

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Can One-Party Democracy Work?

Critics of the American political scene often charge that we have virtually a one-party system, that the Republicans and the Democrats—despite the noises they make—are fundamentally about as different from each other as Tweedledum from Tweedledee.

There is, of course, much truth to this. We are a mature, successful people, fairly homogeneous, in essential agreement as to our national goals. We are not divided by deep philosophical schisms that need to find expression in violently opposed parties.

Some critics go further, however, warning that a one-party system in practice, if not in law, is a slipping toward tyranny. This strikes closer to home. This we fear.

Witness the way we so often elect a president or a governor of one party and give him a legislature controlled by the other party. We share with the English the belief that there must always be an alert and vocal "loyal opposition." There must be a Tweedledum to sometimes say "no" to Tweedledee.

To achieve this, we are willing to pay the price of two-party or multiparty democracy: a certain legislative inefficiency, politicking, the ballyhoo of conventions.

There is at least one nation—a democracy—that is considered taking a different path. This is young, energetic Tanganyika, whose weeks-old constitution may be legally revised by the parliament to outlaw all but the majority party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

A press story from the capital, Dar es Salaam, quotes a speech by President Julius Nyerere in which he gives the reasons he believes a one-party system is necessary for his country.

Opposition parties, he said, are a foreign and oversophisticated importation. In Africa, they could well lead to violence, "be-

cause the opposition parties will tend to be regarded as traitors by the majority of our people—or, at best, it will lead to the trivial maneuvering of opposing groups whose time is spent on the inflation of artificial difference into some semblance of reality for the sake of preserving democracy."

This does not mean there would be no criticism of the government or that elections would be a mere formality. Members of TANU, the president said, "would be free from the voting discipline normally imposed by the party whip and could support or criticize the government according to their individual consciences."

Another advantage would be that civil servants could take part in politics. There would be no need to maintain administrative impartiality between parties because there would be only one party.

There has been some criticism from Tanganyikan minorities. They say it would be wrong to write into law what could be merely a passing phase of politics (the overwhelming popularity of TANU). The right to form a legal opposition is a political safety valve. It is dangerous to shut it off.

The Tanganyika Standard, leading English-language newspaper in the capital, warned that "... if all opposition is forced underground, the violence which is becoming a feature of West African politics might begin here."

In principle, there is no reason why complete democracy cannot be maintained in a one-party state. So far in history, it has never been done. Least of all is it likely to be accomplished by an inexperienced and impatient country in which it would be actually illegal to organize an opposition and solicit public support.

Africa, and the rest of the world, will be watching Tanganyika.

The Employment Barrier

The Jefferson, Ohio, Gazette, has made this interesting editorial observation: "Many a boy through his high school years earned enough to get a start at college. Often this part-time employment led to a career in the business."

But now, the Gazette goes on, all this has changed. And one of the reasons is the minimum wage requirement. In its words, "Minimum wages have their place in the modern industrial scheme of things, but they have deprived ... lads of an opportunity to earn spending money and to save for their future ... in the hundreds of small towns and rural communities, the social reformers, with their well intended laws, have barred youth an opportunity for self independence."

The record supports this view. Take, for instance, retail business—large or small, chain or independent. Large numbers of retail stores can offer jobs, often on a part-time basis, to people who are without experience or any particular skill. Obviously, their value to the store is limited. Yet the work they are given can prepare them for advancement to more responsible, better-paid positions. But, if an arbitrary wage-hour law forces the costs of this kind of employment to unprofitable levels, it will be cut to the limit.

The moral is a simple one: The fundamental element in determining earning power is an individual's productivity. The two can't be separated.

Letters To The Editor

Whoohie!

I notice in my copy of today's Herald and News that you are continuing to play your part as the publisher of a small town paper, in your usual small way.

I believe I would be right in assuming that you were raised in a small town by narrow minded parents, if your favoritism of one side of the news is any indication of your background, and it does seem to me to be.

We are cut off here in Klamath Falls, and I might also say in the state of Oregon, from both sides of the news by people of your caliber. By caliber I mean opinionated, Republican, labor-hating, small minded reactionary type of man. It did not just occur to me that you were this type of person, but you have prompted me to let you know my opinion at this date, because of the free publicity that you have been giving the railroads of the United States in the past week, and today the railroads of Oregon in their so-called anti-featherbedding campaign.

You give everything that the railroads say or assert on this issue front page coverage with large headlines, and I doubt that you even know the railroad workers side of the story, and if you did you would not even put it on page 8.

The railroad unions have paid you for each ad that they have published in your paper to combat the slander. I will give you credit for publishing one letter on this subject written by a railroad man's wife. It wasn't on the front page.

Next week the railroad unions are going to give an hour and a half of testimony on the Oregon full-crew law. I am sure that you will not give what they have to say front page coverage as you did the slander and degradation that occurred in Salem at 7 o'clock

last night. I notice that you were able to hide in one paragraph (paragraph 6) of this article the fact that there were several hundred at the audience during this testimony. Did you know that at least 100 of these people were railroad workers from this small town that probably pay their daily dime for your version of the news?

Two busloads of these people went to Salem yesterday morning and I would estimate there was an aggregate loss of wages by them of \$2500 besides the \$500 paid for the two special buses. I am sure that you were not aware of this, but if you had a reporting staff of your own you might be able to give this sort of news, but then you are a small town paper and small town papers don't hire reporters. Did you have a reporter in Salem last night or did you buy this coverage from UPI along with the other trash that you get from them daily?

Do you really know what is going on in the United States, Mr. Sweetland, or do you just take UPI's word for it? And pass it on to us readers of your paper. I know that you are not a debater in the truest sense of the word, although I have heard you take great pride in being one, and if you do have any pride you would give the railroad unions a chance to tell their story in as large an area on the front page of your paper next week when they give their testimony in Salem about the full-crew law, as you did the railroads tonight. This I don't expect to see, but is only to remind you that you are not fair-minded and do not publish all of the news.

If this letter has offended you, that was its purpose, as your newspaper has offended me daily for many years, even before you became its publisher, and I have paid 10 cents per copy for this offense, and this letter has cost you nothing.

Bobby L. Jones, Conductor, Southern Pacific Co.

Thanks

On behalf of my sale committee and myself I would like to thank you for the excellent coverage we received on the High-County Angus show and sale, March 2. It takes a lot of time and effort to put together a sale and the cooperation of local breeders, ranchers, and businessmen was certainly appreciated.

The sale grossed \$29,203 on the 53 head sold. Forty of the animals were sold to buyers from the Klamath, Lakeview, Madocel, and Tululeke areas. We feel that there were many good quality Angus sold and we are glad to see good bulls go to local commercial herds.

Naturally, any of the Angus breeders in the area would be glad to give information on Angus cattle, and we hope that anyone interested will feel free to call any of us.

Thank you again for your articles and pictures on the Angus sale.

Charles D. Cheyne, Sale Chairman, Scott Warren, Joe Smith, Alvin Cheyne, Russell Smith, Marion Palmer.

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Tuesday, March 12, the 71st day of 1963 with 294 to follow.

The moon is approaching its last quarter.

The morning stars are Venus and Mars.

The evening star is Mars.

On this day in history:

In 1904, a \$5 million gift by Andrew Carnegie established the Carnegie Hero Fund Foundation.

QUESTION: How Is the War in South Vietnam Going?

IT'S FAVORABLE BUT SLOW!

... 'FAVORABLE BUT SLOW'...



JIM BERRY IWA

STRICTLY PERSONAL



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

All the furor over the exhibition of the "Mona Lisa" in the United States reminded me of the curious way we have with names. For instance, almost all Americans are convinced (if they think of it at all) that da Vinci's painting is a portrait of a woman who was named Mona Lisa.

Actually, the name he gave the painting—if he bothered to title it at all, which most painters do not—was "La Gioconda," since she was the wife of an Italian burgher of that name. Her first name was Lisa, and "Mona" is merely the familiar form of "Ma Donna."

And Whistler, of course, would never have considered for a moment entitling his famous picture "Whistler's Mother." He gave it the sedate and formal title, "Arrangement in Gray and Black." Yet no one ever calls it that, and to posterity it remains known as "Whistler's Mother."

Much the same has happened in music. One of the best known of musical compositions is Beethoven's "Moonlight" sonata. But the composer bluntly called the work "Opus 27, No. 2." He openly expressed his deep dislike of giving nicknames to his compositions.

However, when a German critic of the time heard the piece he was reminded of moonlight on Lake Lucerne and dubbed it the "Moonlight" sonata, which, displeased Beethoven, but which has stuck.

It seems as if the public needs some kind of verbal "handle" to assist it in grasping or remembering works of art. Most of the

popular names of classical compositions were not given to them by the composers, but by others, in much the same way as we dub baseball players with nicknames.

Even so minor a piece of verse as the familiar poem beginning "Twas the night before Christmas" is not known or called by its proper title, which is "A Visit From St. Nicholas." Everyone takes the first line for the title, and nothing will ever restore its proper name.

Indeed, it is the name, and the aura attached to it, that often compels attention more than the object itself. "Mona Lisa" is a magic phrase by now, and will attract millions of viewers who know and care nothing about da Vinci, his sifter, or the art of painting.

I once heard an amusing, and psychologically sound, story of a Paris antiquarian who displayed in his window five wooden statues, which he had titled "The Five Senses." The first day, a customer came in and bought one of the statues.

The next day the antiquarian had calmly relabeled the title card to "The Four Seasons." Upon selling another, the remaining group became "The Three Graces." Then they became "Night and Day." When all but one had been sold, he titled the remaining statue "Solitude."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

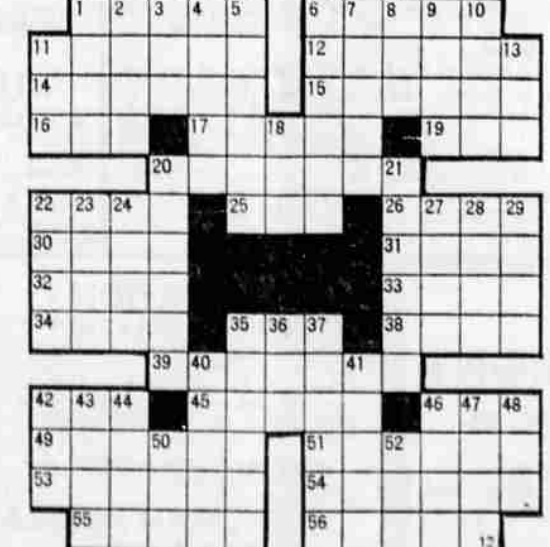
Q—Do stars also rise in the east and set in the west as the sun does?

A—Yes.

West Pointer

ACROSS
1 War hero's son
6 He is a — at West Point
11 Bridge holding troops
12 Arranged, as 40 settle
14 Lecturer
15 Raver
16 Small tumor
17 Fiver
19 Abstract being
20 Begins highly
22 Bird (comb. term)
23 Air (comb. term)
26 His father was a World War II
30 Disembark
31 Greek god of war
32 Aleutian island
33 Liquid measure
34 Equal

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE
H O P E F O R T H E F U T U R E
S U C C E S S F U L
P L A N N I N G
I S T H E K E Y
T O A B E T T E R
F U T U R E
F O R O U R
C O U N T R Y



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Tax Loss

Senate Bill No. 275, at present under consideration of the Senate Committee on Commerce and Utilities, commonly known as Oregon Minimum Crew Law for Railroads, was enacted in 1915 as a public and employee safety law. At the time of enactment the average train length was 30 cars and speed average was less than 25 m.p.h. Today the average train has 90 or more cars and travels at speeds up to 60 m.p.h.

The safety factor of this law has been or will be shown to more than ever needing the third brakeman on today's long trains, to protect the public as well as the employees who work on these mile long trains.

The American railroads and including the Oregon railroads, have yet to give much of an answer to this safety factor, but instead keep giving out all sorts of information to the public about millions of dollars they are losing each year, and how much the public would save if the supposedly excess employees were eliminated.

Let's take a good look at this "fairy tale." As for their poverty and almost bankrupt condition, the American railroads in the last five years paid in excess of two billion seven hundred million dollars in dividends. This definitely does not sound like they are on the brink of bankruptcy.

Now let's explore the large savings to the public and shipper that the Oregon Railroad Association is advocating in news releases, and whose representatives are trying to "brainwash" shippers and farmers in Oregon with personal contact calls.

In my own county of Klamath, in the last seven years on the Kirk Subdivision of the Southern Pacific which runs from and includes Klamath Falls and Crescent Lake, a 100-mile stretch of track, there have been in excess of 165 railroad employees of all crafts jobs abolished.

If we are to accept the Oregon Railroad Association's figure on the yearly wages of this number of employees it is in the neighborhood of one million seven hundred fifty thousand dollars. With the amount of truckage in Oregon in an excess of 10 times greater than that of Klamath County, the Oregon railroads should now be saving in excess of \$18 million per year on job reduction alone.

The railroads have removed section workers' living houses, and supposedly unneeded spur tracks and switches, all of which were at one time on the tax rolls of counties in which the railroads operate. This saving must equal another one-half million.

What I as a property owner and taxpayer in Klamath County would like to know is if the Oregon railroads are now saving a large \$18 million per year, and have not reduced shipping costs to the public and shipper, why should we expect any saving now by sacrificing public safety, when the only ones who will gain are the out-of-state stockholders who will clip more and larger coupons while we taxpayers dig a little deeper to make up for the loss.

A member of Klamath County Taxpayers League.

V. A. McMillen, 1405 Canby Street, Klamath Falls, Ore.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Transportation Mess Requires Attention

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — It is both sheer coincidence and inevitable fate that half a dozen important matters affecting the U.S. transportation policy have come to a head at one time. They illustrate better than anything else the mess this policy is in.

President Kennedy has again sent to Congress recommendations for new transportation legislation which Congress last year did nothing about.

The U.S. Supreme Court has held in favor of railroads the right to change work rules which would eliminate what the employers call "featherbedding" and the employees call "job security."

This decision would become effective March 29 after more than a decade of bickering between management and labor and two years of presidential commission investigation and court litigation.

Railroad management now has invited the four "on-train" brotherhoods, with 200,000 members, to resume talks on this subject in Chicago March 13.

If either side or both of them decide at that time they have nothing further to discuss, the issue becomes a National Mediation Board case, headed for settlement or a strike about June 1.

Before this crisis date, the 11 off-train brotherhoods with 450,000 members are scheduled to begin negotiations with Class 1 railroads for a new wage agreement.

A complete railway tie-up by early summer is possible.

A Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee under Sen. Estes Kefauver, D-Tenn., has just reported favorably on his proposal to defer until 1964 all action on railroad merger applications now before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Legislation to provide more federal aid for mass transportation facilities in metropolitan areas does at last seem likely to pass in this session of Congress.

Repeated delays to which the handling of vital transportation

issues have been subjected are viewed by many authorities as precisely what's wrong with the transportation picture today.

Nothing was done about transportation problems while they were small and manageable. Indecision has allowed them to grow until they are almost unsolvable.

The big bottleneck is resistance to change.

Unless all forms of transportation can modernize to take advantage of new technologies, unless they can be regulated and allowed to compete on more even terms, some of them appear to be headed for bankruptcy, nationalization or extinction.

This is the gist of "Quest for Crisis," a new study of world transportation problems made by James N. Sites of the American Association of Railroads.

On an Eisenhower fellowship last year, Sites found that wherever sound economic practices governed transportation policy—as in Switzerland, Germany and The Netherlands—the railroads gave good service.

Where politics and resistance to change have determined transportation policy—as in Britain and Italy—the railroads are in a mess.

Present soundings indicate that if the Kennedy administration exerts the right kind of pressure, it can get action in this session of Congress on the President's transportation reform program, which includes two principal bills.

The first would give the railroads exemption from the minimum freight rate regulation such as now enjoyed by waterways in carrying bulk cargo and by motor trucks in carrying farm products.

If Congress does not approve this, the President proposes as an alternative that waterway and highway carriers be bought under the same regulation as the railroads.

The second bill is a catch-all which would in effect make air, rail, truck and water carriers more truly competitive by equalization of rates and regulation, elimination of subsidies and approval of experimental and joint tariffs aimed to give shippers better and lower cost services.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Harriman Comeback Amazing Situation

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A 71-year-old millionaire has a chance to make the most amazing comeback since Bobby Thomson and the other New York Giants overtook the Brooklyn Dodgers in the final inning of the final game of the 1951 National League Baseball season.

W. Averell Harriman, trounced by half a million votes when he sought reelection as New York governor in 1954, was thought by friend and foe to be washed up.

Few believed that Harriman's future brightened much when, in 1960, Nikita Khrushchev suggested that President Eisenhower name him director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Two years ago, he entered the State Department as roving ambassador and, many thought, the honorable oblivion of a defeated Democratic governor.

By May of 1961, however, Harriman had been made chief delegate to the 14-nation Geneva Conference on Laos. By November he was Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

And now he is slated to become the Number 3 man in John Kennedy's State Department, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

The remarkable background of Averell Harriman is told best in a brilliant little volume—"The Fringe on Top"—written by three of the country's outstanding young conservatives.

They are 28-year-old Stan Evans, editor of the Indianapolis News; my able 24-year-old associate, Bill Schulz; and 28-year-old Allan Ryskind, son of playwright Morrie, who is assistant editor of Human Events Newsletter. Their work (\$2) is published by American Features, 523 State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

The three young men have demonstrated that there is indeed a "fringe" element whose policies are dangerous to the United States. It is not the far right "lunatic fringe" with which the authors are concerned. Say the authors:

"The 'fringe' which threatens to undo America is not clamoring to get into power; it is already there. That is why it is dangerous."

A certified member of the "Fringe on Top" is certainly Harriman. The authors reveal that it was Harriman, as a Truman envoy in 1948, who induced the anti-Communist Rumanians to join a coalition government with

Communist forces. Tragedy was the inevitable result.

Opposition parties were first intimidated, then suppressed. In 1951, Julius Maniu, a revered Rumanian leader who had warned Harriman that the Communists would not respect the rights of his countrymen, died in prison, a martyr to his country's freedom.

This example apparently had little effect on Harriman. Six years after the disastrous Yalta Conference, he could not understand "why Stalin took on so many commitments which he subsequently failed to honor."

Early in the Kennedy Administration, Harriman was responsible for persuading the pro-Western forces of Laos' General Phoumi Nosavan into a coalition government with left-wing "neutrals" and avowed Communists.

Sir Wilfrid Kent Hughes, retiring chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Australian Parliament, says this of our new proposed Under Secretary of State:

"Averell Harriman has the chance to go down in history as the Churchill or the Chamberlain of Southeast Asia. When I was in Bangkok recently, he seemed to have decided on the latter, umbrella and all."

Harriman in the past has urged a "modus vivendi" with Red China. On "Meet the Press," he advocated withdrawal from the two offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu to please "America's allies"—apparently not including Nationalist China as one of them.

On Jan. 15, 1961, five days before he took his new post with the administration, Harriman said on the radio in New York that admission of Red China to the United Nations was inevitable, that "sooner or later the majority of U.N. members are going to admit Red China." And, he indicated, Americans had better get used to it.

THEY SAY...

Basic research is what I am doing when I don't know what I am doing.

Werner von Braun.

The sooner this source of potential trouble is eliminated, the better for everyone concerned.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, on Russian troops in Cuba.