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REID L. BUNDY - Managing Editor

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Our Most Vital Freedom

What is the most vital of all individual freedoms? Most people, if they could choose but one, certainly would stress the right to speak out—more formally known as freedom of speech.

And it is a freedom which has been dearly won, over the long centuries. It is, too, a freedom which can easily be lost and has been lost. Writing in a recent issue of the Reader's Digest, Albert Q. Maisel tells, in brief form, of the struggles that "the right to speak out" involved throughout history.

The concept of free speech is very old. In 399 B.C., Socrates wrote: "The sun could as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from society. Life that is not tested by discussion is not worth living." Yet Mr. Maisel reminds us, Socrates was put to death for speaking his mind. The concept was there—but the inalienable right was not.

The dark ages, lasting over hundreds of years, silenced all voices save those which supported and served the ruling cliques. Then, in 1215, a new seed was planted when the barons of England forced King John to sign the Magna Carta at Runnymede. Mr. Maisel observes "Thus, unwittingly, they helped bring to birth the institution of Parliament."

But, at the beginning and for long afterwards, this birth was inauspicious. For five solid centuries kings held, and enforced, the right to punish members of Parliament for what they said there.

But, little by little, protest and dissent grew until, in 1688, a bill was signed by the sovereign saying: "The freedom of speech and debates in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament." This was a tremendous milestone. But it guaranteed only freedom of speech within Parliament. Much more time and trouble—in which religious freedom was the paramount issue—were to pass and occur before freedom of speech outside Parliament was established.

"The New World," Mr. Maisel goes on, "quicken the cause of free speech." But, again, the road to its realization was rocky. Then, when American independence became a reality, the state constitutions incorporated bills of rights. According to Mr. Maisel the Pennsylvania constitution, of August, 1776, was the first in history to provide explicitly that "the people have a right to freedom of speech."

So the long story goes. A right that most of us take for granted was won by centuries of rebellion, dangerous dissent, bloodshed, martyrdom. And, let it be stressed, the right is far from universal even now. Mr. Maisel quotes the former Soviet prosecutor, Andrei Vishinsky, who said: "In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech for the foes of socialism."

Then Mr. Maisel concludes: "Our faith, today as when the Constitution was written, rests upon full freedom of speech for critics of our government and the governing party as well as for its supporters."

A Bookman's Notebook

In Wake of the Prize: It's a 'Get John' Club

If a "Get Adlai" club operates in Washington politics, a "Get John" club also may be operating on the fringes of American criticism. Since the announcement that John Steinbeck had been awarded the 1962 Nobel Prize in Literature, there have been curious snippings at the writer and his book. Is it, the grumblers wonder, of Nobel Prize stature?

As an old Steinbeck enthusiast, I was delighted to see him win the award. If you exclude Robert Frost and possibly Carl Sandburg, Steinbeck seems to be as sound an American candidate as the Swedish Academy could name this year.

Steinbeck received the prize from Gustav VI Adolf in Stockholm and, the day before, he told a press conference that the atmosphere re-

mined him of being "in combat." One could sympathize with him in his moment of glory.

The day after the original announcement, a New York Times editorial rather coolly congratulated him, but its reservations were obvious. Then in the Times Book Review, the critic Arthur Mizener sounded off in a piece titled "Does a Moral Vision of the Thirties Deserve a Nobel Prize?"

After rereading Steinbeck's work, Mizener concluded that Steinbeck is little more than "an incurable amateur philosopher." He surmised that perhaps the time had come "for some American to receive the award, and among Europeans Steinbeck turned out to be, for one reason or another, the most widely read American author, just as Sinclair Lewis was

when he received the Nobel Prize in 1930."

The "Get John" club maneuvered in London, if less conspicuously. The Times Literary Supplement wondered if this year's prize was "misplaced bounty." It is becoming difficult, the Literary Supplement thundered, "to take seriously the standards of judgment of an international literary prize which overlooks or deliberately ignores the claims of such writers as Valery, Malraux or Brecht, preferring to honor the accomplishments, distinguished as they may be, of Pearl Buck and Quasimodo." The choice of Steinbeck did not visibly shake the British journal, although it concluded, cautiously:

"It seems clear that the 'bounty of Sweden' (as Yeats rightly called it) has of late been granted by men oddly out of touch with modern critical standards and opinion . . . Unless the present trend alters, the Nobel Prize in literature may soon fade to the status of hollow pomp. The first to receive it was Sully Prudhomme—a French poetaster. The precedent is dangerous."

Other American carping stressed the point that, at 60, Steinbeck's best writing is behind him and that his last widely praised book, "East of Eden," appeared 10 years ago. Which, if the prize is given chiefly for the body of a writer's work, seems hardly the point.

You can understand Steinbeck's weary reference to being "in combat." Well, congratulations—sort of. Notes on the Margin . . . Harcourt, Brace has published a whopping 540-page combined edition of "Modern American Poetry" and "Modern British Poetry," edited by Louis Untermeyer (\$11). Both have been published separately in previous years.

The Wonderful Wizards Of Washington



James Dorais

New Apartments Change Skyline of U. S. Cities

Has home ownership in the U.S. passed its peak?

For many years, the steady increase in the numbers of Americans who own their own homes — or at least equities in them — has been regarded as one of the healthier aspects of the country's economic and sociological condition.

Now, however, signs point to a considerable disenchantment with the traditional charms of the little home in the suburbs. The big thing in residential building today is the apartment. Contracts for apartment construction are

estimated to have increased about 50 per cent in 1962 over the previous year, with no indication the trend will slacken next year.

The apartment boom is changing the skylines of both cities and suburban areas.

City apartments are attracting tenants from the ranks of older people who have grown tired of fighting the freeways, taking care of lawns and gardens, do-it-yourself maintenance projects, and the high property taxes characteristic of suburban, non-industrial areas.

Many young couples, too, seem less eager to plunge into the responsibilities of home ownership than formerly, probably because the day

when a home could automatically be sold at a profit appears to be past in many sections.

Just as spectacular as the proliferation of high-rise apartment dwellings in the cities is the relatively new phenomenon of garden and swimming pool apartment communities springing up cheek by jowl with one-family home suburban tracts.

The principal reason for apartment building in suburbia is the rising cost of land, making multiple dwellings projects more profitable for builders than single units. Whereas a conventional subdivision will house five or six families per acre, a multi-story apartment building can place 25 times as many families on the same amount of land.

In some instances, suburbia isn't reacting too well to the apartment boom. Homeowning residents complain the apartment complexes adversely change the appearance of the community and attract a transient type of resident who doesn't take much interest in the community's problems.

The construction of one large apartment building can create a classroom shortage in the community school, and make an already high tax rate soar still higher.

But despite scattered protests, and some successful efforts to block apartment construction by zoning restrictions, the old tenant-landlord relationship appears definitely on the comeback in both city and country.

"Don't resent growing old. A great many are denied the privilege."—Lynn H. Carpenter, Dundee (N.Y.) Observer.

Quote

"A psychiatrist says, 'The best way to prevent a nervous breakdown is to work hard.' What's the next best way?" — E. M. Remsburg, Vista (Calif.) Press.

"In St. Jo the Lions staged a pancake day using a Rotary grill, but the Kiwanians weren't even mentioned." — Louis Nelson Bowman, King City (Mo.) Tri-County News.

"The surest way to go broke is to wait for the breaks." — John L. Teets, Richwood (West Va.) Nicholas Republican.

"Don't resent growing old. A great many are denied the privilege."—Lynn H. Carpenter, Dundee (N.Y.) Observer.

Tokyo Is Talking About...

Attacks on the VIPs

TOKYO—An elite 325-man bodyguard corps has been organized by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department in the wake of a series of violent incidents involving foreign dignitaries.

Most of the incidents so far have been offshoots of the East-West cold war. An unidentified assailant broke into the room at a 20-year-old Red Chinese girl, slashed her hand and then escaped through an open window. The girl was a member of a visiting Communist Chinese table tennis team.

The Nationalist Chinese have had their share of troubles, too. A Tokyo rally celebrating the 51st anniversary of the Republic of China broke up in confusion when someone threw a tear gas bomb into the theater where the meeting was being held.

A short time later, an attempt was made to blackmail Nationalist Chinese Ambassa-

dor Chang Li-sheng. A letter ordered Chang to pay 2 million yen (\$5775) "or else I will expose the real story behind the break-up of the theater rally."

Up to now, the lion's share of security work has been handled by only 73 bodyguards, most of whom are detailed to protect Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, members of his cabinet and a few other Japanese VIPs. As a result, special units have had to be set up every time an important foreign guest came to Japan.

A shrewd, wide-awake thief coolly walked out of a local bank with 3 million yen (\$8,660) without benefit of a weapon of any kind or even so much as a threatening word.

This strange lapse in security occurred after Yoshizo Saito, a sake company clerk, called at the bank to withdraw 3 million yen. Since the

AFTER HOURS By John Morley

One Man's Wishes For the New Year

- That all men who yearn for freedom shall attain it.
- That all peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations shall have their greatest human needs satisfied.
- That the scourge of disease, hunger, poverty, illiteracy, exploitation, ignorance may be substantially reduced in our world.
- That those who are indifferent and insensitive to the needs of others learn the real meaning of charity . . . and being our brother's keeper.

- That the good of mankind will make itself felt in the decisions of political leaders . . . who must find a way to settle international differences by any other means than war.
- That in our time, or the time not too distant, people will come to live together in peace . . . if not in peace, at least without hate.
- That this peace will be guaranteed by the binding force of humanity, of mutual respect, justice under law, freedom to choose and by the abiding doctrine of the brotherhood of man.
- That those who want freedom will also assume its heavy cost, sacrifice and responsibilities.
- That those denied opportunity in the past shall come to enjoy it to their full capabilities.
- That racial strife, intolerance, dog-bite-dog may be recognized for the evil that they are by more men of good will.
- That political leaders, while not ignoring the needs of the indigent, will not equally ignore the creative incentives of our society . . . and find the true balance between reliance on self and reliance on government.
- That all-out support be extended to those who work for a world of reason and understanding.

- That the good buried in every man's heart be recognized and rewarded.
- That people come to see more clearly the good which unites us, not the jealousies, pettiness, selfishness and bad, which divide us.
- That every day of the new year may bring us closer to the final victory . . . not of nations . . . but of man over his own evil-doings. For today it is in the hands of less than a dozen men in the world . . . not of millions of people in the various nations . . . that the fine line of calm or crisis is in the balance.
- That in the battle of good and evil in which all of us are engaged . . . each of us has a significant responsibility.
- That as teachers, ministers, statesmen, leaders, artists, writers, producers, playwrights, columnists, influencing public opinion and conduct, we join in a common effort to bring a cleansing wind into the stench, futility and despair of sensationalism, lewdness, greed, corruption.

For the world is craving for the inspiration of a real

ism reflecting not the dirt and human weakness alone, but the divine strength and inspiration buried in man's hearts that needs awakening.

To allow the Power, which is greater than all men, to guide our teaching, writings, plays, films, music, conduct, than can set a new standard toward the road to man's final victory over the scourge of hate and war.

• May God find an effective and reliable instrument in the President of the United States as he begins a new year of fateful decisions.

• As for the personal wish of this reporter . . . I know that I shall pass through this marvelous, magnificent and sometimes tragic world but once . . . if, therefore, there be any kindness I can show to anyone, especially loved ones, friends, the needy and the searching young . . . or any good, wholesome and helpful thing I can do . . . to self-generate the power and the will to do it now, and not defer or neglect it . . . for I may never have a second chance, nor shall I pass this way again.

Our Man Hoppe

The White House Won't Hold Water

Art Hoppe

In trying to become an ace White Houseologist, I've meticulously explained the whole device of Trial Balloons. But, oddly, there's still some confusion. "How," inquires an indignant lady, "is a Trial Balloon filled with a Leak?"

I thought everybody knew that. But, if not, best we go back and review.

Leaks, as you know from reading the papers, come from either Administration sources, high Administration sources, sources close to the White House or inside White House sources. In that order of importance.

Let's start at the bottom. You get a job as an Administration source, of which there are thousands. The rating (GS-13) and the pay (\$12,500) aren't bad, but you have to eat in the cafeteria. So you start issuing leaks to all your friends and passing strangers. Like who in personnel stole Miss Pope's potted philodendron. Through diligence you get several people fired. Your work is noticed by your supervisors and you are promoted to high administrative source (GS-18, \$17,500 and a seat in the junior executives dining room).

This entitles you to leak the inside story to the Peoria Weekly Foghorn and other lesser media. But only the inside story which will appear on the inside pages. Such as the oversupply of graphite in the Bureau of Locks & Bugles. It is, however, a gay, ego-rewarding position and most would be wise to stop there.

Not so. The dedicated go on to become a source close to the White House, hanging around the south lawn but-tonholing passing newsmen to issue leaks. This is a very arduous job. Especially in winter.

But, with luck, your work may catch the eye of the President. "Scn," he will say, "your work has caught my eye. We need more men like you. Come inside where it's warmer." Thus you reach the pinnacle: becoming an inside White House source. Issuing leaks about who issued the leak that sunk you-know-who.

Inside White House sources, unfortunately, are often confused with sources inside the White House. The latter means newsmen in the pressroom, to whom inside White House sources leak, and the maids, staff antique dealers and the like. Who just write books.

Now while newsmen are known as sources inside the White House and constantly leak to each other, they are also leaked to by inside White House sources. This is because the pressroom is near the door. And newsmen are thus also known as sources close to the outside world.

In practice, of course, there are vague areas between these clear-cut distinctions. While newsmen agree all gardeners are unofficial sources close to the White House, what about the doorman? Sometimes he is a source inside the White House; sometimes a source close to it. Depending on whether it's cold outside.

But actually, all that's necessary to understand the news these days is to form the proper picture of our White House. Sort of like a giant sieve. A giant sieve leaking balloons which cut throats.

I'm sure this answers the lady's question. If not, don't bother me. I've decided not to become a White Houseologist. I've decided to become a Kremlinologist. It's simpler.

Morning Report:

It was very nice of De Gaulle to lend us the Mona Lisa for three weeks, but he shouldn't have done it.

American tourists will never forgive him. Because their reports that they saw the real crackly Mona Lisa at the Louvre will never mean the same to the folks back home. Now they will have to spend hours tramping through galleries when they could better spend their time getting mellow in some Paris bistro.

And if something happens to the frail old girl while she's over here, heaven help us. France may not have the A-bomb yet, but she soon will.

Abe Mellinkoff

LIFE'S LIKE THAT

By FRED NEHER

