

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Automatic Bankruptcy

The term "escalating expenditures" is a vague cover for runaway government spending.

You get it in Washington. You get it in the states. What it means is that the government keeps getting bigger and bigger and spending more and more.

At the state level, a typical example is the steadily swelling load of pupils in the schools. In many states this means inescapably heavier assistance from government sources.

There are other kinds of escalation. Sometimes new programs are started almost on a pilot basis, with modest expenditures for the first year and carefully planned increases over a span of time.

Now how does all this fit into the spending debate?

It is important because a good many governors, especially some who are getting shot at for proposing higher budgets, claim that a substantial part of the increase they seek is compelled by these "built-in" escalations.

Though the same argument is made now and then at the federal level, it tends to get drowned out by other points. Nevertheless,

budget specialists on all sides of the spending debate do agree that automatic escalation is not uncommon to the federal budget.

If the arguments are to be weighed properly, the citizen needs to know how big a factor these built-in increases really are. Should they represent a marked percentage of budget hikes, then the executive establishments, state and federal, would seem to have a legitimate point.

Executives, even when they have promoted the programs involved, can hardly be handed full blame for increases which were approved by clear legislative majorities in prior years.

In this connection, it would be interesting to single out the politicians who are most vocal against government spending, and match their well-publicized economy shouts against their voting records on measures with built-in escalation features. Embarrassment might prove more than occasional.

Obviously much more reporting research needs to be done in this field. There is today too much verbal noise about escalating expenditures — and almost no hard substance.

British Practice Sound

Observers often say it is unwise to compare U.S. and British political parties because of the obvious differences between the two countries in size, population make-up, geographic variety, and the like.

Nevertheless, Dr. William Prendergast, able research director of the Republican National Committee, has just made an on-the-spot comparison of this sort and finds in Britain some fruitful materials for hopeful party builders here at home.

Though now in evidently increasing difficulties, the British Conservative party has ruled that nation for almost 12 unbroken years. For this and other reasons, Prendergast gave the Conservatives major attention.

What struck him as most meaningful for this country were those things which tended above all to infuse the Conservative party with a real sense of stability and continuity.

1. The Conservatives draw regular, reliable financial backing from some two million virtual dues-paying party members, most of whose contributions range from 50 cents to \$5 a year.

2. With this solid, sure underpinning, the party is truly professionalized. Year around, election season or not, it maintains a large, efficient, permanent staff to keep the party organization vigorous, alert, continuously functioning.

For instance, the Conservatives employ some 50 regular party researchers, against Prendergast's mere handful at GOP headquarters.

3. As part of its professionalization, yet deserving of an important separate note, the organization plants in every single British parliamentary constituency a "party agent" — a full time, paid party worker whose task is to collect party funds, handle countless routine organization matters, generally serve as the permanent "party presence" at the grass roots.

By contrast, our party organizations are usually thinly parchmented skeletons which suddenly inflate to bulbous life in general election years. We tap the affluent fellows for big money, never sure from time to time which ones will cough up.

Our campaigns are far costlier, of course, because of heavy travel and television charges. In Britain, specified television time is free to the parties — in voting season and out.

Whatever the differences in scale, British efforts to introduce stability, continuity and professional competence into party organization may well be worth copying. We have muddled through on a "feast or famine" basis far too long.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Standard Force Cutback

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

However much the Pentagon may claim that it is not putting all its reliance on nuclear missiles and nuclear warheads, a careful look at the military budget shows that the U.S. is steadily cutting back its so-called conventional forces. It is also not giving thought to new and devastating methods of destruction which might make nuclear warfare old-fashioned and leave this country helpless.

Rear Admiral Cecil H. Coggins, the retired chief of the Navy's Atomic-Bacteriological Chemical Warfare section, has been trying to convince his onetime colleagues at the Pentagon that they are obsessed by nuclear weapons. He points out that the U.S. lead in nuclear-armed missiles is so great that, barring acceptance of phony Soviet disarmament proposals, we face little foreseeable competition. On the basis of reliable intelligence reports, however, it becomes clear that the Soviets have an ace-in-the-hole. Their secret weapon is not the 100-megaton bomb but chemical and biological warfare, in which they have invested great sums of money.

In the past, I briefly noted a few of the facts about Soviet advances in this field. Even a small part of the story is frightening, but a more careful scrutiny of what we already know opens vistas of horror. Here is some of the background.

In the last days of World War II, the Nazis developed three nerve gases, Tabun, Sarin, and Soman. They could not be detected by the human senses, and caused death in less than a minute. The Red Army captured a Tabun plant intact and moved it to the Soviet Union. This gas is now the standard Soviet nerve gas, and the Kremlin has a stockpile of more than 30,000 tons. (One drop of Tabun can kill.) The Soviets have also developed what are called "psycho-gases," which cause temporary

blindness, paralysis, deafness. In aerosol sprays, they spread across terrain like a fog, and their effects last for as long as 24 hours. Soviet military leaders have expressed a "special interest" in these "psychochemicals," which can permit them to take over cities without destroying them or the potential future slaves to keep the economy alive.

According to Admiral Coggins, the Soviets have some 60 plants turning out the newest psycho-gases, and he also notes that "fully 15 per cent of the total of Russian military munitions" is in this grisly set of weapons. Soviet Army units are thoroughly trained in protective measures against these gases and 23 million civilians have received a required 22 hours in instruction and practical defensive exercises. Protective gas masks are stocked at all industrial sites.

As opposed to this, the U.S. set up a plant near Denver to manufacture Sarin. But the complaints of "humanitarians" and those who feared contamination forced U.S. Chemical Warfare to shut it down. Another plant is now under construction. Civil Defense has failed to mass produce gas masks and those for the military are, to quote Admiral Coggins, "locked up as tightly as the ammunition boxes at Pearl Harbor."

Biological warfare offers the Soviets another substitute for ICBMs. Modern techniques have been developed to deliver toxins, cultures, and bacteria in aerosol form by generators carried in planes or on submarines. These generators, fitted with fog nozzles, can spread a fine mist covering 60 square miles from 30 gallons of the compressed agents. Given proper wind conditions, such a cloud could be formed at sea and allowed to drift over any American port city. Depending on the nature of the agent used, the population could be wiped out or temporarily incapacitated. One billionth of a gram of certain fever

cultures, when breathed in, are sufficient to infect.

American scientists and military experts in chemical and biological warfare are well aware of the possibilities of these new weapons. On paper, moreover, the U.S. is as advanced as the Soviet Union. The capabilities are there. But no offensive or defensive measures are planned in large part because it is considered "inhumane." It is estimated that less than one per cent of the Pentagon's budget is expended in psychochemical and biological research and preparation.

Compared to nuclear weapons, chemical and biological agents cost almost nothing. They are, in the long run, less permanently destructive. They serve an important military function. This may account for Soviet complacency over the Kremlin's chronic missile gap.

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Tuesday, April 30, the 120th day of 1963 with 245 more to follow.

The moon is at first quarter. The morning stars are Venus and Saturn.

The evening stars are Mercury and Mars.

Today in history:
In 1789, George Washington took the oath of office in New York City and was sworn in as the first President of the United States.

In 1812, Louisiana was admitted to the Union as the 18th state. In 1900, fabled Casey Jones, the "Brave Engineer," was killed when his train collided with a freight train at Vaughn, Miss.

In 1940, Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler committed suicide in a bunker in Berlin.

A thought for the day—French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte said: "From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step."

Other Editors Say . . . Too Many Flunked

(Eugene Register-Guard)

The Oregon Highway Users Conference has been polling the state's newspaper editors, with results that seem to prove three things: (1) the editors oppose highway accidents; (2) they sometimes hold widely varied opinions about what should be done to reduce accidents; and (3) some of them, too many of them, prefer political direction of Oregon's highway program to the sound, money-saving practices which have made Oregon's one of the finest highway systems in the United States.

In a first OHUC-conducted poll, about two months ago, 50-plus responding editors were sharply divided on the question of imposing a maximum speed law to augment Oregon's basic speed rule. Twenty-eight said "yes," 23 said "no." And, while their vote was overwhelmingly in favor of educational methods of promoting use of auto seat belts, the editors lined up 51 to 2 against compulsory seat belt legislation.

Now, in response to a second helping of OHUC questionnaires, Oregon's editors have gone on record as being mostly in favor of the principle of "implied consent" regarding submission to tests for drunk driving. Thirty-seven voted "aye" and only 17 "nay" to utilization of this legal theory that anyone applying for a driver's license automatically indicates his willingness to undergo a sobriety test when asked to do so by traffic officers.

Questions dealing with the administration and financing of Oregon's highways also were asked in this second round of editorial opinion testing. Results on these were decisively in favor of maintaining the constitutional requirement that highway user fees and taxes be spent only for highways, state parks, and the state police. But surprisingly, they indicated only a 53 margin in opposition to the further use of highway bond issues to finance specific projects for which regular fund sources cannot immediately provide.

Frankly, we wish Oregon's editors would wake up to the perils of deficit highway financing to some extent approximating their awareness of the undeniability of traffic accidents. Let them be divided about speed and seat belt laws. The driving public, after all, will still be somewhat protected by the basic rule and by the right to have seat belts as self-protection devices. But, as long as only three out of five editors see the pitfalls that lie ahead in pork-barrel control of highway financing via special project bond issues, we'll remain skeptical about the ability of the others to understand even the rudiments of the Oregon Drivers' Manual.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

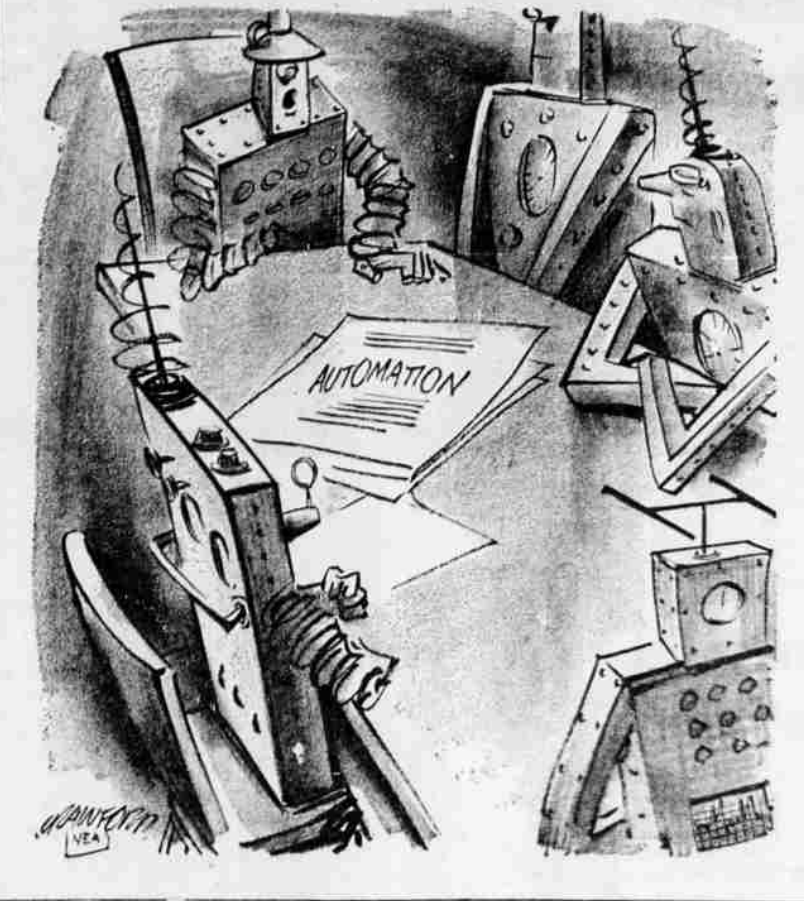
Q—What engagement was known as "The Battle of Three Emperors?"

A—The Battle of Austerlitz in which the French under Napoleon defeated the allied Austrian and Russian forces under Francis II and Alexander I.

Q—What do churchmen mean by the Canon of the Bible?

A—It is the word used for those books of the Scriptures which are believed to be inspired by God.

"All in Favor, Push a Button!"



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Guantanamo Deal Appears In Making



By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Is the Guantanamo Bay Naval Station — Caribbean headquarters for the U.S. Navy — to be surrendered to Fidel Castro?

Reporters who call the White House to check out this fantastic report are referred to the Pentagon. Spokesmen there send newsmen to the Department of State. Reporters are then told the story is "absurd."

Officials at Foggy Bottom admit, however, that negotiations are now under way for a "submarine testing station" on Andros Island, located a few miles off Nassau.

The Knight newspapers, in an exclusive story only last week, revealed that the U.S. and Great Britain were negotiating a contract for construction and lease of the Andros Island station.

The newspapers quoted a "Miami source" to the effect that Andros Island would be "used as the Navy's Caribbean headquarters should U.S. forces ever abandon Guantanamo."

Contractors now surveying the island's facilities report the Navy openly concedes it could become a second Guantanamo. Ousting Uncle Sam from the 45-square-mile of Guantanamo Bay has long been Fidel Castro's goal. "We have stated more than once and we repeat our right to recover that territory," a Castro lackey told the U.N. last year. "That region was torn from us following an American incursion."

The facts are otherwise. A treaty signed in 1934 gives the U.S. right to occupy Guantanamo Bay until both countries decide to abrogate that treaty.

One of the few Americans alleged to favor "negotiations" on Guantanamo is U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. In their much-publicized Saturday Evening Post article of last fall, Stewart Alsop and Charles Bartlett reported that Stevenson favored a surrender of Guantanamo as a means to negotiate general disarmament and reduce tensions.

In a subsequent article, Alsop revealed that his story had been cleared by Clayton Fritchey, Stevenson's top U.N. aide, with whom he had spoken at length three times. Alsop said Fritchey approved this summary of Stevenson's position.

"Stevenson was only willing to discuss Guantanamo and the European bases with the Communists after a neutralization of the Cuban missiles."

When last December I sent my associate, Bill Schulz, to Guantanamo Bay, he came back to report that military leaders were fearful that some Stevenson-type "deal" would be completed.

For Guantanamo Bay, in the words of the Defense Department, "provides an excellent base in support of essential fleet operations."

Almost perfect year-round climate, un congested sea and air space, and close proximity to the United States, all combine to provide a training base which has no equal in the Atlantic. For this reason, most ships of the Atlantic Fleet visit Guantanamo each year for training.

Guantanamo guards the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, by all odds the most traveled of the maritime defiles which connect the Caribbean with the Atlantic.

For this reason alone, Guanta-

namo would be of vital importance in protecting American shipping in wartime — not only ships using the Panama Canal, but also the oil tankers from Gulf ports and Venezuela.

George Fielding Eliot, the distinguished naval historian, writes of "Gitrmo": "Against an opponent possessing a large number of submarines (such as the Soviet Union) a base close to such a major focal point as the Windward Passage would be of major value."

"Many of the smaller anti-submarine craft and shore-based aircraft are of limited range; the closer their base to the focal areas where submarines gather to seek their prey, the better protection they can give."

It is foolhardy to argue that bases at Andros Island, in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, would do as well. The base at Guantanamo helps form a strategic triangle upon which the security of the Caribbean is founded.

The strongest point and main support of this triangle is Guantanamo (Puerto Rico and Trinidad are the others). Without Guantanamo, both Puerto Rico and Trinidad become exposed and dangerously isolated in terms of a submarine war.

Writes Eliot: "There is also to be considered the progressive reductions in force over the past years which have cut the local defenses of the Panama Canal virtually to zero. The Canal itself must be defended against attack from the Atlantic side by denying the Caribbean to any enemy." This only "Gitrmo" can do so well.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . . Tennessee Valley Conflict Lingers

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent

Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA)—Tennessee Valley Authority will be 30 years old May 18.

Celebrations and oratory are being planned. Literature on the TVA "experiment" is appearing; pro and con.

Whether you approve of it or not, TVA is admittedly one of the seven wonders of America and an eighth wonder of the world. When the King of Morocco came to the United States, he stopped to see TVA before coming to Washington.

At the end of World War II a party of European journalists came to Washington direct from TVA at the end of a transcontinental junket. They were from different political parties, and they had seen through partisan eyes the great Tennessee River with its dams and power lines, electrified farms, navigation channels and flood control works.

To the liberals, TVA showed what a democratic government and society could do when they went to work for the people. To the socialists, TVA was pure Marxism. To the Communists, it was fulfillment of the Leninist-Stalinist dream: only Russia could do it better. To the conservatives, this was big business that could be created only in a free enterprise, capitalistic economy.

They all got into such a heated argument about it that when they reached Washington they weren't speaking to each other.

This illustrates as well as anything the point that TVA is controversial. And in its 30th anniversary observance this month there probably will be some sour notes that it is so anti-American it should be broken up and sold to private power companies.

The best justification of TVA is that it works. But as a matter of speculation, if a completely unbiased jury could be given the case, it might be found that the competitive private enterprise system owes a great debt to Tennessee Valley Authority.

TVA woke up the private power industry to its potential. It showed what could be done with rural electrification. It showed that lower power rates will increase consumption and increase the sale of electric appliances

many times over. It promoted growth.

When TVA legislation was before Congress in 1933, E. A. Yates of Dixon-Yates fame testified in opposition to TVA because there was already a 66 per cent over-production capacity of private power in the area and he could see no market for more.

But within seven years, TVA had doubled the private consumption level. By 1953 it had increased 17 times. Today TVA's total steam and hydroelectric power capacity is over 5 times what it was in 1933.

In 1934 TVA began heating homes with electricity in the town of Morris, with rate schedules designed for it. Private utilities at first regarded this as crazy, but today they vigorously promote it.

TVA's purchases of low-bid foreign electric generating equipment caused American manufacturers to sharpen their pencils and become competitive.

Of far more value than its pioneering in the electrical industry, TVA has set a national and international pattern for multiple purpose water control, flood prevention, navigation, recreation, reforestation and the shift of agriculture from row crops like corn and cotton to cover crops that conserve water.

The million tons of cargo carried on the Tennessee River system in 1933 has grown to 32 million tons and will double by 1975.

In 1957, with 25 inches of rainfall in 21 days, TVA met its most severe flood control test by its 31 dams, six of which are privately owned but TVA operated.

Along the 10,000 miles of shoreline on these artificial lakes and reservoirs, recreation facilities have been provided for 42-million person-days of fun a year at 350 resort and camp areas.

Above everything else, an adequate water supply has been provided for both family and industrial use now and in the years ahead.

Before Congress now is a bill to provide \$29 million for financing water resource research and planning to meet the needs of America's still increasing population.

If this money can be used as efficiently as TVA has used its funds over the past 30 years it should be an investment paying multiple dividends.



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

"I was in Florida last month," said the woman next to me at the dinner table, "and we attended a benefit preview of a new film. Just as it started, the air-conditioning system broke down — and more than half the audience walked out and went home."

"That's to be expected," I murmured. "I suppose it is," she said, "but, you know, all the people there were my age or older — which means that they grew up without any air conditioning at all. We went to movies on the

hottest nights and simply sweated — there was no alternative if we wanted to see the film. And nobody walked out because it was too hot."

This is another aspect of a problem I touched upon in a recent column on the ball-point pen and the proliferation of products in our society. Never before in human history have so many "luxuries" been transformed into "necessities" in such a short time and over such a broad percentage of the population.

There is a real cleavage, a profound paradox, between our Puritan heritage of hard work, of sweat and suffering for the goods of the earth, and our modern economy, which is devoted to the effortless, the pleasant, the gratifying, the automatic.

When the conservative complains — and accurately — that the old-fashioned notions of hard work have gone by the boards, he neglects to add that the most prevalent product of capitalism has been "making life easier" in a technical sense for the greatest number of people.

Nobody today will put up with "lack of air conditioning, even though a mere generation ago it was almost unheard of. We live in an era when comfort, ease and automatic manipulation are taken for granted, and sweat is an ugly word. Our social and economic system has made this possible, as nowhere else in the world — and therefore it is to be wholly unexpected that the tradition of sweat and toil is losing all its force in our national ethos."

There are internal contradictions in every system that weaken it and threaten its very survival; indeed, the internal contradictions in any system are usually more responsible for its downfall than any outside threat. Roman civilization decayed at the core long before the barbarians were able to invade and conquer it.

We face the task of reconciling our contradictions, of solving our own paradoxes; for in the end these may prove more disastrous to our welfare than the external menace of communism. The benefits we have achieved are enormous; but we have scarcely begun to examine the price we are paying for them.

Young Actress

ACROSS
1 Young actress.
3 Bethune
5 talents are
8 seen on video
9 A student nurse
12 Short jacket
13 Mineral rock
14 Biblical name
15 Communitas
17 Tear
18 Favorite
19 Mountain
20 Sheriff's staff
21 Sneed's mound
22 Through
23 Female fox
24 She — in the Nurses on TV
25 High card
26 Fired, at a gun
27 Constable
28 Indian weight
29 Gunkel catch
30 Followed

34 Cavalryman
35 Consonant
40 Card
41 Fish
42 Stream
43 Black Sea city
44 Algerian support
45 Whitticism
46 Fish sauce
47 Musical quality
48 Fruit drink
49 Small pastry
50 Whitticism
51 Masculine nickname
52 Female sheep
53 Nothing
54 Roman road
55 Poutuberance
56 Handled
57 Draft animal
58 Silk worm
59 Corded fabric
60 Account
61 Mest
62 Met

Answer to Previous Puzzle

16 Land parcels
17 Essential being
18 Low band
19 Nuisance
20 Needy
21 Huge
22 Frother
23 Dry (comb. form)
24 Search
25 Greedy
26 Ceremony
27 Observed
28 Ape
29 Poem

