid to Church Colleges:
A Maryland Judge Rules

Last week we described in detail a court case designed to test constitutionality of a state's grant of funds to church-related colleges. A ruling came yesterday.

A Maryland court has decided that the state may grant funds to church-related colleges, provided the money is intended for non-religious purposes.

To satisfy the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the judge said, "There must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion." The grants...for science, library, and class buildings...had just such a secular purpose and such a primary effect, he said.

Said a spokesman for opponents of the grants last night: "We will appeal. Hopefully we will have a [U.S.] Supreme Court decision by summer, 1966."

Report Card: News in Brief

Late yesterday the New Hampshire House of Representatives killed the Feldman Bill, aimed at banning subversive speakers from tax-supported campuses.

In Washington, a House subcommittee has been looking this week at problems that colleges have encountered under the Federal student-loan program. Among them: collection difficulties (Chairman Edith Green says subcommittee will draft "more stringent laws")...high administrative and collection costs (a total of $6 million this fiscal year). 90% of colleges surveyed would like Government to reimburse them, at least in part.

President has sent Congress a proposal for a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. In first year, it would have $10 million for grants and loans to groups and individuals...another $10 million to match private funds... Senate hearings on higher education bill begin March 16; continue in House.

Notes from California: Faculty senate at Berkeley meets this afternoon (Friday), with support likely for President Kerr....Regents have been called to emergency meeting tomorrow....Earlier this week, on day before Dr. Kerr announced resignation, Berkeley faculty voted to ask for delay in converting to a quarterly academic calendar -- action that could have been read as a rebuff to president. A few days before, he had said: "Conversion to the quarter system...is a major opportunity to review and possibly reform undergraduate instruction...." Daily Californian, student newspaper, says: "We students have lost two friends...." At university's Davis campus, 2,000 students rallied in support of Kerr...shouted down a representative of the Free Speech Movement....Leaders of that group in Berkeley disavow connection with so-called "Filthy Speech Movement."

Sincerely yours,

Corbin Gwaltney

Corbin Gwaltney, for EPE

June 30, 1965

The Honorable Charles E. Whittaker
The Federal Courts Building
Kansas City, Mo.

My dear Justice Whittaker:

This is a note of praise and thanks for your article "Lawlessness in U. S." which I have just read in the July 5th issue of U. S. News & World Report.

This is the only warning against the recent outbreak of street demonstrations sounded by a prominent Jurist that has come to my attention.

Two years ago I expressed myself in opposition to this primitive method of influencing public policy in an article which was published in the Christian Herald, a reprint of which I enclose. To this day no one (at least to my knowledge) has added his or her voice publicly to my protest until your article in the current issue of the U.S. News & World Report.

I hope and pray that your strong and impressive statement will change the thinking of many persons who now believe that it is right and proper to short-cut the democratic processes of our self-government by these dangerous street disturbances.

Thank you again for speaking out on this subject so convincingly.

Respectfully yours,

Arnaud C. Marts

ACM:he

cc: The Editor
U S News & World Report Inc.
2300 N Street N W
Washington D C 20037

Dr. Daniel A. Poling

July 1, 1965

Mr. Frank Van Cleef
168 Forest Street
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Frank:

Did you see this article by Justice Whittaker in the current issue of U. S. News & World Report?

In spite of the enthusiasm of the Civil Liberty Unionists for these mass demonstrations against laws which they don't like, not all of the morality is on the side of the demonstrators according to Justice Whittaker in this article. I have written my thanks for the article as per enclosed copy.

I hope all goes well with you.

With kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

ACM:he

A. C. Marts

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE CHARLES E. WHITTAKER (Retired)

July 2, 1965

Mr. Arnaud C. Marts
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Marts:

Thank you for your letter of June 30, and for what you had to say in it about my speech to the Tennessee Bar Association on June 17, as reprinted in the July 5 issue of U. S. News & World Report. I also thank you for sending me the reprint of your views on the subject from the April, 1962, issue of Christian Herald, which I have read with interest and I hope, also, with profit.

My speech to the Tennessee Bar Association was not my first public expression on this subject. Indeed, over the course of the last two years, I have made at least a dozen public speeches on this subject, or on kindred ones. This one spoke only a little more plainly than the others, and also came at a time when, I think, many more thoughtful persons have been able to see the results of preachments and practices to defy the law and are becoming aroused, and, hence, are more receptive to our warnings.

Again, I thank you for your letter and its enclosure.

With respect, I am

Very sincerely,

Charles E. Whittaker

Charles E. Whittaker
Suite 619 Federal Courts Building
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

U. S. News & World Report

LAWLESSNESS IN U. S.—WARNING FROM A TOP JURIST

Behind the spread of crime and violence—

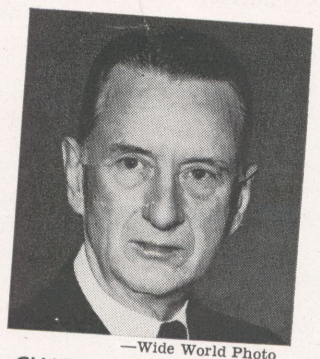
A retired Supreme Court Justice sees danger of a complete breakdown of law and order—a tendency, often officially encouraged, for people to take the law into their own hands.

What is this—a nationwide revolt against authority? Is the idea taking hold that it is all right for "demonstrators" and others to violate any law they don't happen to like?

Where is it leading? What is at stake?

The survival of the nation, says Justice Charles E. Whittaker. He calls for swift and vigorous enforcement of all criminal laws, with real punishment of all offenders.

Following is full text of an address by Charles E. Whittaker, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (retired), before a meeting of the Tennessee Bar Association, Nashville, Tenn., on June 17, 1965:



—Wide World Photo
CHARLES E. WHITTAKER

No doubt you, just as I, have noticed in the news media an ever-increasing number of items and articles that show with unmistakable clarity a rapid spread of lawlessness in our land that seems to be thoroughly planned, and also to be designed to destroy, and that seriously threatens to destroy, law, order and all vestiges of decency in our land.

Recently, while sitting in my library meditating upon that subject and upon appropriate remarks here today, and also listening to the beautiful music of "My Fair Lady"—and being, perhaps, thereby lulled into a satirical mood—it occurred to me: Why not speak on "Old-fashioned Law and Order—Wouldn't That Be Loverley?"

One of the recent articles that had deeply impressed me was by a husband-and-wife team of eminent criminologists of the Harvard Law School. It dealt with the rapid increase and spread of crime, and concluded with the statement that "unless much is done to check [current] vicious cycles, we are in for a period of violence beyond anything we have yet seen."

Another recent and impressive article contained the theme —which I think is fundamental—of the recent presidentially proclaimed Law Day, 1965, which was: "Uphold the law —a citizen's first duty."

Believing that this theme states an indisputable truth, yet, having read and heard many recent open and direct preachments of disrespect for and disobedience of our laws, and, also having seen the destructive effects of those preachments upon the good order and morality of our society, I am moved to speak out in demand for an immediate end to such conduct by the vigorous and evenhanded enforcement of our laws.

While I do not claim that all of our crime is due to any one cause, it seems rather clear that a large part of the current rash and rapid spread of lawlessness in our land has been, at least, fostered and inflamed by the preachments of self-appointed leaders of minority groups to "obey the good laws, but to violate the bad ones"—which, of course, simply advocates violation of the laws they do not like, or, in other words, the taking of the law into their own hands.

And this is precisely what their followers have done and are doing—all under the banner of "peaceable civil disobedience," which they have claimed to be protected by the peaceable-assembly-and-petition provision of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Although such preachments and practices have become far more vocal and widespread in our recent racial strife, they did not have their origin in that strife, but, rather, in the labor strife, sit-ins and lie-downs of an earlier era.

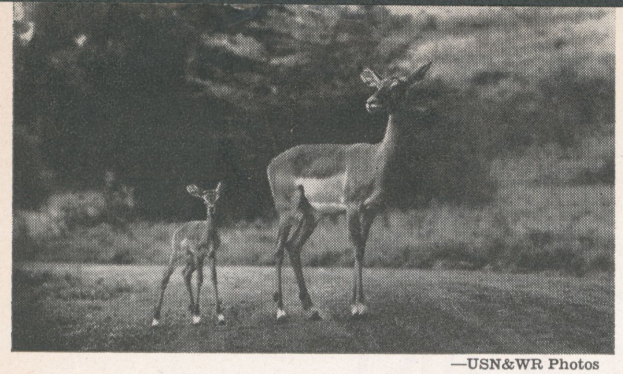
More recently, certain self-appointed racial leaders, doubtless recalling the appeasements and, hence, successes of that earlier conduct, have simply adopted and used those techniques in fomenting and waging their lawless campaigns which they have called "demonstrations."

They have recently used these techniques to incite their followers to assemble, from far and wide—often, unfortunately, with the encouragement and at the expense of well-meaning but misguided church organizations—into large and loosely assembled groups, which many have regarded as mobs, to wage what they have called "demonstrations" to force the grant of "rights" in defiance of the law, the courts and all constituted authority.

At the beginning, those "demonstrations" consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriation of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and, eventually, by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies.

Seeing that those trespasses were often applauded in high places, were generally not punished, but, rather, were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, those racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activities by massing and marching their followers on the sidewalks, streets and highways—frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses.

And that conduct, too, being nearly always appeased, the process spread areawise, as might have been expected, from one Southern city to another, and then into many Northern cities, including St. Louis, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Washington, New York, Brooklyn, Syracuse and Rochester, and, eventually, pretty generally throughout the land.



—USN&WR Photos

Wild life, still abundant in many parts of Africa, attracts tourists, boosts foreign-exchange earnings.

level of the modern industrial countries in Europe?

"Perhaps in a hundred years," says an American economist in Lagos, "but certainly not before then."

GHANA: Free 8 Years, but Gains Are Hard to See

Oldest of the new African nations, Ghana has had eight years of independence. Yet there is some question as to whether Ghana's 7.2 million people are any better off today than when the British left back in 1957.

The country is nearly broke. Ghana has approached the U. S. and six other Western countries, plus Japan, for help in raising 3.5 billion dollars in emergency loans to pay debts and ease the balance-of-payments deficit. All of these countries have said no.

Next step is to try to get the money from the International Monetary Fund, which, presumably, would require Ghana to accept some supervision over its spending policies before agreeing to the loan.

Ghana has backed the rebel movement in the Congo. Its closest allies in Africa have been Egypt and Algeria. And Communist China exerts a strong influence.

The U. S. is Ghana's favorite whipping boy. Newspapers, all rigidly controlled, denounce the U. S. as a grasping, money-hungry nation which seeks to replace the European colonial powers as economic master of Africa.

Basically, Ghana is an agricultural country. About 70 per cent of its labor resources are engaged in farming. Cocoa is the main product. Cocoa, however, is in serious trouble in the world markets. From a price of nearly $1,600 a ton in the 1950s, it has gone down to about $325 today.

Ghana's ambitious seven-year development plan needs a cocoa price of about $640 a ton to meet its goals.

With more-modest targets, most economists believe, Ghana might prosper from its cocoa, its exports of diamonds and gold and its timber resources. But President Kwame Nkrumah's policies call for more industrialization, bigger and showier projects, whether or not they are economically feasible. These projects include a national airline that loses 3 million dollars a year, a steel plant that produces little steel.

As a result, few Western investors are willing to risk their money in Ghana. Besides, for every $2.80 in profits sent abroad, the Ghanaian Government takes $1.85 in tax.

The U. S. Government put up 123 million dollars to help build a big dam on the Volta River, plus a U. S.-owned aluminum smelter. The American aluminum firm is required to pay 7 million dollars a year for electricity generated at the dam whether it finds use for it or not.

A question now arising is what the company, in a time of diminishing demand for aluminum, will do when construction of the plant—just now under way—is completed. There is also a question of who is to use the rest of the power generated at the dam.

Effects of Ghana's economic plight are visible everywhere in the country. Retail prices climbed 28 per cent between March, 1963, and December, 1964. They are expected to jump an additional 18 per cent this year. The average yearly income of $200—highest in tropical Africa—has risen very little since independence.

IVORY COAST: "Success Story"—Still It's a Primitive Life

Unlike most of the other new countries of Black Africa, the Ivory Coast appears to be making rapid strides toward its goals.

The official hope is that this country will be able to exist without foreign aid by 1970. Until then, France—which gave the Ivory Coast its independence in 1960—is to supply most of the help needed.

Since independence, economic statistics have pointed consistently upward in this country, which is about the size of New Mexico and has a population of 3.7 million.

Per capita income has risen 56 per cent in six years. Economic growth has averaged 8 per cent a year since 1960. With French and other help—including 8 million dollars from the U. S. this year—the Ivory Coast maintains a balanced budget.

Private capital, mostly French, is coming in at a rate of 35 million dollars a year. Abidjan, a town of 10,000 before World War II, now is close to 300,000. The Ivory Coast is the only new nation in Africa to show an increase in its white population—from 12,000 at independence to more than 30,000.

Coffee, cocoa and timber account for 85 per cent of the country's exports. By 1975, the Ivory Coast hopes to diversify into other agricultural products, such as palm oil, rubber and fruit.

Big new buildings in Abidjan—including the 10-million-dollar palace that President Félix Houphouet-Boigny built for himself—are evidence of the boom. But 90 per cent of the Ivory Coast's people still live on the land, most under primitive conditions in the jungle belt along the coast and in the bush areas to the north.

Depth of the Ivory Coast's prosperity is difficult to determine. But, on the surface at least, this country appears to be West Africa's success story.

SENEGAL: Where People's Lot Has Not Improved

Independence, so far, has not bettered the lot of Senegal's 3.1 million people.

Before it became a nation in 1960, Senegal got a lot out of its status as the site of Dakar, capital of French West Africa. Now, French West Africa is broken up into eight separate countries and Dakar no longer bustles.

A new refinery, built partly with American money, has been operating at only 25 per cent of capacity. The big port of Dakar has only 60 per cent of the work it had in 1956.

Only 12 per cent of Senegal's land is arable. The country grows 10 per cent of the world's peanuts, but doesn't grow enough rice and millet, two staple foods, to feed its own people.

France is providing about 50 million dollars a year in aid, and U. S. aid this year comes to about 5.4 million dollars, including 3.3 million in the form of rice and millet under the program which seeks outlets for American farm surpluses.

A few years ago, Senegal was thought of by the U. S. as a possible showcase of American aid to Africa. The enthusiasm cooled when the French made it clear that their former colonies were still to be tied to Paris.

The long pull. A close look at the "new Africa" after years of independence makes it evident that:

- Aid from outside—and the know-how of white men—will be needed in Black Africa for years to come.
- It is unlikely that a fully civilized society will be achieved in any large portion of tropical Africa in this century.

. . . "Mobs are tailor-made for take-over by rabble-rousers"

"Crime," says Webster, means "an act or omission forbidden by law and punishable upon conviction." It cannot be denied that each of those trespasses violated, at least, the criminal-trespass laws of the local jurisdiction involved, nor that those laws impose penalties for their violation, nor, hence, that those trespasses constituted crimes.

In the first place, that conduct cannot properly be termed "peaceable," for we all know from experience that the assembly of large groups for the avowed purpose of forcing direct action outside the law amounts to the creation of a mob bent on lawlessness, and inherently disturbs the peace of all others.

One could hardly deny the truth of the statement written by Mr. Justice Black, joined by two other Justices, in June, 1964, that "force leads to violence, violence to mob conflicts, and these to rule by the strongest groups with control of the most deadly weapons."

Nor can this conduct even be termed "civil disobedience," for conduct violating criminal laws is not "civil" but "criminal" disobedience. And, lastly, that conduct is not protected by the peaceable-assembly-and-petition provision of the First Amendment.

That provision says: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging . . . the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Nothing in that language grants a license to any man, acting either singly or in a group, to violate State criminal laws—including those laws which prohibit trespass upon, and appropriation of, private property, and those laws prohibiting the willful obstruction of the public walks, streets and highways.

Rather, as Mr. Justice Roberts wrote upon the subject in 1939, "The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions must be regulated in the interest of all; it is not absolute, but is relative, and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order. . . ."

Surely, no thoughtful person will disagree with that statement, nor with the statement made very recently by the president of Yale University in a speech at Detroit, that the current rash of "demonstrations" make "a ludicrous mockery of the democratic debating process."

The philosophy of "obeying only the laws you like," and of openly defying and breaking the ones you do not like, has given rise to mobs and mob actions that have proven—as certainly we should have expected—to be tailor-made for infiltration, take-over and use by rabble-rousers and Communists who are avowedly bent on the breakdown of law, order and morality in our society and, hence, in its destruction.

And even though those results may not have been contemplated, and surely weren't wished by those Americans who so advocated disobedience of our laws, nevertheless, they did advocate that philosophy and they did put its process into action, and cannot now escape responsibility for its results.

The process has now spread even into the campuses of many, indeed most, of our great universities. A fair example of what is there happening was recently related by the California State superintendent of public instruction, who, in commenting about conditions on the campus at Berkeley, said:

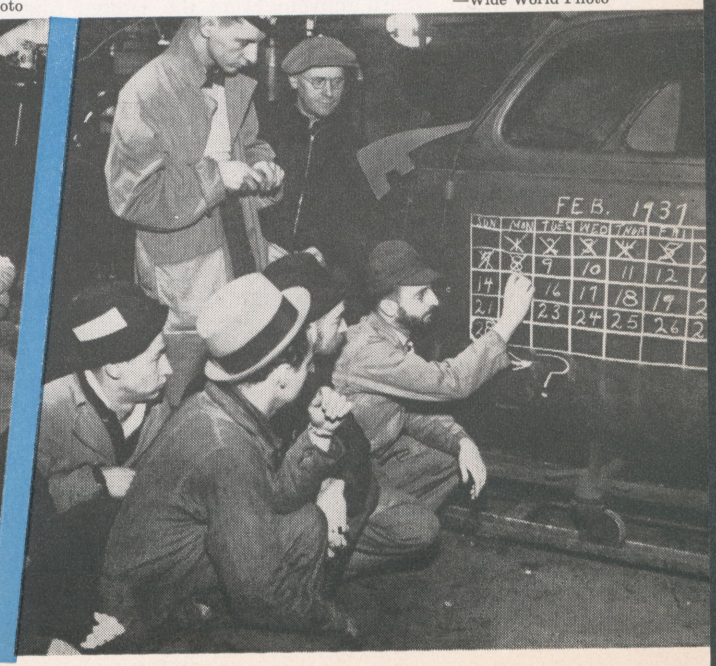
"Demonstrations there provided a vehicle for infiltration by rabble-rousers, red-hots and Communists and resulted in assaults, kidnapings, and imprisonment of police officers, the commandeering of public-address systems, and their use in spewing over the campus the most filthy four-letter words, and the general breakdown of law and order."

A recent national magazine contained an interview with Dr. James M. Nabrit, president of Howard University—the

TODAY'S DEMONSTRATORS, even if they "have suffered unconstitutional discriminations," must not "take the law into their own hands," Justice Whittaker believes, "for that is anarchy, and sure to result in chaos"
—UPI Photo



WORKER SIT-INS of the '30s set a pattern for "racial leaders" of the '60s who, recalling earlier successes, "simply adopted those techniques"
—Wide World Photo



. . . "Certain types of crimes are being permitted to pay"

largest Negro university in our country—who finds on his campus "open defiance of law and order," which he characterized as part of a campaign "to bring the university into general disrepute."

"Frauds" in Rights Movement

Dr. Nabrit cautioned: "We must beware of some people who come to us like the Greeks bearing gifts. They do not believe in civil rights for anyone. They are children of lawlessness and disciples of destruction. They are people who cloak themselves in the roles of civil righters but plot and plan in secret to disrupt our fight for justice and full citizenship. They must be unmasked for the frauds that they are, they must be fought in every arena."

He stated that he had seen known Communists passing out throwaways and helping to deliver placards to pickets on and about his campus.

"The Kansas City Times" of Wednesday, May 19, published an Associated Press dispatch about the lawless demonstrations in progress on the campus of the University of Wisconsin. It said that one of the leaders openly espoused, from a public rostrum on the campus, that "the students should band together to bring down the Government by any means."

It also said that the "demonstrations" there had now been infiltrated and were being led by "eight to a dozen" ringleaders who are operating under "pretty good cover"; that at least some of them are known members of the DuBois clubs of America, which Senator Dodd and J. Edgar Hoover have recently described as a "new Communist-oriented youth organization dominated and controlled by the Communists."

These lawless activities, nauseating as they are, can hardly be surprising, for they are, purely and simply, some of the results that we should have known would inevitably come from tolerating open and direct preachments to defy and violate the law.

A very recent issue of "U. S. News & World Report" [May 17, 1965] contains two pertinent articles. One saying that "increased Communist penetration and influence inside some sections of the Negro movement in the United States is a subject of growing concern to the FBI and White House." The other saying, "J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, and President Johnson both are increasingly concerned by the growing activity of known Communists on the campuses of colleges around the country. They would like to alert the country to the situation, but are concerned about being considered 'Red-baiters' if they do."

I, for one, would like to lend a voice of encouragement to them to forget those fears and to alert the country fully about the facts, for surely that is their duty and no odium can result from exposing those who are preaching and practicing defiance of our law and, hence, the destruction of our society.

There are, of course, first duties of citizenship, but there are also first duties of government. It is undoubtedly true, as recited in the theme of the presidentially proclaimed Law Day, 1965, that "a citizen's first duty is to uphold the law," but it is also a first duty of government to enforce the law—to do so by prosecuting and punishing those who violate our criminal laws.

In no other way can our people be secure from assaults and trespasses upon their persons and property, or maintain an ordered and moral society.

Because some of our citizens will not voluntarily perform their "first duty" to uphold the law, our governments, State and federal, have the paramount duty of, at least, making them obey it.

We have all along been told, and many of us have preached, that crime does not pay, but the recent rash and spread of law defiance, and the successes—however tenuous and temporary—of that philosophy in attaining goals, seems to compel a reappraisal of that concept, for, from what we see currently happening, one could reasonably believe that certain types of crimes are being permitted to pay.

Public Apathy and Lawlessness

Probably because of a rather widespread recognition that, at times and in certain sectors, some of our colored brethren have suffered unconstitutional discriminations, and because many of us have been sympathetic to the ends they seek—and have not, therefore, thought very much about the destructive means they have embarked upon to attain those ends—there has been a rather general public apathy toward their preachments to violate, and their practices in violating, our laws.

Indeed, one of those who first advised, and was most successful in inducing, his followers to take the law into their own hands—and who, now that their conduct has led to widespread disorder, attempts to excuse his responsibility for it with the doubtless-true statement: "I cannot control them"—parenthetically, an excuse quite reminiscent of the one given by the man who lighted the squib and threw it into the crowd—was rather recently twice honored. Once by an old and respected American university by conferring upon him an honorary degree—not in some new political science—but in law, and, second, by an honored foreign cultural group by awarding him a prize for, of all things, his contributions to peace.

What, I would like to ask, has happened to our sense of values?

But a recent article in the May 3, 1965, issue of "U. S. News & World Report" hints at a new and different appraisal of this conduct, and indicates some official impatience with this gentleman's apparent insatiable appetite for power, and some displeasure at his recently voiced criticism of the Administration's foreign policies in Vietnam and elsewhere—concluding with the statement that "some Washington observers profess to see an attempt [by this gentleman] to 'escalate' his status as a national figure—perhaps with political goals in view."

This is heartening, as it indicates a new awareness of the inevitable destruction of ordered liberty that must be expected if we continue to allow any of our citizens to incite others to disobey the law—to take it into their own hands, and to get away with it.

Whatever may have been the provocations—and, doubtless, there have been some—no man, or any group or race of men, can be permitted, in a government of laws, to take the law, or what they think ought to be the law, into their own hands, for that is anarchy, and sure to result in chaos.

The fact that the provocations may have been themselves constitutionally unlawful cannot justify unlawful means for their resolution.

Both types of conduct are wrong—constitutionally wrong, the one as much as the other. And, obviously, two wrongs cannot make a right.

All discriminations that violate the Constitution and laws of the United States are readily redressable in our courts, which have always been open to all citizens. And no one has

. . . "We must seek redress in courts rather than in the streets"

any room to doubt that, if he will resort to those courts, and have the patience to await their processes—as we all must do in an ordered society—all his constitutional and legal rights will be vouchsafed to him, whatever his creed or color.

But there has been impatience with the judicial processes, manifested by the recent hue and cry for "action now—not the delays of the law."

Certainly this cliché, too, advocates such direct action as amounts to a clear call for disobedience of the laws, the judgments of the courts and of all constituted authority and lawful processes.

It is true that legal processes, being refined and deliberative processes, are slow.

But like the mills of the gods, though they grind slowly, they grind exceedingly fine, and their judgments are most likely to be just.

In all events, there is no other fair and orderly way to decide the issues that arise among us, and to have an ordered liberty.

Every ordered society in history has found it necessary to establish laws, and courts fairly to interpret and enforce them; and the same history makes clear, too, that the first evidences of a society's decay may be seen in its toleration of disrespect for, and disobedience of, its laws and the judgments of its courts.

How Minority Groups Can Lose Out

The great pity here is that these minority groups, in preaching and practicing defiance of the law, are, in fact, advocating erosion and destruction of the only structure that can ever assure to them, or permanently maintain for them, due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, and that can, thus, protect them from discriminations and abuses by majorities.

In May, 1965, Mr. Lewis F. Powell, president of the American Bar Association, in a speech dedicating the new Missouri Bar Center at Jefferson City, said, "Many centuries of human misery show that once a society departs from the rule of law, and every man becomes the judge of which laws he will obey, only the strongest remain free," and also that "those who break the great tradition of respect and tolerance for the differing views of others by resorting to coercion, whether 'violent' or 'nonviolent,' menace the spirit of responsible inquiry essential to [our] institutions." "No 'end,'" he said, "however worthy [can ever] justify resort to unlawful means."

He concluded with the statement that "America needs a genuine revival of respect for law and orderly processes, a reawakening of individual responsibility, a new impatience with those who violate and circumvent laws, and a determined insistence that laws be enforced, courts respected and due process followed." To this, I say amen.

Surely we must always strive to eliminate injustice and discrimination, but we must do so by orderly processes in the legislatures and the courts, and not by defying their processes and actions, nor by taking the laws into our own hands.

We must take the laws into our hearts rather than into our hands, and seek redress in the courts rather than in the streets.

A very recent issue of "The Kansas City Star" contained several articles about the general breakdown of law and order on our college campuses.

One of them fairly puts the finger on the cause. It did so through quoting one of the "demonstrating" students. He was asked why some students had abandoned historical "panty raids" and similar college pranks for open and riotous rebellion. "Why," he said, "you could get kicked out of school for conducting a panty raid and things of that kind, but no one is ever kicked out or punished for demonstrating for something like civil rights."

It is thus plain that the students, knowing just as everyone else knows, that open and riotous rebellion in the name of "civil rights" is not being punished, but is being tolerated, have been thus encouraged to wage and spread rebellion.

Another of these articles quoted some comments of J. Edgar Hoover about the effects of spreading crime upon the peace and safety of our citizens. He said: "There is too much concern in this country . . . for the 'rights' of an individual who commits a crime.

"I think he is entitled to his [legal rights], but I think the citizens of this country ought to be able to walk all the streets of our cities without being mugged, raped or robbed." But, he said, we can't do so today, and he added: "All through the country, almost without exception, this condition prevails."

The April 10, 1965, issue of the magazine "America" contained an article on the imperative need for certain and severe punishment of crime, which made many pertinent observations, including this one:

"[Government] has no right to turn the cheek of its citizens. Instead, it is gravely obligated—by the very purpose of its existence—to see to their protection.

"Sure and swift punishment [is our only way] to guarantee that protection. . . . We stand in need of sure, swift, tough punishment if we expect to decrease the crime rate, and to protect the great mass of our upright citizens."

To this, too, I can only say amen.

The causes are plain. We have, in high places, tolerated and even encouraged preachments to break the law—such as: "Obey the good laws but break the bad ones," which, of course, means to obey only the laws you like; and such as: "Action now, not the delays of the law," which is, of course, a call for direct action outside the law and the courts.

And we have also tolerated and in some high places have even encouraged, the actual defiances of the law which those preachments have advocated and brought into existence, and which have now spread to all areas of the nation, and seriously threaten the breakdown of law, order and morality.

Remedy: Demand Respect for Law

The remedy is equally plain. It is simply to insist that our governments, State and federal, reassume and discharge their first duty of protecting the people against lawless invasions of their persons and property and from assaults upon their liberties by demanding and commanding respect for law and legal processes through the impartial, evenhanded, vigorous, swift and certain enforcement of our criminal laws and the real and substantial punishment thereunder of all conduct that violates those laws.

These are not platitudes, but are fundamentals and vital, as every thinking man should see, to the survival of our nation.

In no other way can we orderly resolve the issues that confront and divide us, or live together in peace and harmony as a civilized nation of brothers under the fatherhood of God.

PLUS & MINUS ®

BUSINESS ACTIVITY OF THE WEEK

Rising demand for goods is keeping business activity on an upward course, despite output declines in some industries and a further erosion of stock prices.

Retail trade and business outlays on capital goods are still providing the backbone of economic expansion.

Both types of spending are still invigorated by tax cuts of this year and last, and by access to ample credit on easy terms.

Soft spots now developing in production, however, suggest a slowing of the rise of output in the second half of this year.

The "U. S. News & World Report" index of business activity declined in the week ended June 19, as shown by the bottom chart on this page. There were declines in output of autos, electric power and paperboard.

Average prices of industrial stocks, measured by the Dow-Jones average, sank to 857.76 on June 24, down 9 per cent from their high of early May.

Retail trade. Sales lately have run consistently at levels 6 to 7 per cent above a year ago. For the four weeks ended June 19, the breadth of demand was shown by gains of 10 per cent from last year in both automotive products and general merchandise.

Returns from auto dealers for the first 20 days of June suggested that sales for the month, after seasonal allowance, would be at a rate of about 8.7 million per year, up from 8.1 million in May and the highest since March.

Capital goods. Contracts and orders of business for plant and equipment, as reported by the Census Bureau, reached a record total of 5 billion dollars during April, up 16 per cent from a year ago.

Reflecting the persistent demand for capital goods, output of business equipment rose during May and was up 11 per cent from a year ago, 53 per cent above the average for 1957-59.

Output of consumer goods, on the other hand, fell a little during May and was up 6 per cent from a year ago, 39 per cent above 1957-59.

Business construction. The F. W. Dodge Company, in reporting its contracts for construction of all types during May, showed gains of 40 per cent from last year for commercial buildings and 66 per cent for manufacturing buildings.

Total contracts. As noted by George Christie, Dodge chief economist, the total of contracts for May, with allowance for the season, was very large, even though down somewhat from the near-record total of April.

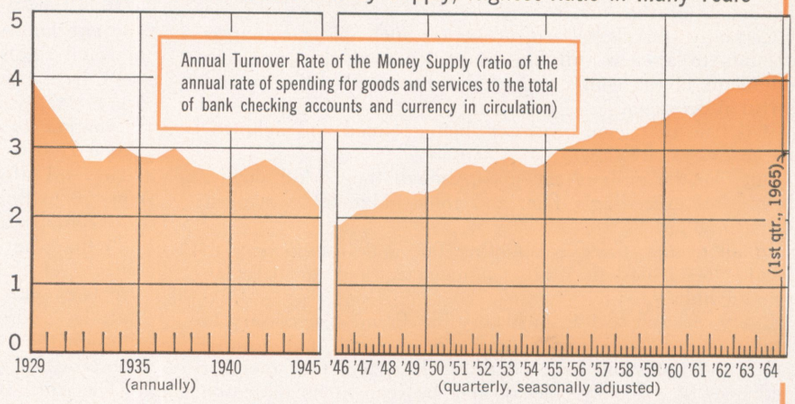
The high average level of total contracts in recent months points to a rate of construction activity in the second half of this year higher than the first.

Plenty of money. Favorable both to construction and to business outlays on equipment is the abundance of money, either as "cash flow" from business operations or as outside capital obtained from bank loans or through the sale of securities.

Bank loans to business continued to grow during the first three weeks of June, the season considered. Banks have gained lending power this year from a huge expansion in time deposits and, more recently, from the sale of their own long-term debentures in the securities market.

Time deposits. In the first five months of this year, when there was no growth at all in the active money supply, commercial banks lifted their time deposits by almost 8 billion dollars, com-

MONEY SUPPLY TURNING OVER RAPIDLY: Nation's Rate of Spending Is More Than Four Times the Money Supply, Highest Ratio in Many Years



Source: Federal Reserve Board

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Latest Indicators of Business

U. S. News & World Report's	Year Ago	Month Ago	Week Ago (Revised)	Latest Week (Preliminary)
Index of Business Activity* (1957-59=100)	127.5	139.2	139.2	137.3
Steel production	125.6	142.3	145.2	146.6
Auto production	158.9	195.3	181.0	174.6
Electric-power production	154.5	161.4	164.1	159.1
Paperboard production	131.3	145.7	145.3	136.7
Bituminous-coal production	110.3	118.9	124.9	123.3
Crude-petroleum production	110.5	110.7	111.1	111.6
Misc. freight carloadings	96.8	105.3	101.7	100.8
Wholesale prices (1957-59=100)				
All commodities	100.4	102.3	102.6	102.8
Industrial commodities	101.1	102.2	102.4	102.4
Sensitive commodity prices (1957-59=100)	95.3	104.9	104.6	104.1
Stock prices (Standard & Poor's Index, 500 stocks)	80.77	88.09	85.20	84.67

*Seasonally adjusted. Note: Sensitive commodity prices and stock prices are for June 23.

LAWLESSNESS IN U.S.—WARNING FROM A TOP JURIST

Behind the spread of crime and violence—

A retired Supreme Court Justice sees danger of a complete breakdown of law and order—a tendency, often officially encouraged, for people to take the law into their own hands.

What is this—a nationwide revolt against authority? Is the idea taking hold that it is all right for "demonstrators" and others to violate any law they don't happen to like?

Where is it leading? What is at stake?

The survival of the nation, says Justice Charles E. Whittaker. He calls for swift and vigorous enforcement of all criminal laws, with real punishment of all offenders.

Following is full text of an address by Charles E. Whittaker, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (retired), before a meeting of the Tennessee Bar Association, Nashville, Tenn., on June 17, 1965:



—Wide World Photo

CHARLES E. WHITTAKER

No doubt you, just as I, have noticed in the news media an ever-increasing number of items and articles that show with unmistakable clarity a rapid spread of lawlessness in our land that seems to be thoroughly planned, and also to be designed to destroy, and that seriously threatens to destroy, law, order and all vestiges of decency in our land.

Recently, while sitting in my library meditating upon that subject and upon appropriate remarks here today, and also listening to the beautiful music of "My Fair Lady"—and being, perhaps, thereby lulled into a satirical mood—it occurred to me: Why not speak on "Old-fashioned Law and Order—Wouldn't That Be Loverley?"

One of the recent articles that had deeply impressed me was by a husband-and-wife team of eminent criminologists of the Harvard Law School. It dealt with the rapid increase and spread of crime, and concluded with the statement that "unless much is done to check [current] vicious cycles, we are in for a period of violence beyond anything we have yet seen."

Another recent and impressive article contained the theme —which I think is fundamental—of the recent presidentially proclaimed Law Day, 1965, which was: "Uphold the law —a citizen's first duty."

Believing that this theme states an indisputable truth, yet, having read and heard many recent open and direct preachments of disrespect for and disobedience of our laws, and, also having seen the destructive effects of those preachments upon the good order and morality of our society, I am moved to speak out in demand for an immediate end to such conduct by the vigorous and evenhanded enforcement of our laws.

While I do not claim that all of our crime is due to any one cause, it seems rather clear that a large part of the current rash and rapid spread of lawlessness in our land has been, at least, fostered and inflamed by the preachments of self-appointed leaders of minority groups to "obey the good laws, but to violate the bad ones"—which, of course, simply advocates violation of the laws they do not like, or, in other words, the taking of the law into their own hands.

And this is precisely what their followers have done and are doing—all under the banner of "peaceable civil disobedience," which they have claimed to be protected by the peaceable-assembly-and-petition provision of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Although such preachments and practices have become far more vocal and widespread in our recent racial strife, they did not have their origin in that strife, but, rather, in the labor strife, sit-ins and lie-downs of an earlier era.

More recently, certain self-appointed racial leaders, doubtless recalling the appeasements and, hence, successes of that earlier conduct, have simply adopted and used those techniques in fomenting and waging their lawless campaigns which they have called "demonstrations."

They have recently used these techniques to incite their followers to assemble, from far and wide—often, unfortunately, with the encouragement and at the expense of well-meaning but misguided church organizations—into large and loosely assembled groups, which many have regarded as mobs, to wage what they have called "demonstrations" to force the grant of "rights" in defiance of the law, the courts and all constituted authority.

At the beginning, those "demonstrations" consisted of episodic group invasions and appropriation of private stores, first by sitting down and later by lying down therein, and, eventually, by blocking the entrances thereto with their bodies.

Seeing that those trespasses were often applauded in high places, were generally not punished, but, rather, were compelled to be appeased and rewarded, those racial leaders and their groups quickly enlarged the scope of their activities by massing and marching their followers on the sidewalks, streets and highways—frequently blocking and appropriating them to a degree that precluded their intended public uses.

And that conduct, too, being nearly always appeased, the process spread areawise, as might have been expected, from one Southern city to another, and then into many Northern cities, including St. Louis, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Washington, New York, Brooklyn, Syracuse and Rochester, and, eventually, pretty generally throughout the land.

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July 29, 1966

Dr. Daniel A. Poling
The Christian Herald
27 East 39th Street
New York, N. Y. 10016

Dear Dan:

Do you remember the article I wrote and you published in the Christian Herald a few years ago on the subject of street demonstrations vs. democratic government?

I am writing a brief supplement to that article in the light of the rash of street demonstrations all over America and more particularly of some things that were said and done in Geneva a few days ago at the present Conference of Christian Theologians and Laymen.

Did you read in the New York Times of July 27th the effort to have this Conference made a street demonstration in behalf of "dynamic action by all Churches on the major issues of the day.?'

Did you read what a very distinguished Christian lady and scholar of New York City said in urging the demonstration,-"you snear and you laugh when you are asked to adopt a new form of action (demonstration) developed and perfected in this century?" She said she (was deeply disappointed to hear some delegates brush aside the march plan after talking, talking, talking."

I have done some research on her claim that these street demonstrations have been developed and perfected in this century. I can cite instances in every century from the first to the twentieth in which Christians have used street demonstrations tragically to serve what they thought were noble Christian purposes.

Would your editors be interested in a brief article by me on this subject? The Christian Herald reaches a great many readers who may not be fully informed in regard to the false claims made by the lady in Geneva for street demonstrations as a modern desirable technique to be used to right some of our social injustices.

Please let me know if your editors are interested,and if so, how long an article they would prefer.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

ACM:he A. C. Marts