

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Busy Season In Washington

As the mills of this Congress grind slowly along in their traditional way, the people of the nation give greater and greater attention to the plans and prospects that are in the works. And one thing can be said with considerable certainty — the cleavage between Administration thinking and proposing, and Congressional thinking and action, are, in some cases, very deep indeed.

Tax reduction, to be followed by major revisions in tax policy, are at the head of the President's agenda, so far as domestic affairs are concerned. But the chance of Mr. Kennedy's program being approved in its present state seem to be exactly nil. He asks for a \$13.5 billion tax cut, to be accompanied by changes in the law which would offset \$3.5 billion of that. The net result would be a cut of \$10 billion, with most of the advantage going to taxpayers in the lower and middle income brackets. At the same time, in other messages and proposed bills sent to Congress, the request has been made for greatly increased spending on an assortment of projects. The Administration program, whatever its merits or demerits, is to spend more and collect less. Some have figured that, if this program was adopted in its entirety, the deficit would reach an incredible figure during the coming fiscal year—\$15 or \$20 billion or even more. And the Administration's argument to the effect that great deficits are not necessarily producers of inflation is viewed with very cold and dubious eyes in some high Congressional circles.

Also, there is next to no chance that Congress will accomplish the massive job an overhaul of the tax system involves during this session. There is just too much difference of opinion as to what is needed. Some of the proposals made so far by the President are intensely controversial. What Administration

advisers may call tax "loopholes," for instance, are, in the view of others, fair and necessary exceptions to the general rule.

Last year the Administration threw about all the weight it could muster behind the Medicare bill, for providing an extensive list of medical services to everyone drawing Social Security benefits. The effort failed — the mountain didn't even produce a mouse. But, as the President has made clear, the bill, in similar if not identical form will be back again. And, again, its chance of enactment seem very dim. What is probable is something more to Congress liking—an expansion and improvement of the existing Kerr-Mills law, whereby federal funds are available for the medical needs of those who clearly are unable to pay for them, whether or not they are within the Social Security system, with administration of the program established at the local level.

The future of foreign aid is also in doubt. Increasing numbers of Senators and Representatives, within both the parties, think that this must be cut back. And France's action on vetoing British admission to the Common Market may bring an "agonizing reappraisal" of our whole international position, the Western defense alliance included.

Finally, we have not heard the last, by any means, of discussion of the extent of Communist infiltration into this hemisphere, and what we must do about it. Secretary of Defense McNamara's conference, of February 6, in which he dramatically denied that Soviet offensive weapons are now in Cuba, did not convince the skeptics. Other evidence indicates that he is possibly mistaken. A determined, probably bitter, effort will be made to determine the truth of the matter.

To say the obvious—it will be a busy season at the White House and on Capitol Hill.

Fateful Year On Labor Front

Nineteen-sixty-three began on a pessimistic note, with holdover newspaper shutdowns in Cleveland and New York and a longshoremen's strike along the East Coast. Only the latter has been settled.

If the year continues the way it began, it may go down as one of the most strife-filled years in U.S. labor history. Even if there are no more major strikes, it still will be a notable—and perhaps fateful—year.

No less than 94 major wage contracts expire this year, mostly in May and June, reports the National Industrial Conference Board. Nearly a quarter of a million American union workers will be affected.

Largest groups involved are in communications (347,000 workers), electrical machinery (182,000) and apparel (173,000). Another 3.7 million workers are involved in another

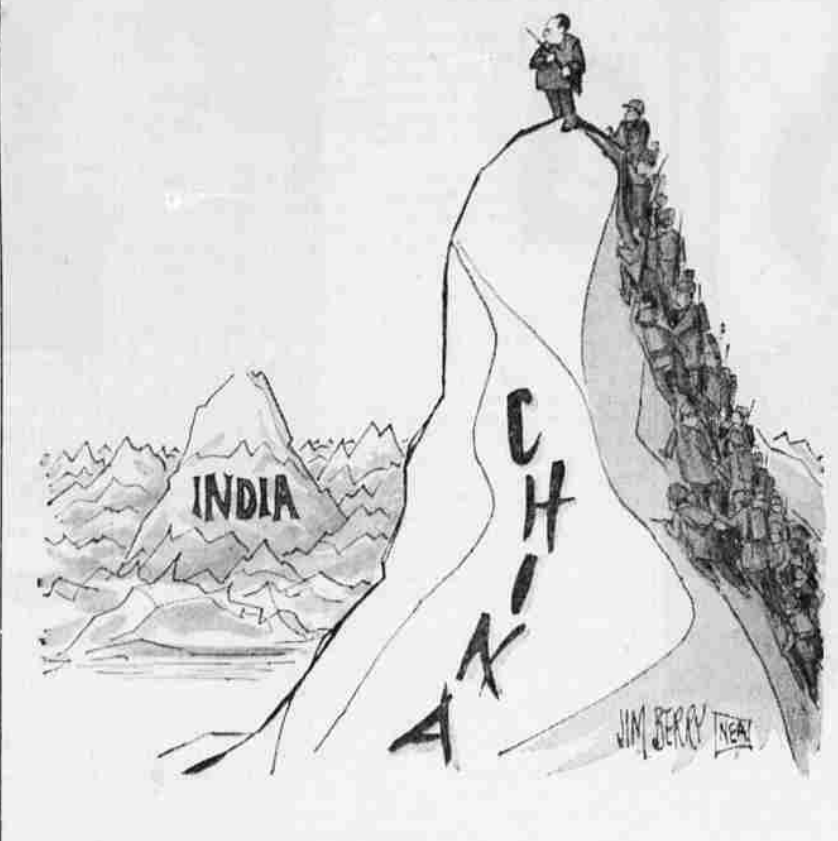
192 major contracts that provide for reopenings on wages or other issues.

There have been a number of recent warnings that the nation was becoming disturbed about strikes. Congress rumbled ominously during the maritime strike and there were hints about passing restrictive laws.

Unless there is a wave of strikes of serious proportions, however, there will be no such legislation this year. But 1963 may well set patterns that will determine the course of labor-management relations for the rest of the decade.

It remains to be seen whether it will be a spectacle of power bloc against power bloc or whether responsible bargainers will attempt to strike a balance between the interests of individual workers and industries as a whole caught up in a changing technology.

If Spring Comes---Can Mao Be Far Behind?



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

The cult of adjustment in our times urges us to adjust to our environment and our society, as though adjustment were a good thing in itself. But if we are asked to "adjust" to something, had, then the better we adjust, the worse we become.

A persuasive argument might be made, indeed, that man should be called the Maladjusted Animal. It is because man is basically maladjusted that he is unique in nature, and dominates the natural world.

The antelope, the beaver, the bird, the insect—all are perfectly adjusted to their environment and their society. This is why animals have no history, but only a repetitive biological process. The ant is a thousand times more than we are—but no ant knows anything more, nor can do anything differently, than his grandfather.

In the introduction to his interesting new fiction book, "Personal Values in the Modern World," Prof. M. V. C. Jeffries tersely and effectively brings out this point: "If we take efficiency, pertinacity, fortitude, dexterity, as the measures of excellence, we cannot claim any natural pre-eminence for man. It is, in fact, not success but failure that marks man off from the rest of the animal creation."

The author then goes on to say: "It is because man is maladjusted—which is evident in

the chasm between aspiration and capacity, vision and performance—have there arisen all the distinctively human activities: scientific inquiry, artistic creation, philosophical speculation, and the supporting condition of them all, historical experience."

Historical change, Prof. Jeffries reminds us, is peculiar to man, and lift human life on to a plane of its own. "When Caesar landed in Britain, when the Pharaohs built their tombs, when men first learned to make fire—ants' nests were no worse and no better organized communities than they are now."

We are concerned with education precisely because we are a maladjusted animal, because we are not determined by our structure and environment but are able to change and adapt external circumstances. Rather than "adjusting" to the earth, we have adjusted it to us. This is both our glory and our despair. We have the power to learn, which other animals do not, but also the power to fail, which other animals do not.

Each new plateau reached by the human race has been the result of some maladjustment—and it is no accident that personally maladjusted individuals have usually been responsible for our ascent to a higher level of comprehension and ability. Society has a right to ask that we cooperate for the common good, but not that we acquiesce in the common beliefs.

Washington Notebook . . .

Political Ranting Is Curbed

By WASHINGTON STAFF

WASHINGTON (NEA) — With elections now over, new congressmen who have traveled around are reportedly thankful that American campaigns are not conducted as in some foreign lands.

In Malaya, for example, a disgruntled wife of a candidate opposed her husband's ambitions and pasted posters all over the community reading:

"Fellow citizens! If Liao cheats on you as he does me, you will have yourselves to blame if you elect him!"

Needless to say, the guy lost. In Sweden, each of 12 candidates at a dinner meeting was handed an ice cube when he rose to speak. When the last drop seeped out of his fist he had to stop wagging his jaw.

In Brazil, an Indian tribe keeps long-winded speakers in line by making each candidate deliver his speech while standing on one leg.

An ardent Republican who worries a lot about the Kennedy administration says he had a nightmare over the New Frontier's effect on women. "It was horrible," he says. "There was a room filled with girls each wearing a Jackie Kennedy haircut, basic black and a Mona Lisa smile."

On his way to give a speech before the Fordham Alumni Assn. in a New York hotel, Admiral George W. Anderson, chief of naval operations, overheard one of his elevator companions ask another, "Who's the speaker at the clam-bake tonight?"

Anderson says the friend replied: "Some guy named Anderson. I think he's a sailor from Brooklyn."

One new frontiersman has been serving his party guests a concoction of champagne, rum, gin, vodka, and grape juice, loaded with blackberries and dark olives. He calls the mixture the "Purple Platoon," explaining that it's a toss-up whether the name signifies the cause or the effect.

A public relations firm, unhappy because a proposed press release which it had sent to the Defense Department two months before had not yet been cleared for release, wrote a letter to Cmdr. Hardy Glenn of the Navy Dept. to ask for assistance. But they wrote Cmdr. Hardy Glenn's name in reverse, addressing him as Cmdr. Glenn Hardy.

Cmdr. Glenn or Hardy to return wrote them this reply: "Passing in that mention would I thought and backwards name my have you note 1 Clearance defense final receives release the as soon as you advise will information Navy in here officer review security Cobb W. W. Cmdr. . ."

"We have progressed negatively positively on the matter" is the newest way to say "There will be no answer to what you've asked us to find out about," as used at the Pentagon by Arthur Sylva-



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Complete Political Reform Not Possible

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent

Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — James MacGregor Burns of Williams College spent a few days in Washington recently, doing a little missionary work on his plan for reforming everything he says is wrong with American politics. He didn't make much progress.

The Burns program, set forth in his new book, "The Deadlock of Democracy," has the revealing subtitle "Four Party Politics in America."

Dr. Burns is not the discoverer of this phenomenon—nor the first to complain about it. His first 300 pages give the history of how this system developed. The last 73 tell what he thinks should be done about it today.

Instead of throwing up his hands in despair and saying that nothing can be done to prevent any one of the four minorities in Congress from thwarting the will of a majority and stalemating major White House proposals, Burns presents a program by which he says President Kennedy might change the system.

This would involve a root-and-branch reorganizing and strengthening of the Presidential Democratic party, as distinguished from the Congressional Democratic party. It would have the national party establish its own congressional district organizations, financed, directed and staffed by national headquarters. State and local party organizations would still be used but only as branches of the national party.

The purpose of this, according to Burns, would be to have Kennedy reelected in 1964 by such a big vote that he could carry into Congress on his coattails the whopping majorities which President Roosevelt won in 1936.

As a matter of fact, this is also the objective of the President's White House political henchmen. At the recent Democratic National Committee and state chairmen's meeting in Washington, the 1964 campaign line was handed down that every congressional candidate should support the President.

Such a victory would bring with it, according to Burns, the reorganization of Congress to permit the party caucus and policy committee to function more effectively in support of the President's programs. There would be more party discipline and much less in-

dependence and free wheeling on major issue votes.

Burns thinks the Democratic Party cannot live forever on the issues inherited from the Roosevelt and Truman eras. Get away from issues like food, clothing and shelter, he says. Take the path laid down by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., toward "qualitative liberalism."

Let the government support the arts, education, civil rights, a vast expansion of recreational facilities, urban renewal, improve the tone, efficiency, imagination and sensitivity of government itself and "insist on the superior use of mass media."

Whatever this last means is not explained, but it seems to imply that the press, radio, television, movies, theatres, and maybe even phonograph records or tapes should do more of an educational or propaganda job for whatever party may control the White House.

A lot of this new platform may sound something like the present administration's news management and many cultural programs, which already aren't receiving whitehearted support.

There is nothing wrong with Burns having an idealistic program. That is one of the things professors are for. But from the standpoint of practical politics, it is difficult to see that many or any of the changes he suggests are going to be accepted by congressional, state and local political leaders. These leaders are still firmly in the saddle and show no inclination to budge.

Congressional progressives of both parties this year are making desperate efforts to change some of their worst and most obsolete rules and practices. The going is tough.

If Congress can agree as a first step to the establishment of a commission just to study the question of its reorganization, that will be as much as you can expect this year.

If such a commission could get Congress to agree on a few basic recommendations like insisting on the germaneness of debate, curbing the seniority system, staffing of congressional committees, curbing of congressional junketing and payroll padding, raising the ethical standards for congressmen, and defining what constitutes a conflict of interest to end its abuses—that would be about all you could expect for 1964.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Kennedy's Promises Are Campaign Fodder

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Diligent Republicans have unearthed some political ghosts with which they hope to haunt President Kennedy next year.

They are his own words. Researchers at GOP headquarters have compiled a documented record of every promise made by President Kennedy in 1960. There are more than 300.

Not a few of these deal with efforts that he said would revive the "stagnant economy" of Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon. There is little doubt that Republican leaders will next year charge the President with failure to implement his almost tiresome promise "to get America moving again."

Support for that charge, actually, comes from Administration officials. Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges told a Feb. 8 news conference that the economy was not moving ahead. "It is moving," said the secretary, "sideways." He told assembled reporters that retail sales had dropped 6 per cent in January, only a part of which could be attributable to the normal, post-Christmas dropoff.

Unemployment, says Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, continues to rise. Total unemployment jumped 800,000 in January, bringing the total to 47 million workers, 8.8 per cent of the working force.

On Feb. 11, Wirtz' Bureau of Employment Security announced that "State Agency reports for the week ended Feb. 2 indicate a sizeable increase in initial claims for benefits" under the unemployment compensation program.

Thirty-four states informed

assistant secretary of defense for public affairs.

Nevada's Sen. Alan Bible, digging way back in Nevada records for what he terms some "ego-shattering election results," discovered that in a special 1965 congressional election a third candidate, one Charles Sumner, of an obscure party, rang up one solitary vote.

Eleven years later Nevada deflated another "third man" in a congressional race, giving a certain H. H. Beck just two votes.

Washington that applications for unemployment benefits were rising. There were 2.6 million individuals receiving weekly benefit checks at the end of January.

The Bureau of Labor Standards reported in early February that the "factory hiring rate had declined more than seasonally." It previously had issued a report showing that prices paid for goods and services by families increased 1.2 per cent from the Administration's first year to its second.

Prices are now more than 30 per cent higher than they were in 1947-1949, more than double those of 1939. And government expenditures, of course, continue to rise, cutting the consumer's purchasing power even further.

Republicans note with interest figures released by the Home Loan Bank Board which show home foreclosures to be rising at an alarming rate. The board has disclosed that foreclosures on residential housing and small businesses hit a 23-year high of 26,000 in 1962. The rate continues to soar and Senate Republicans will soon make that a major issue.

That the economy will be an issue next year was admitted by California Governor Pat Brown during his recent trip here.

He told reporters that a terrific growth rate and rising unemployment will be heatedly debated.

Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell, deontarian Congressman minister, returned from his Puerto Rican villa last week to preach a sermon at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, which boasts the world's largest Negro congregation.

Rep. Powell, whose absentee record is one of the worst in Congress, has put his beautiful young wife on the government payroll at \$12,500 a year—despite the fact she is almost never in Washington. He created a sensation last year by traveling throughout Europe on the government cuff with two women, one a former runner-up in the Miss Universe contest.

Powell, who the government says is delinquent in federal income taxes, delivered his sermon on "The Joy of Living."



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Foreign Aid Does Harm

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

In the fiscal year that ends on June 30, 1963, the U.S. government will extract \$106.4 billion dollars from the taxpayer in the form of income, excise, and social security taxes. The Treasury will pay out \$116.7 billion. This is what the real, rather than the "administrative," budget calls for.

The Congress, therefore, has begun to look for ways and means to cut down the fiscal 1964 consolidated budget of \$112.2 billion. If the will is there, many billions can be lopped off without doing the government or the country any harm in loss of services and benefits. For example, some \$10 billion could be sweated off the military budget if Defense Secretary McNamara followed procurement procedures that would allow competitive bidding.

At present, one Pentagon source estimates that less than 13 per cent of all procurement contracts are let competitively—the rest being negotiated on a so-called sole-source basis that multiplies cost to the government.

But one of the prime targets will be foreign aid. Even before Congress has begun to grant the President's request for almost \$5 billion to be used in overseas handouts, the counter-attack has begun. State Department lobbyists are whispering to our bemused legislators that by propping up the economies of the underdeveloped countries we are not only helping them but ourselves.

The exact opposite is true. As a general rule, foreign aid does not help the recipient countries and it does hurt the United States economically. The balance-of-payments deficit, with its steady

and dangerous drain on our dwindling gold reserves, is but one result of the nation's foreign aid spree.

If this argument sounds strange, I refer you to an excellent study of foreign aid written by Professor Edward C. Banfield of Harvard University and published by the American Enterprise Institute of Washington. Few people feel that they can take the time to read a pamphlet like "American Foreign Aid Doctrines"—much less pay a dollar for it. But if you can get your Congressman to read it, that should be a good first step.

Mr. Banfield makes a number of points, some new and some old. For example, he demonstrates that U.S. aid which helps improve the lot of the starving masses has almost no effect on American influence or prestige in an underdeveloped country. These nations are ruled by a small, literate elite which is interested in its own well-being. The kind of foreign aid which can be siphoned off by this governing class is the kind that appeals, but it does nothing for the economic improvement of the recipient nation.

Foreign development by private sources, Mr. Banfield asserts, can do much more than governmental handouts. There is a simple set of reasons for this. "Private individuals, since they risk their own funds, have a much stronger incentive to invest wisely," he says.

And he adds: "Another reason is that private individuals are more likely than state bureaucracies to abandon unsuccessful ventures. The availability of resources at little or no cost to a

country stimulates "monument-building," i.e., investment in projects adding little or nothing to the productivity of the economy."

Hearings before Senate and House committees are crammed full of evidence that recipient governments have tended to spend foreign aid funds for large, showy projects which enhance their prestige rather than provide work. Factories have been built where there were neither resources nor electric power to make them useful. Hydroelectric projects have been created in regions which had no use for the power being generated. Roads to nowhere have not been uncommon. And everywhere, an elite has gotten fat on American dollars.

In short, what foreign aid has done in most underdeveloped countries has been to keep in power groups of people far more interested in hanging on to their jobs than in benefiting their countries. "The expansion of state activity which aids engenders funds in some ways to discourage the growth of democracy," Mr. Banfield notes—and he backs up this statement thoroughly.

Of considerable interest is the supporting testimony of New Frontiersman John K. Galbraith, now Ambassador to India, that mis-handled aid funds are positive but useless—they do more harm

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—What is meant by the term star chamber?
A—It refers to arbitrary and secret actions by an authoritative body.

Famous Americans

- ACROSS
- Physicist (1864-1945)
 - Playwright (1860-1944)
 - Journalist (1900-45)
 - English monk (873-735)
 - Leading individual
 - Unmeasurable period
 - Country
 - Game warden
 - Search
 - Tree
 - Moslem name
 - Architectural organization
 - Chinese dynasty
 - Capable
 - Partial tone
 - Otherwise
 - Art (Latin)
 - Be ill
 - Explorer (1170-1201)
 - Clad in fur
 - Lease
 - Biblical word
 - Founder of the Serbian church
 - California city
 - March
 - Roman poet
 - Chinese noodles
 - Explosive
 - Scandinavian name
- DOWN
- Meteorologist (1838-1918)
 - Architect (1846-1923)
 - English king
 - Mineral water
 - City in Ohio
 - Senior member
 - Face part
 - Period of time
 - Out of meat
 - Plinths
 - Plural ending
 - Inventor (1819-67)
 - Musical piece
 - Canadian military unit
 - Tab
 - State
 - European river
 - Liquid measure
 - Nobel prize winner 1944
 - Personne name
 - Expires
 - Fasteners
 - Designate
 - Physicist (born 1900)
 - Airplane manufacturer (1866-1955)
 - Goal
 - Contraction
 - Staff
 - Majesty
 - Against
 - Level
 - Part of a church
 - Members of families
 - Newt

Answer to Previous Puzzle

