

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Not All Is Lost

There has probably been more sheer baldness about foreign affairs printed and spoken this year than in any comparable period since the end of World War II.

The subjects have been Cuba, disarmament, the nuclear test ban, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization nuclear striking force, the Sino-Soviet split and French President Charles de Gaulle. Nobody really knows from nothing about any of these subjects. That makes it easier for everyone to speculate, and in one sense this is all to the good.

Wide public discussion of controversial issues is supposed to be the heart and life of the democratic system. So the more "thinking" there is on these subjects, even though few people know what they're talking about, the better informed everyone should be, or the more up to date, anyway.

But the only people who really know what's in the Cuban caves and how many Soviet troops have been withdrawn from the island are the Russians, and they haven't yet told.

The disarmament and nuclear test ban agreements that everyone was so hopeful about the end of last year are no nearer to signing than they ever were.

Many military "experts" have been wailing that NATO is falling apart because the European nations won't accept U.S. ideas on an international nuclear striking force. Yet Secretary of State Dean Rusk says simply that the President's special ambassador, Livingston T. Merchant, is in Europe to find out what the Europeans want and will agree to — so that their wishes on the ideas can be met.

After the Franco-German treaty was signed, international "authorities" were saying that the United States would have to conduct another agonizing reappraisal and completely reshape its foreign policy. Surprisingly, the foundation of America's postwar foreign policy still seems to be standing very solidly, unchanged. United States troops will remain in Europe.

The Sino-Soviet split is still a "mystery wrapped in an enigma," as new American citizen-to-be Winston Churchill once called Russia. So far, the two Red powers are conducting a propaganda shouting match in which the outside world can only hope each destroys the other. But the odds are that this won't be allowed to happen in the near future, although war between them has been prophesied by some guessers.

The truest words ever spoken about President de Gaulle are that nobody really knows what he thinks. He is completely unpredictable, as he was when France vetoed Britain's entrance into the European Common Market.

That was the blastoff pad for many alarmists who declared De Gaulle's action would not only wreck the Common Market but also wreck the new United States trade expansion policy. Both seem to be surviving, and it must be remembered that neither has been expected to function fully or effectively for several years.

The hardest job for any statesman or policy maker in this air and space age is to keep both feet on the ground.

Attractive Poisons Kill

(Gazette - Times, Corvallis)

A 17-month-old boy found and drank some kerosene that the family had poured into a barbecue fire. He died. In another fatality a 13-month-old child drank kerosene which had been put in a milk bottle. In both of these cases the child was probably attracted to the bottles which he associated with food.

These two examples give life — or death — to the figures recently published by the U.S. Public Health Service, indicating that one-half million children under the age of five are involved yearly in accidental poisonings. The products most often involved in the reported accidental poisonings include internal medicines, cleaning and polishing agents, pesticides, and petroleum distillate products.

Right now is an excellent time to "poison-proof" your home. Check with your physician, pharmacist or public health people as to the proper precautions necessary in main-

taining a poison free home. Many interested service organizations have joined with the members of the health team in this week-long attempt to educate parents to the dangers of accidental poisoning.

They point out that it is important to clean out your medicine chest periodically, but it is just as important to discard these medicines properly. One recent case told of a three-year-old child who found and swallowed some tablets containing strychnine that had been discarded in a waste can, became violently ill and died about twenty minutes after reaching the hospital. This would not have happened if the pills had been flushed down the drain before the container was discarded.

Remember, children are curious, so do not leave attractive or interesting containers lying about — their contents might spell disaster.

IN WASHINGTON . . .

Hindsight On Harriman

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Now that President Kennedy has recommended the judicious use of hindsight as a means of developing foresight, it should not be taken amiss if I apply the principle to Averell Harriman, Mr. Kennedy's new Under Secretary of State and foreign-policy wheel.

When Mr. Harriman was running for office in the early 1950s, he boasted that he was among the first — if not the first — of the New Dealers to oppose Stalin's expansionism, and that he had never been taken in by the Killer of the Kremlin. The new Under Secretary still dwines out on this reputation, and few have bothered to check the facts.

Well, as a well-known Senator used to say, "I have been in my hand . . ." the transcript of a press conference held by Mr. Harriman on Oct. 23, 1944. What he said, except for a few authorized quotes, was to be kept under wraps as part of the wartime censorship. But though you would not believe it from watching the late-late shows, the Nazis have been a long time defeated and so have all their allies. Joseph Stalin, however, has gone to his reward. So I am violating no confidences in quoting from this document.

Mr. Harriman had just returned from Moscow where a series of conferences between Churchill and Stalin had been held. He was, presumably, briefing the American press on the significance of these meetings and also giving the correspondents some insights into the character and future performance of Joseph Stalin.

summed up in what I consider a rather touching little reference. Said Mr. Harriman in 1944: "Stalin, by inviting Churchill to the opera, showed that he considered him a friend. It was a damn good healthy conference, all in all." There you have it in a nutshell. A night at the opera means a friendly postwar period. Mr. Harriman also assured the press that the aim of Stalin's foreign policy was to secure the peace. Because of this, the United States could serve as an "ameliorator" — his word — of Soviet-British postwar conflicts.

Speaking of the postwar era, Mr. Harriman urged this country to encourage trade with the Soviet Union. "They like our equipment and are willing to pay premium prices for it," he said. "They are meticulous in their determination to pay all credits in full, with either gold or products we can use. . . . It would be foolish of us to curtail this trade. . . . Unlike some people in the United States, the Russians have no worry about military conflict with us."

As a kind of roving U.S. ambassador, Mr. Harriman was willing to accept Stalin's statement that he wanted the Soviet Union's neighbors to view the Russians with a "free eye." And he added: Soviet "relations with Czechoslovakia are the pattern for those with other neighbors. The well-educated and politically intelligent Czechs," he said, "fall more easily into such arrangements than do the more backward nations" — like Poland.

The well-educated and politically intelligent Czechs fell as thoroughly behind the Iron Curtain as the "backward" nations of Eastern Europe. Two of those "backward" nations — Poland and Hungary — were forward

enough to battle their Communist captors.

Discussing Soviet plans to use German slave labor to rebuild Russia, Mr. Harriman said charitably, "I personally have a great sympathy with their point of view." And he demonstrated his grasp of Soviet propaganda by swallowing whole the Katyn lie. "While there is no conclusive evidence on the responsibility for the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn," he assured his press audience, "I personally am convinced it was a German job." (It was a Soviet job, as the Polish government-in-exile offered to demonstrate at the time, and as the Congress later proved.)

Though Stalin had by then made it clear that he would impose Communist rule on Poland, Mr. Harriman said, "In the Kremlin there is a sincere desire to bring together all democratic Poles and avoid bloodshed. . . . There is no indication of any desire on Russia's part to absorb Poland." And like Stalin, he characterized the Free Poles in London as "Polish landlords" who "wanted their estates back."

The topper, of course, was Mr. Harriman's prediction that "we can look to greater unity of action in Greece and more cooperation between Communists and others." It took a bloody civil war, in which British and American troops were necessary, to put down the Soviet-armed and Soviet-directed attempt to put Greece behind the Iron Curtain.

As Under Secretary of State, Mr. Harriman can ponder his past statements — particularly when he is preparing to blast those who called him wrong then and say he is wrong now.

"What's on Your Minds, Gentlemen?"



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Because I wanted the car, and it came already equipped that way, I am now driving my first automobile with power steering. After a few weeks of it, I drove another car, with manual steering, and was annoyed at its balkiness.

The same was true with the automatic shift a few years ago; after driving it, the manual shift seemed laborious. And I must confess that I wear a self-winding watch on my wrist, and would not buy one that needs to be wound each morning.

Now a good case could be made out—and has been made out, by sports car buffs—that an automobile is much more in control of the driver with a manual shift and manual steering. The big power-operated cars tend to drive the driver, often into catastrophe.

But the point is that more and more of us have relinquished our control over our mechanisms. We do nothing by hand or foot that can be done by electricity—whether in the kitchen, mowing the lawn, shoveling the snow, driving the car, and even tooling around the golf course on a mechanized cart.

I am not concerned here with the "physical fitness" aspect of this trend. What interests and perplexes me is the growing contradiction between our principles and our practices in modern American society.

Traditionally, we greatly admire the sweat of the brow; but soon we may have nothing to sweat over. Our Puritan background makes us feel that we should suffer, at least a little,

for the goods we receive—but our whole technology is designed to decrease such suffering to the minimal point.

"Leisure" is not yet a respectable word here; it is just something that fills the interstices between work. Yet everything today is planned to give us as much leisure as possible, as little sweat as necessary. On the one hand, we are urged to work harder; on the other, we keep changing our techniques and our economy in the direction of less effort.

Perhaps a large part of our confusion, and our immobility, is due to the fact that, like Buridan's ass, we cannot decide between the two piles of hay equally close to us: the tradition of personal effort beckons us one way, and the new devices for making life easier invite us the other way.

Our central problem in the years ahead may very well turn out to be the difficult task of reconciling our beliefs with our procedures and learning that it is impossible to keep both intact.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q — Have any U.S. governors ever been imprisoned?

A—After the Civil War, three Confederate governors were arrested and confined as "prisoners of state." In 1924 Indiana's governor was jailed for misusing the mails.

Fruit Cocktail

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|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| ACROSS | 41 Improve |
| 1 Palm fruit | 42 Prices |
| 6 Smorra — | 44 Wheel of a sort |
| 8 Pome fruit | 48 Baldwin or Jonathans |
| 12 Genus of true olives | 53 Range |
| 13 Rustle | 54 Rodent |
| 14 Masculine appellation | 56 French stream |
| 15 Green | 57 Civil wrong |
| 23 Cusola | 58 Number |
| 16 Philippine peasant | 59 Consumer |
| 17 Biblical name | 60 Female sheep (pl.) |
| 18 Placid | 61 Armed conflict |
| 20 Scantless | 62 Vex (tr.) |
| 22 Compound ether | DOWN |
| 24 Swindle | 1 Diamond-cutter's cups |
| 26 Armed fleets | 2 Nautical term |
| 33 Peruse | 3 Rip |
| 34 Manuscript (ab.) | 4 Comfort |
| 35 Cupola | 5 Weird Sisters |
| 36 Constellation | 6 Miss Lupino |
| 37 Symbol for selenium | 7 Peanuts |
| 38 Solar disk | 8 Equal |
| 39 Petty prince | 9 Otherwise |
| | 10 Wine cask |



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| Answer to Previous Puzzle |
| 11 Slumber |
| 19 Serine |
| 21 Limb |
| 23 Most |
| 24 Shank |
| 25 Wife of Zeus (myth.) |
| 26 Direction |
| 27 Hebrew month |
| 29 First mah |
| 30 Drive |
| 31 Prayer ending |
| 32 Transmit |
| 37 Bird |
| 40 Exit |
| 41 Viper |
| 43 Diner |
| 44 Delicacy |
| 45 In a line |
| 46 Withered |
| 47 Makes lace |
| 49 Versifier |
| 50 Falsifier |
| 51 Royal Italian family name |
| 52 Soap-making frame |
| 53 Collection of sayings |

WASHINGTON NOTEBOOK

'Loophole' Offered By Bob Kennedy

By THE WASHINGTON STAFF
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, answering questions at the Advertising Council's Washington meeting, was jokingly told by one businessman that he and others were puzzled as to how much money they might safely spend — under new federal expense account rules — for dinner that night.

Replied Kennedy quickly: "I've heard from Mortimer Caplin, the commissioner of Internal Revenue, and he tells me you can do anything you like tonight, providing you top it off with a toast to my brother, the President of the United States."

Women cab drivers are increasing in Washington, but not in such volume that it doesn't still create some raised eyebrows.

One laudably tired of being quizzed by curious passengers, has placed this sign strategically inside her cab.

"I'm 23 years old, married and the mother of three children. And I've been driving a cab for three years."

Roswell Gilpatrick, deputy secretary of defense, had planned to go to Spain for negotiations with Generalissimo Francisco Franco on U.S. bases but canceled the visit when he learned Franco wasn't yet ready to talk. While in Rome, Gilpatrick learned that Franco's aide had been trying to figure out what to do with Gilpatrick if he did come, since there wouldn't be any business to talk about. At last they came up with a hunting trip with Franco.

When Gilpatrick heard this he said, "Tennis si, hunting no!"

A conversation between two tycoons meeting in Washington: "How's business?" "Terrible."

"What're you talking about?" John Kennedy says business is good.

"Well, he has a much better location."

Quote of the week — "If it came to a choice between having a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I'd choose the latter."

Rep. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., chairman, Judiciary subcommittee on Concentration of Ownership of News Media.

Newton N. Minow, Federal Communications Commission chairman, first witness before the Celler committee, testified that "the advent of broadcasting has probably contributed to the decline of independently owned newspapers."

"But you don't get depth or width of news coverage from broadcasting," observed Chairman Celler.

"May I recall the old Chinese proverb that 'One picture is worth a thousand words'?" asked Rep. George Meader, R-Mich.

"Yes," replied the chairman, "but the Chinese didn't have that one picture sandwiched in between a thousand commercials."

Florida's Gov. Farris Bryant and San Francisco's Mayor George Christopher have been trying to outbid each other for the 1964 GOP national convention.

Florida seemed to have the edge

Railroad Dispute Poses Labor-Management Tilt

By ED TOWNSEND
(Labor Correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor)

The railroad work rules dispute is nearing a climax. The parties expect to make new efforts to settle their differences through collective bargaining. If they fail, a showdown would bring the Kennedy administration into the dispute again — and Congress might not be far behind the White House. The following questions and answers may help in understanding one of the most complex and uncontroverted disputes in labor-management history.

Q. Who are involved in the work-rules dispute?

A. All the nation's Class 1 railroads and five operating brotherhoods — representing such on-train workers as engineers, locomotive firemen and engineers, conductors and brakemen, railroad trainmen, and switchmen. The brotherhoods represent about 200,000 workers, or about 27 per cent of total railroad employment now. The Association of American Railroads is the institutional spokesman for the carriers, the Railway Labor Executives Association for the unions.

'Featherbedding' Called

Basic Issue

Q. What is the basic issue?
A. Carriers contend it is the excessive cost of operating due to "featherbedding" practices of the unions — that is, practices requiring the roads to hire more employees than they need and to pay for work not actually done. The carriers demand changes that would save them about \$1,600,000 a day or \$592,000,000 in a year. The brotherhoods deny that featherbedding practices exist and defend present rules as necessary for the safe and efficient operation of trains.

Q. What are these work rules the parties argue about?

A. Contractual provisions developed through the years, some of them four decades old, dating back to slow steam-engine days. There are thousands of rules in the industry, many varying from carrier to carrier. They cover such things as the work to be done by an employee, the size of train crews, the complex methods of paying crewmen, and the length of runs.

Carriers have demanded for years that old rules be revised to take into consideration today's changed operating conditions and faster trains. They want, for example, the elimination of a pay formula that requires wage payment on the basis of mileage covered and hours worked. This plan was set up when a slow 100-mile trip was considered to be a fair day's work and the basis for a day's pay. Many rail workers still think of 100 miles as a full day's work, even though trains now travel much faster and make fewer stops. Roads want to pay crewmen on either a time or a mileage basis — whichever would be the more advantageous for the employee — but not on the old dual basis.

Carriers Want Longer Runs

Also, the carriers want to lengthen runs. Seniority districts set by old work rules limited runs without crew changes to about 100 miles. Although trains may now go 200 miles in the time formerly taken for 100 miles, it's still necessary to change crews at 100 miles under some rules. And, perhaps the most controversial of all, carriers want to eliminate firemen on diesel locomotives and yard service. The employers say the firemen perform no necessary duties now that there's no coal or boiler fires to handle.

These are only three of a long list of proposed changes — more dramatic examples than, say, rules that bar roadmen from switching in yards, yard men from switching on the road.

Q. How would workers be affected by rules changes?

A. Many might lose jobs. Others would be required to work more hours — or to travel a greater distance — for a day's pay. In human terms, the impact could be severe. However, carriers have offered to cooperate to ease the hardships through gradual cuts in employment, to let natural attrition (retirements and quits) carry much of the burden.

Q. What have the parties done about work rules in bargaining?

A. Practically nothing; up to now, there has been very little real give-and-take bargaining on work rules at bargaining tables since the issue became a serious

on cash offers, so California's Christopher began talking of such fringe benefits as his city's "natural air conditioning" in summertime.

Bryant and helpers opened their full bag, even suggesting that Miami Beach would be a great spot from which to impress the beleaguered Cubans with the wonders of democracy at work.

They halted their little game of "upping the ante" before the Floridians could call into play the ace comment of former Gov. Fuller Warren:

"It's harder to fail in Florida than it is to succeed in most places."

one in November, 1959. The carriers proposed changes then. The brotherhoods rejected them. When a serious deadlock threatened problems for the future, then Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell proposed a tripartite study of rail work rules; the parties welcomed the plan, and in October, 1960 President Eisenhower named a presidential railroad commission of five members each from the roads, the brotherhoods, and the public.

The commission studied the work rules for 15 months. Public members traveled tens of thousands of miles, observing crewmen and their problems. Finally, early last year, the commission wrote 575 pages of conclusions distilled from 15,000 pages of testimony. Brotherhood representatives dissented — strongly — as the commission called for substantial changes in what they called "archaic" work rules and pay practices.

Carriers Agree

The carriers agreed to the changes, although they were considerably less than the roads sought. The unions balked. After two months of bargaining, the National Mediation Board (NMB) entered the dispute under the Railway Labor Act. Some 22 meetings were held, without success. The NMB urged arbitration. The carriers accepted this proposal; unions rejected it.

In July of last year, the carriers notified the unions that they intended to put commission recommendations into effect unilaterally; later they said that, instead, they would put their original and more extensive changes into effect. The unions threatened to strike, meanwhile sought and got an injunction against rules changes.

The fight has been a legal one since then, with the carriers winning successive decisions — the most recent and probably final one in the Supreme Court. They can make changes now.

Q. What are the proposed changes — those suggested by the presidential commission?

A. The most controversial would reduce the number of firemen in diesel freight and yard service; 13,000 with less than 10 years seniority would be dismissed with three to 12 months notice and severance pay up to 35 months at 60 per cent of last pay; 27,000 with more than 10 years seniority would be kept on the job until eliminated by natural attrition; no new firemen would be hired.

Age To Be Lowered

The retirement age would be lowered gradually until all employees — not just firemen — would be required to retire at age 65 in 1967. Unions contend that this rule change would cost 63,000 railroad jobs in the next five years — one-third of all operating employees now. Carriers deny this.

The commission also proposed a modernized pay basis that it said would create more uniformity and raise wages for about 75 per cent of those employed, cut it for the remaining 25 per cent. Unions challenge this. They complain "monstrous wage cuts" would result — up to 37½ per cent.

Technical Changes

And the commission urged the lengthening of runs to "modern operating capabilities" and the easing of old "ritualistically held dividing lines" on switching duties, along with many other changes — generally technical. Not all were against unions. Some would improve employee benefits, reduce maximum hours on duty, require overtime pay at time and a half, provide more holidays and require pay at premium rates on holidays.

Q. What is the situation now?
A. In effect, the presidential commission held that the carriers have the right to eliminate unneeded jobs and put into effect technological changes — provided they ease impact on employees, by displacement and retraining allowances.

The supreme court of the United States has refused to upset a lower-court decision confirming this right. The roads may make changes at will.

However, if they do, the unions undoubtedly would strike. This would bring further White House intervention through the fact-finding processes of the Railway Labor Act and would block a strike or changes in work conditions for 60 days.

Bills in Hopper

There is nothing in the statute books now that could be used to bar rules changes and a strike if the dispute should outlive the 60-day period. But Congress already has bills in its hopper that would require compulsory arbitration in transportation strike situations.

Aware of probable White House and congressional actions in the event of a showdown, the unions have indicated more willingness to bargain seriously, if they do, the rules dispute may be nearing an end. Privately, brotherhood spokesmen concede that the number of firemen jobs actually at stake now — 13,000 initially — is hardly worth the risk of a potentially larger setback possible at the hands of an aroused Congress.