Herald and News

Editorial Page

The Illusion Of Change

These are the days when the Congress is referred to as "new." The 88th is barely getting warmed up. Yet what seems to impress some political specialists most is how little changed it is in real substance.

Surveys of congressional elections indicate that roughly 50 per cent of United States House seats never change from one party to another—though they are up for grabs every two years. In another 25 per cent of these seats, changes are uncommon.

Thus, as measured by party control, some three-fourths of the House is largely unaffected by any but the very highest political tides. The last time one rolled was in 1936, when the Democrats assisted by Franklin D. Roosevelt took 334 of 435 seats.

Normally only some 125 seats are genuinely competitive. And the Republicans are now complaining again that they have to win far more of these than do the Democrats to seize House control. For the Democrats root their strength in the one-party congressional districts.

Setting the facts against the evident purposes of the Founding Fathers produces a rich irony. The aim of having House elections every two years—affecting all 435 seats—was to make the lower chamber especially "responsive" to popular will. Obviously only a small part is affected by moderate shifts in the voting winds.

In the last year, a great stir has been created about correcting some of these inequities through reapportionment. But Republicans, smarting on the short end of present arrangements, now argue that much broader effort is needed than has been suggested so far.

Congressional reapportionment is compelled by law only in those states which, under a complex formula governed by population changes, either gain or lose seats after a decennial census.

After 1960, for instance, some 25 states—just half the total—had gains or losses. The other 25 held their old number of seats and had no need to redistrict.

But GOP experts think they may be suffering nearly as much from population imbalance within these states as from improper or insufficient reapportionment in those areas compelled to act by law.

The steady drift of people from rural zones to city and suburb thins out many districts and vastly overloads others. Yet there often is no congressional seat-shuffling.

Republicans may one day sponsor legislation to force periodic redistricting, even when a state's seat quota remains the same.

Their stake in such change is clear. The swelling suburbs, where they already do well competitively, loom as their great opportunity to recapture the congressional power that was theirs so much of the time before the Roosevelt era. In the 30 years since 1932, the GOP has had House control but twice.

No one can imagine easy sledding for any legislation that would make congressional elections truly more competitive. The single-party district lawmakers, generally some 300 strong, must surely be the world's most powerful lobby.

Irresponsible Tax Reduction

Everyone, needless to say, would like to pay less in taxes. But not everyone believes that tax reduction now, in the light of current prospects and conditions, makes sense.

President Charles B. Shuman of the American Farm Bureau Federation is among them. Speaking before the Federation's annual convention, he expressed the opinion that tax reduction without a corresponding reduction in government spending would be irresponsible.

Attractive as a tax reduction is, this point of view must be given full consideration. It is true that some top officials of the government, who are concerned with tax policy, now argue that deficits are not necessarily breeders of inflation. Maybe so—but their arguments are contravened by the hard experience of the postwar years. Perhaps ever-increasing deficits—of ten, fifteen, twenty billion a year—would not produce more inflation in a time when there is idle plant capacity and substantial unemployment. But what of the time—that the government is working for—when the plants are all busy and we have full employment?

The ranks of those, in and out of Congress, who are convinced that reduced spending is a prerequisite of sound and safe tax reduction, are growing fast. And they should.

THESE DAYS . . .

No Automatic Solutions

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Life, in its spontaneous way, takes an almost fiendish delight in creating new problems. Just at the moment the two most pressing unplanned-for problems are those posed by youth and old age.

The first problem is the result of the early post-war baby boom, which resulted from the surprising decision of young couples to have bigger families than their parents had had in the 1920s and the 30s. This year the extra babies born in 1947 are reaching the age of 16. And the more doleful economists are now busy figuring that many of these 16-year-olds will shortly be turning up in the labor market statistics as the new unemployed.

This spontaneous generation of new teen-age job-seekers has the politicians all in a tizzy about providing ways and means of absorbing them into a pattern of government - induced "growth." But maybe the best thing to do about new arrivals in the job market is to leave them alone.

For life, in its curiously wonderful way, not only proposes its problems but disposes of them as well. The teen-ager is not only a job-seeker; he is a youth who still has a call on his family for support until he finds something to do. He carries his own unemployment insurance in the bed-and-board that in most cases will be provided for him at home until he is 21.

In calling on his family for support the youngster in his late teens demands the use of the the old car. Right at this point the nine-pins of the projected unemployment statistics begin to topple. The Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York for January estimates that in 1963 the number of 16-year-olds will increase by more than a million. Well, a million extra 16-year-olds taking out driver licenses in the next two or three years will automatically remove a considerable pressure on the used car market. This, in turn, will make it easier for Detroit to sell its new cars. So the nine-pins must go on toppling. It has been figured, conservatively, that one out of six or seven jobs in the U.S. depends on the automobile: the vast complex of of service stations, roadside stands, movie drive-ins, motels, steel and aluminum making for cars, oil company development, rubber tire manufacture and a score of other related things account for a tremendous payroll. The extra 16-year-old, in becoming an extra car consumer, adds to the prosperity of this payroll—and he himself may get that extra job as a gas station attendant or boy-of-all-work around a motel while he is still going to school at night.

What the politician, faced with the fact of the baby boom, does not think about is the self-levitation that solves problems even in the course of creating them. The law of compensation always works, provided one has the patience to trace out the implications of things and keep from throwing monkey wrenches (i.e. taxes and inflation) into the works. Just as it is axiomatic that every human being has a mouth to feed, so it ought also to be axiomatic that every one has two hands and a brain with which to produce something to feed that mouth. (We assume, of course, that the U.S. is still a fertile strip of real estate.) So, if old Lord Melbourne's good-natured cry—"why can't they leave it alone?"—is heeded, there is nothing to keep the two hands and the mouth from creating some sort of working partnership.

In talking about future joblessness among the people born in 1947 and 1948, the First National City Bank economists are not particularly optimistic. Yet their own projection for the new households that will be created in the late 1960s carries within it many compensatory factors. New households must mean employment in the building trades, in the business of making and selling furniture and all sorts of appliances. So the old Indian rope trick of economics must come into play all over again: demand creates jobs, and the jobs provide the wherewithal to extinguish the consumption loans.

As for that other unplanned-for problem, the growth in life expectancy of the 65-year-olds, that calls for different solutions. But not all 65-year-olds are exactly helpless, and the politician does not have to think about them en masse.

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Wednesday, Jan. 30, the 30th day of 1963 with 335 to follow.

The moon is approaching its first quarter.

The morning stars are Venus and Mars.

The evening stars are Jupiter and Saturn.

Those born on this day include Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd President, in 1882.

On this day in history:

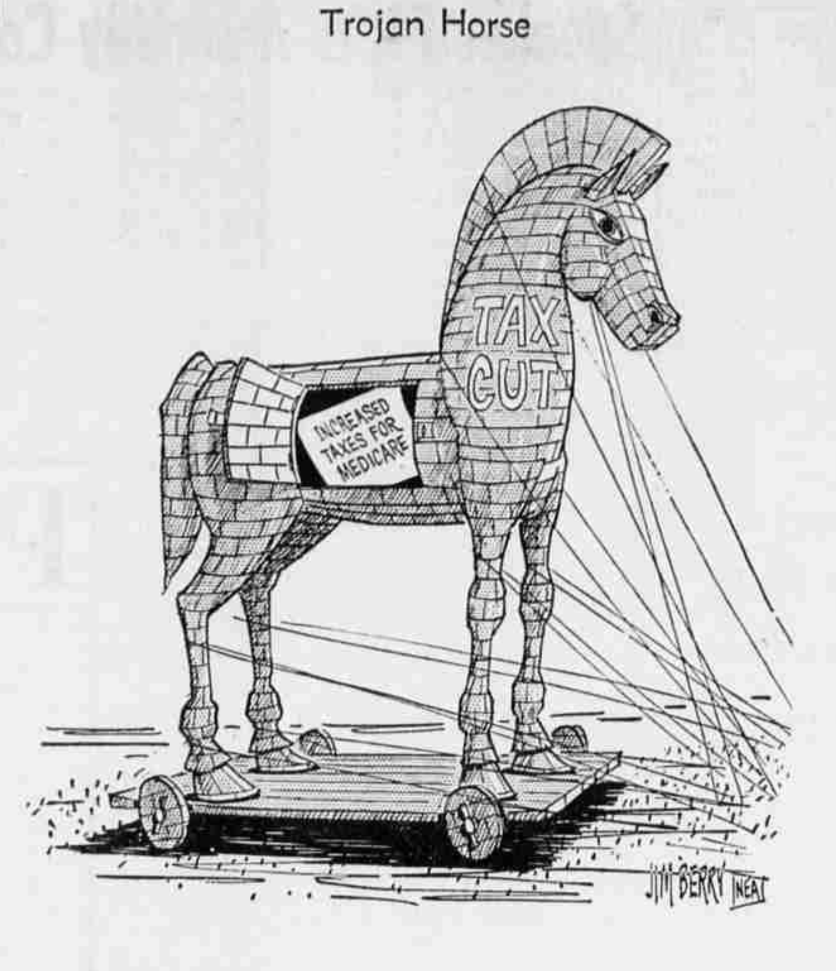
In 1933, Adolf Hitler was named Chancellor of the German Reich by President Von Hindenburg.

In 1948, Mohandas K. Gandhi was assassinated by an extremist in New Delhi, where Gandhi was leading 1,000 of his followers into a summer house for evening devotions.

In 1959, the Danish arctic motor ship Hans Hedtoft was lost off Greenland with 95 persons aboard.

In 1962, Cuba was ousted from the Organization of American States by a vote of 14 to one, with six nations abstaining.

A thought for the day—Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."



Trojan Horse

IN WASHINGTON . . .

Did Kennedy Make Deal?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The Cuban situation grows more—not less—dangerous with each passing day. Comrade Khrushchev has made it clear that he intends to remain on the island for good, and in the past months he has doubled his aid to the Fidel Castro dictatorship.

Soviet bayonets keep Fidel's barbudos in power, and Comrade Khrushchev's withdrawal of a token handful of troops has hardly changed matters. Neither has President Kennedy's promise to the Bay of Pigs Brigade that he will deliver their freedom flag to them in Havana. Secretary of State Dean Rusk made the American position abundantly clear when he said that he could "not accept as a normal situation any Soviet military presence in Cuba."

(As the American Security Council, which includes such men as Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond and Admiral Arthur W. Radford, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, points out, this is diplomatic language for saying that we don't like it but we won't do anything about it. Had Secretary Rusk meant business, he would have said that the situation was "intolerable," and the diplomats would have gotten the message.)

Meanwhile, Administration censors are giving out as little information as possible on Cuban policy. Administration leaders on Capitol Hill are fighting doggedly to prevent any Congressional investigation of State Department intent, and there are no signs of any significant impending actions from either the Pentagon or the Central Intelligence Agency.

It took, in fact, considerable prodding at closed sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to get the reluctant admission from Mr. Rusk that Administration estimates of the number of Soviet troops in Cuba were not accurate. Until that time, the figure usually given was 17,000. According to Mr. Rusk, it is actually 30,000—or roughly two infantry divisions.

There has been official silence on the nature of those troops. But I can state with authority that they include four Soviet tank batallions, and 22 missile companies to man surface-to-air and tactical rockets. The Castro air force is officered and piloted by Soviet airmen. Other Red Army troops have taken over Cuba's coastal defenses.

Those troops are there to stay, if Nikita has his way. Elaborate concrete barracks are being built for them on regular Cuban army and air force bases. Heavily reinforced concrete pens are being constructed for Soviet trawlers equipped with scanning devices and for Soviet submarines. The entire island has become an advance post for Soviet electronic espionage, and all U.S. space and missile tests are being monitored for the use of the Intelligence Center in Moscow.

(Red submarines have been spotted in Atlantic and Caribbean waters. Operations for these vessels are simplified by Cuban refueling ports.)

Whatever legalistic quibbling the Administration may indulge in about its no-invasion pledge, it is obvious that Comrade Khrushchev feels certain that the United States does not intend to cut out the Communist cancer from the Western hemisphere. His gamble in openly emplacing IRBMs and MRBMs in Cuba paid off. Presumably, he removed these missiles, but the Administration's willingness to write off Cuba more than made up for his partial loss of face.

In fact, there are men on Capitol Hill—and they are neither hotheads nor professional pessimists—who insist that a deal was made between the President and Comrade Khrushchev involving the dismantling of U.S. IRBM bases in Europe and in Turkey. Deal or not, those bases are being shut down. Turkey and Italy have already "agreed" to the substitution of Polaris missiles for the land bases. There are those who argue that the junking of the Skybolt missile and the Administration's determination to reduce the size and power of the Strategic Air Command (the shield of the Republic) are not coincidental but connected with a similar U.S.-Soviet deal.

Most worrisome are the psychological aspects of the let-down on Cuba. It is being asked: Once having gone to the brink, will President Kennedy be ready to make that journey again? Comrade Khrushchev has embarked on a "peaceful" course, but that's not new in Red strategy. There will be other incidents.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Science deals with the commonplace, not with the extraordinary. It questions the obvious more than it investigates the strange and the exotic. This is a lesson the layman has not yet learned to apply to his own life, his own time, his own society.

The greatest advances in science have been made by watching a bean grow, an apple fall, a star shine. From Galileo and Newton through Mendel and Pasteur and Einstein, the revolutionary discoveries have all been made by examining the simple and the immediate.

How exactly did Einstein come to his theories of relativity, which have utterly transformed the world of the present and the future? By questioning a word that everybody "understands." While drudging away in a patent office in Switzerland, and working on his mathematical equations, he asked himself what was meant by "simultaneous."

Of course, everybody knows what "simultaneous" means—happening at the same time. But what exactly is "the same time"?

No one human being among the millions who had existed until then ever doubted that he knew what "the same time" meant. A child of 5 could have told us. And yet, by questioning this simple, obvious idea, Einstein cracked open the whole universe like a nutshell.

Each scientific genius at the crucial point of his career, went back to first principles. Each asked himself a question that any idiot could answer — and each found that the answer was not true; that the obvious was not so obvious after all; that the infinitely simple has locked within it the secret of the whole complex cosmos. A leaf, a stone, a star.

In our personal lives, we too rarely confront ourselves in the naked simplicity of our essential being. We almost never ask the questions which have "obvious" answers; only a child asks such questions—and we quickly shame him or shush him out of repeating them.

Science has made such enormous strides because it is not ashamed or afraid to ask such unsophisticated questions: Why doesn't an apple fall up, why doesn't a bean-pod turn into a carrot, what time is it if you're traveling on a moon-beam?

Philosophy, on the other hand, has been a circular process because most philosophers have devised abstract systems and rules and theories, but have not observed themselves and their fellow-men in their existential condition. The questions of our identity and our relationships, our proper roles as created beings, have been answered (if at all) by creed and custom, by rote and by rule. And not until we begin to ask the right questions will be begin to get a glimmer of a right answer.

POTOMAC FEVER

France's new motto for Europe: All for one and the one's De Gaulle.

Nervously waiting for a much-promised tax cut, voters have a new name for the decade—the Sweating Sixties.

Izvestia urges Russian men to wear Ivy League clothes. And three years hence, Moscow will announce that Americans have adopted the Russian-invented Ivan look.

Then there was the kid who turned down admission to his first choice college on the theory there wasn't much to learn in a school that didn't have enough sense to keep him out.

President Kennedy's $98.8 billion budget is an obvious play for the women's vote. They figure any price with a 98 in it must be a bargain.

There's a slight pause in the space race while both sides try to figure out why it costs almost as much to get back from nowhere as it does to stay here.

FLETCHER KNEBEL

EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Cash-And-Eat Affairs Feed Democrat Kitty

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — You have to carry your checkbook at the ready if you want to stand in well on the New Frontier.

The philosophy of "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country" has been carried to extremes. If you don't volunteer, you are invited.

Washington is pretty agog now over two parties celebrating the second anniversary of President Kennedy's inaugural while Democratic leaders were in town to plan 1964 strategy.

First, a $1,000-a-plate dinner at the new International Inn. The 600 or more big fish attending this affair got favors of a free ticket to a $100-a-seat gala which followed at the National Guard armory, without food, for maybe 5,000 little fish.

The party could gross maybe a million dollars toward reducing the National Committee debt.

No printed guests lists were available for either affair to identify the suckers. This trick was used extensively by the Republicans during the Eisenhower administration, but the GOP holds no copyright on it and both parties use every strong-arm method they can think of to raise political funds.

Washington newsmen have received many anonymous phone call protests on this in recent days. Most have come from career civil servants in the upper grades, complaining they have been pressured to buy tickets to the $100-a-seat gala.

The callers can't reveal their identity for fear of political reprisal. The implied threat is that if they don't contribute, they won't get that promotion or might be down-graded.

Sen. John J. Williams, R-Del., has demanded an investigation of newspaper charges that government workers were told to buy tickets $10 down and $10 a month if they couldn't pay cash.

On a smaller scale, this is characteristic of the zeal and ingenuity shown in raising the $53.9 million in ransom food, drugs and cash to get the Bay of Pigs prisoners released from Castro cells. The ransom was not solicited directly by the government or the administration. The touch was made by New York attorney James Donovan to food and drug trade associations and gifts were made to the Red Cross.

But before anything was given, there was full clearance by Departments of State, Justice and Treasury that there would be no prosecution for it under antitrust, tax or food and drug laws.

So private industries that really had the beat put on them during consideration of new food and drug legislation last year forgave and forgot and pulled the administration's chestnuts out of the fire for its Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Red Cross is now making public the names of donors, and the amounts of their contributions. A dozen firms contributed over a million dollars each:

Eli Lilly & Co., Indianapolis, $2,342,797; Merck & Co., New York, $2,501,640; Upjohn Co., Kalamazoo, $1,507,041; Warner Lambert, Morris Plains, N.J., $1,500,000; Bristol Myers, $1,003,404; Sterling Drugs, Inc. and subsidiaries, $1,407,076; Abbott Laboratories, North Chicago, $1,000,000; Charles Pfizer & Co., New York, $1,500,000; Hoffman-LaRoche, Nutley, N.J., $1,131,841; McKesson-Robbins, Bridgeport, $1,398,301; H. J. Heinz, Pittsburgh, $1,000,000; Wyeth Laboratory, Radnor, Pa., $1,491,601.

In addition, Gen Lucius D. Clay signed a personal note for $1.9 million before going out and raising that amount in cash for the final ransom payment. And Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy raised another million by a phone call to Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston.

The Kennedy touch is not confined to political fund raising. In the interests of Washington's $30 million Cultural Center, the First Family took a prominent part in the "Pageant of the Arts" which raised $335,000 from a $100-a-plate dinner and a closed circuit telecast of the entertainment to 60 cities.

In all fairness, it must be recognized that the President turns his salary over to charity, that the Kennedy Foundation is doing extensive research on mental retardation and that the First Lady turns over to charity most of the gifts sent to her and her family as gestures of sincere admiration.

WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Expense Items Are Difficult To Explain

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Somebody might take a look at a New York outfit called the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

Set up several years ago to collect campaign funds for hard-pressed liberals, the group takes in more than $100,000 a year.

Last fall, for instance, the National Committee persuaded Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy to affix his signature to a fund-raising letter sent to wealthy Democrats across the country.

The November elections, wrote McCarthy, were crucial. If liberal Democrats did not triumph, there would be a "profound quantitative effect on the next Congress. It would affect what the President could seek from the Congress and, beyond that, the character of the remainder of this Administration, and could have a decisive effect in shaping the Presidential campaign of 1964."

McCarthy asked $200,000 for a campaign kitty that would aid four Senate candidates and several others seeking House election.

Such a bundle, wrote McCarthy, "could make a real difference." He asked the Senate funds for incumbents John Carroll of Colorado and Frank Church of Idaho and for aspirants George McGovern of South Dakota and David King of Utah.

Thanks to McCarthy, the dollars rolled in.

Former Sen. William Benton gave $500. Pollster Elmo Roper kicked in another $100. So did Adolf Berle, the old New Dealer. Harry Ashmore, of the Fund for the Republic, gave $100. Publisher Max Ascoli sent $300.

Altogether, assorted liberals coughed up $139,121.89, according to a report filed with the clerk of the House as required by law.

Distributed to candidates, however, was only $34,105. For every $4 taken in, $3 went for overhead, expenses, travel and entertainment.

Biggest recipient of committee largesse was not a candidate. It was George Agree, the public relations man who runs the committee at $15,000, plus "expenses," a year.

Agree fared far better than any office-seeker. Candidate George McGovern, singled out by Senator McCarthy as one who would be helped, received only $500.

Colorado's Senator Carroll received but $3,000 and lost. So did candidate King, who took in only $2,500. Idaho's Senator Church, who won reelection, received only $4,000.

A smattering of Congressional candidates across the country received modest contributions. Pennsylvania author James Michener, whose wife gave $200 to the committee, received the biggest gift, $1,625.

Contacted by my reporter, Bill Schulz, Agree had a hard time explaining the disbursement of much of the $139,121 he collected. Asked about frequent withdrawals of cash for unidentified "expenses" listed in his report, Agree stammered:

"Well, I did a lot of traveling, a lot of entertaining, a lot of dinners and luncheons."

From Jan. 4 to March 27, Agree's group made no contributions to any candidate. Here are a few typical expenses listed in his report to the clerk for that period:

Jan. 3—$120 for "expenses."

Jan. 15—$200 in cash for "travel."

Feb. 1—$148.26 to the Diners Club for "expenses."

Feb. 19—$100 in cash for "expenses."

March 1—$311.35 in cash for "expenses."

March 8—$185.06 to the Diners Club for "expenses."

March 22—$300 in cash for "supplies."

April 4—$100 in cash for "expenses."

Under the expense account crackdown of Mortimer Caplin's Internal Revenue Service, several of those expenditures might be a little difficult to justify. So might two hotel bills in one city on the same day. On June 6, Agree spent $111 at the Sheraton Carlton and $27.15 at the Congressional Hotel in Washington.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—During the War Between the States how many forts guarded Washington?

A—Fifty four in a 34-mile perimeter around the city.