

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Republicans Play It By Ear

The able, clear-headed state Republican chairman of Alabama, young John Grenier, has an idea which could contribute something to a better understanding of the GOP's workings at the presidential level.

The party condition he characterizes with this idea is not new, but it has seldom if ever been so well expressed.

He argues that Republicans are not divided basically between conservatives and liberals, but between liberals and two major categories of conservatives.

One group comprises those conservatives who either do not believe, or can fairly readily be talked out of the notion, that a conservative candidate can be elected president in the current era.

The other consists of those conservatives who think a conservative can in fact win.

A careful reading of GOP nominating history since 1940 suggests that this characterization of the party's make-up is sound. The nominees in that span have all been moderates—Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon (in his later phase).

They were not chosen by the party liberals alone, for these have never been in the majority, though often they have had prestige and vocal power well beyond their numbers.

The moderates have in fact been picked by a briefly forged coalition between the lib-

erals and the conservatives who do not think a conservative can win.

That is why it is undoubtedly accurate, historically, to say that in 1940 the GOP convention delegates were far more friendly to the late Robert A. Taft than to Willkie. In 1944 they preferred Ohio's John Bricker, but chose Dewey. In 1952 they liked Taft again, but named Eisenhower.

Signs are already well advanced that a similar setup may produce the nomination of New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in 1964.

Obviously, Republican conservatives can dominate any GOP convention if they choose to unite on one of their own as nominee.

That they have not done so in the last two decades leads to charges from some ardent right-wingers that their more flexible brethren are "abandoning their principles."

But, as Grenier points out, a political party is not a garden club. It is in business to win elections. If it is not, its "principles" will not save it for long.

Nothing is static in politics. With GOP strength on the rise in the South, the political mix is changing. Attitudes may also shift.

Hollering "stick to principles" will not affect middle-range conservatives who try to pick winners. They are shrewd bettors. They may try a genuinely conservative candidate some day. But they will have to believe that he has at least an even chance of getting those 270 electoral votes needed to land him in the White House.

Better Crystal Balls

Open season on weathermen is rapidly coming to a close. While they still occasionally stick their necks out—and get them lopped off by a watchful public—weathermen can look forward to the day when wrong forecasts will be virtually nonexistent.

Latest straw in the wind is the U.S. Weather Bureau's announcement that a new system is being tested that can measure rain-fall as far as 100 miles away.

When in operational use, the device,

called a "radar precipitation integrator," could provide instantaneous measurements of precipitation at many points over a broad area. The measurements would be used in modern computers to prepare substantially improved river and flood forecasts.

What with radar, electronic brains, satellites, sounding rockets and all the rest, we may have to change the expression from "right as rain" to "right as the weatherman."

A Need Increasingly Met

(The Christian Science Monitor)

The King-Anderson bill carries a more accurate title this year than it did last year. If enacted it would be called the Hospital Insurance Act of 1963. But there is indication that it will not be enacted in 1963, and there are reasons why it should not become law in 1964 or after.

Embodiment of the Kennedy administration's proposals for health care for persons over 65 through the social security system, the bill goes somewhat beyond its provisions of last year but it still does not live up to the nickname "medicare." It never did include medicines, surgery or doctor bills.

In that respect the state-by-state program of medical assistance for the aged under the Kerr-Mills Act of 1960 is more generous. In states which cooperate, these funds can be used to provide any needed form of health care for those who cannot afford it.

As of the end of the year, 25 states had Kerr-Mills programs in operation and five more needed only minor legislative action to become eligible. The 47 Legislatures in session this year have an opportunity and re-

sponsibility to add their states to this list.

From another direction, that of voluntary insurance, financial protection is rapidly being supplied. Ladd Plumley, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and head of an insurance company, pointed out recently that more than 125,000,000 Americans have insurance for both hospital and surgical expenses, 92,000,000 have hospital insurance and insurance services other than surgery, while 34,000,000 have major medical insurance. This coverage is broader and more flexible than the proposed government service.

It is often said in behalf of the social security plan that more than 55 per cent of the older population have incomes of less than \$1,000 a year. In this statistic a housewife is counted as having "no income" though her husband may be earning a large salary. On a family basis, half of the 6,200,000 households headed by persons over 65 had money incomes of \$2,900 or more in 1960, and 65 per cent of them owned their homes completely paid for.

The figures change somewhat the picture of indigence often painted by advocates of "hospicare."

BERRY'S WORLD



"Did he say that figure was his new telephone number or next year's budget?"

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Tuesday, March 26, the 85th day of 1963 with 280 to follow.
The moon is approaching its first quarter.
The morning stars are Venus and Saturn.
The evening star is Mars.
Those born on this day include American poet Robert Frost in 1873.
On this day in history:
In 1882, famed American poet Walt Whitman died at the age of 73.
In 1918, Gen. Ferdinand Foch of France was named commander of all Allied armies against Germany in World War I.
In 1962, the Supreme Court gave U.S. judges the power to rule on appropriations of seats in state legislatures.

A thought for the day: Irish author Oscar Wilde said: "What is a cynic? A cynic is a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing."

National Torture

SCHOOL DROPOUTS



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

That simple and platitudinous phrase, "learning from life," is so difficult in practice because the consequences of our acts are often so contrary to our intentions.

For even when our intentions are good, and our techniques are adequate, there is a spirit of whimsy (if nothing worse) in the universe that brings unforeseen consequences. We learn so slowly because there is no obvious cause-and-effect in human events, much as the historians and ideologues would like to think there is.

Karl Popper, in his inaugural speech at Oxford some years ago, made the interesting point that in some cases what we do has precisely the opposite effect of what we intend to do—indeed, the very act engenders its contrary.

For instance, he explained, a man who puts his house on sale intends to get the highest possible market price for it. Yet the very act of putting it on sale tends to lower the market price—for every additional house that goes on the market depresses the price in that area.

Contrariwise, a man who wants to buy a house (at the lowest possible market price) is raising the price of houses simply by becoming a potential buyer—for the more buyers, the higher the price.

A wryly amusing example of this odd phenomenon has been seen in the nation's courts over the last 50 years. Firms devise a new name for a product—like zipper or nylon or cellophane—and spend millions not only in publicizing the names but in defending them from infringements. Yet the irony in this situation

is that the more effective the company is in promoting the name, the more quickly it becomes an accepted part of the language. In many such cases, the courts have unanimously ruled that what was once a brandname has passed into the public domain because of usage.

So here, too, we see that the very act of picking a highly saleable and descriptive name for a product tends to defeat itself in the end, and the consequences of such skill and imagination are quite the contrary of what was intended.

And much the same contradictions can be observed in marriage, in education, in politics, in diplomacy, in all the areas of personal and social endeavor. Today's greatest problem, indeed, is the "escalation" of armaments, in which spending more for defense as a deterrent only spurs the enemy to do likewise, and creates the very conditions it seeks to eliminate. How much have we really "learned from life?"

THEY SAY...

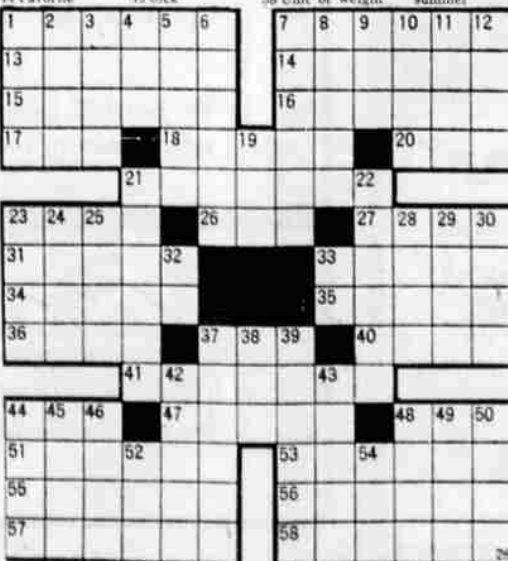
I don't believe we can afford another wild ride down the road of deficit spending in a street-car named despair.
Rep. Donald G. Brozman.

Obviously we have a new breed of economic thinkers—the New Deficitersmen.

Sen. Everett Dirksen, R-Ill., on the administration's proposed \$98.8 billion budget.

Veteran Actor

ACROSS
1 Veteran actor.
5 Rains.
7 He was born in —.
13 Meatless.
14 Small space.
15 Acquiesce.
16 Roundmen.
17 School group (ab.).
18 Hackneyed.
20 Suffr.
21 Unserviceable.
23 Benefit.
26 Old age (dia.).
27 Color.
31 Garret.
33 Enthusiasm.
34 Let's it stand.
35 Room (Fr.).
36 Unadulterated group (ab.).
37 Prig.
40 Tidy.
41 Expressed.
44 Favorite.
47 Melodies.
48 Bustle.
51 Embodiment.
53 Physognomy.
55 Mexican blanket.
56 Withdraw.
57 Bartered.
58 Cringes.
DOWN
1 Applaud.
2 For fear that.
3 Handle.
4 Shooonean.
5 Indian.
6 Depressions.
8 Dinner course.
9 Endured.
10 Shield bearings.
11 Girl's name.
12 Educational group (ab.).
13 Bird.
14 Red deer.
15 Arboreal home.
19 Sick.
21 Combined.
22 Time.
23 Paid violently.
24 Aleutian island.
25 Roman road.
26 Onose.
28 Capital.
30 Allowance for waste.
32 Carat (ab.).
33 White.
34 Chevalier's summer.
38 Unit of weight.
39 Guides.
42 Storehouse.
43 German city.
44 After.
45 Always.
46 Ancient Irish.
48 Operatic solo.
49 Dagger.
50 Individuals.
52 Toddler.
54 Chevalier's summer.



THE GLOBAL VIEW...

Sukarno Mess Again Proves U.S. Bumbling

By LEON DENNEN

Newspaper Enterprise Analyst UNITED NATIONS (NEA) — President Sukarno's war cries against the new Federation of Malaysia points up again the futility of appeasing dictators by feeding them other peoples' territory.

American diplomats, according to U.N. reports, are currently working "behind the scenes" to dissuade Indonesia's dictator from attacking the anti-Red federation. United Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei, the federation is scheduled to come officially into being Aug. 31.

Only last summer Sukarno managed through his typical bluff and bluster to gain control of Dutch West New Guinea and its 700,000 Papuan inhabitants. Papuan leaders pleaded desperately in the U.N. councils against this injustice that will doom their people to living under a greedy dictator. They claimed that Indonesia had no racial, religious or historic grounds for annexing West New Guinea, a territory long administered by the Netherlands.

The Papuans' protests, alas, were ignored because Sukarno threatened to grab West New Guinea through military means. Behind this dubious piece of diplomacy was also the Kennedy Administration's pressure on the Netherlands to sign over the territory to Indonesia. As the Dutch premier declared at the time, "The Netherlands could not count on the support of its allies and for that reason we had to sign."

President Kennedy's advisers seem to have difficulty in recognizing a Red imperialist so long as he mouths anti-colonialist and neutralist clichés. They obviously hoped to buy Sukarno's good will and "peace" in Southeast Asia. But, of course, it is not in the nature of dictators, whatever their color, to stay appeased for long.

Sukarno's threats to disrupt the Federation of Malaysia, according to some U.N. observers, are aimed primarily at distracting the 96 million Indonesians from their own plight. Pro-Communist Indonesia is nearly bankrupt. Its economic affairs are in chaos. And Sukarno can do nothing to improve the lot of the hungry masses as long as 80 per cent of his budget goes on the armed forces.

Southeast Asia's political acrobat with his astonishing ego must solve his pressing domestic problems or find some other distraction like West New Guinea for the starving Indonesians. He thus seeks again to divert the attention of the people from their suffering with an appeal to "national unity" in the interests of confronting the "colonialist" Federation of Malaysia, the most pro-Western alliance in Southeast Asia.

This may seem like a tragedy-comedy so long as it does not get out of hand. But under the pressure of Adit, chief of the powerful Indonesian Communist Party, and Red Chinese mentors, Sukarno may launch an attack on the federation at any time.

Will the U.S. diplomats work, quietly "behind the scenes" be able to stop him? What price is the Free World prepared to pay Sukarno now to keep him from employing armed force against Malaysia?



EDSON IN WASHINGTON... Administration Lacks Information Policy

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Analyst

WASHINGTON (NEA)—"News Management!" now has become a kind of derisive political slogan or cuss word which is tossed at the Kennedy administration like the other catch-all phrases of government spending, deficit military muzzling and the no-win policy.

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester is credited with recent revival of the "news management" term, although its origin is attributed to New York Times correspondent James B. Reston in 1955, criticizing Eisenhower policy.

The current implication is that the government now has a hard and fast news management or censorship policy which it is carrying out to suppress news the public ought to know.

It is now suggested, however, that a more accurate definition would be that the administration has no information policy at all. It is operating on a day-to-day, crisis-to-crisis basis of improvisation that has no plan at all.

After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, an Office of Emergency Planning censorship code prepared during the Eisenhower administration was dragged out and given a look. It was found to be completely inadequate to deal with existing or future emergencies, but little has been done to bring it up-to-date.

The sad attempts to manage the news during the second Cuba crisis were the result of hasty decisions by top public affairs officers in the White House, State and Defense Departments. That they backfired is no surprise.

Examples are the 12-point directive on what not to print, the requirement that officials report their talks with reporters, first refusals to let reporters go aboard the blockade ships or visit Guantanamo, the final failure to release aerial survey photos of Cuba during the intelligence gap in early October.

But what is now considered far more important than these is the fact that if the United States got into a third Cuban crisis, which is entirely possible, there would be no good news management

policy to guide either government or press.

The House Government Information subcommittee under Rep. John E. Moss, D-Calif., has been trying to do something about this situation for eight years. It hasn't had too much success, but it is making another try in current hearings.

Discussions by a panel of top newspaper publishers, editors and broadcasting officials was intended to find out what kind of news management controls the news media would accept in a hypothetical Cuba III situation or in any other cold war crisis that might develop.

This is a follow-up on President Kennedy's request to the American Society of Newspaper Editors two years ago when they were asked to get together and figure out an acceptable voluntary security censorship. The editors would have none of it.

Sylvester and Robert Manning of the State Department were scheduled to tell the Moss committee their side of the Cuba mixups once more. White House press secretary Pierre Salinger is expected to testify after Easter, when the Moss committee will go into executive session. It will then hear intelligence officers of Defense and State Departments who made the estimates on which news management policies were based for Cuba I and II. Space administration and atomic energy officers dealing with national security information also will be heard.

In the late spring, Moss committee staff hopes to issue a report on what can be declassified and concluded from all this secret testimony.

It is not expected to present a draft censorship or news management code that will be acceptable to both the government and the news media. But it should point up the facts on past mistakes and emphasize the need for establishing a cold war government information policy.

It's water over the dam now, but if the editors had drafted their own code in 1961, there might not have been as many news management hassles as there were in 1962 and 1963.



WASHINGTON REPORT... Congressman Hunts For Lost Fisherman

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Somewhere in this great land—just where nobody seems quite sure—a mysterious Chinese has been teaching U.S. farmers how to grow fish in rice paddies.

He is said to be a representative of the United Nations Special Fund, an agency financed to the tune of 40 per cent by Uncle Sam. A master psychologist he advocates feeding vitamins and hormones to the fish to make them "happy." The little-known "expert" was discovered by Congressman Durward Hall, who is now completing an exhaustive investigation of the Special Fund.

When Hall discovered that Fidel Castro had received 12 U.N. grants, he asked sarcastically why this country was not eligible for similar assistance. But we are, Hall learned. He was assured by several U.N. officials that, contrary to popular opinion, the United States has been the recipient of U.N. largesse.

This aid consists of one Chinese "expert" who was told to instruct U.S. farmers on growing fish in rice paddies. Hall was told by the U.N. Information Center in Washington that the project was conducted in Kansas—a startling revelation since Kansas has no rice paddies.

Hall was then informed by the New York office of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization that the project was carried out not in Kansas, but in Arkansas.

Paul Hoffman, the American businessman turned global pundit, disputes that. In a recent book, Hoffman, who is Special Fund Director, said the project was located not in Kansas... not in Arkansas... but in Louisiana. Says Hall: "The U.N. tells me

those take-your-pick locations are all they can recall about the matter. And the American departments of State and Interior have been unable to provide me with any details about the scale of this fish story—which outdoes even my favorite Ozark fish tales."

Subsequent investigation has led Hall to believe the project was probably carried out in Louisiana and that the Chinese expert was assigned to the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Hall unearthed the fact that a U.S. taxpayer paid the Chinese's whole salary. In return, the latter wrote a manual on raising fish.

"In their wild state the fish only spawn when they are happy. Our problem is how to make them happy in captivity. We might have to feed them special vitamins, make sure they get their calories, and give them hormone injections to make them happy."

Unable to get any satisfaction from U.S. or U.N. officials on the whereabouts of this Chinese "expert," or his favorite paddy, Hall asks the help of mystery fans from coast to coast.

"I appeal to them to apply their magnifying glasses in the vicinity of Topeka, Little Rock, Baton Rouge, Schenectady—who can tell where this piscatorial paddy may turn up?"

"Look for fish," Hall tells the sleuths, "even though the spring trout season is not yet open in your area; look for a mysterious Chinese expert, perhaps wearing a light blue U.N. helmet; be alert for white peeps with Chinese drivers carrying goldfish bowls."

Any clues may be forwarded to Rep. Durward Hall, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Mortimer Caplin, professor turned tax collector, continues to hear from citizens angered over his so-called tax reforms.

A group of major hotel and restaurant owners told Caplin recently they had suffered a business loss of almost 20 per cent because his Internal Revenue Service has failed to clarify its rules on expense account entertaining.

The Greater North Michigan Avenue Association, which represents some of Chicago's most expensive restaurants and hotel dining rooms, warned that severe unemployment will result unless the IRS clarifies its regulations on tax deductions for business and good-will entertainment.