

Herald and News

Editorial Page

The Public Is Apathetic

The New Frontier unleashed its broad domestic legislative program with not only vast enthusiasm, but total confidence. It was felt that the masses of the voters would rally to the cause and make recalcitrants in Congress bow to their wishes. Opposition was, of course, expected. But, the anticipations ran in the Kennedy echelons, this would be overcome by the juggernaut. All the massive political resources and skills of the Administration were organized with the utmost care and attention to detail—the same kind of care that made Mr. Kennedy's nomination and election an actuality—in order to get the machine moving.

What has happened, after months of debate, argument, controversy, wheeling and dealing? As more and more informed commentators—including some who are personally favorable to the President and his ideas—are writing, the machine has blown a gasket. If it's moving at all, it is at a limping, one-cylinder pace.

The reason can be quickly explained in a single word, and that word is apathy. As Paul Duke of the Wall Street Journal puts it—and his view is typical—"New evidence of widespread public apathy toward President Kennedy's legislative proposals is darkening prospects for the 1963 New Frontier program. The evidence has been unearthed by lawmakers who communed with the folks back home during the 10-day Easter recess. . . . With remarkable repetitiveness, House and Senate members report most voters in an aloof, couldn't-care-less frame of mind toward major measures pending in the 88th Congress." And he quotes a Democratic Congressman, who is solidly back of the President's program, as saying, "We seem to be at a plateau where people are satisfied with the status quo."

Oddly enough, the President's personal popularity, according to the polls and to what members of Congress learned talking with their constituents, remains high—much, much higher than his domestic welfare program. This has happened before—Presidents Roosevelt and Truman found themselves, at times, in the same fix. In any event, at a rough estimate, here's how things look now:

Foreign aid—a heavy cut, of about a billion dollars.

The medicare plan for providing certain medical services to everyone within the Social Security System—hardly a chance of passing.

Extensive federal aid to the public schools—no foreseeable chance.

Still tighter regulations on the pharmaceutical industry—extremely doubtful.

Further increases in the minimum wage—equally doubtful.

So the story goes. This leaves out of account the tax-cut, tax-revision program, the most ambitious of all the Administration's domestic proposals. It, too, is in profound trouble. For one thing, the new rules recently adopted by the Internal Revenue Service, even though somewhat eased after waves of angry protest, make it tougher than ever on the individual taxpayer, and particularly on the man whose income comes totally from salary and who can claim no deductions other than the very limited standard ones. And there has been an important change in the rules covering other deductions. The burden of proof is now on the taxpayer, where it used to be on the government. The keeping of records has been made more, not less, complicated. On top of all this, no one yet knows just how tough the IRS will ultimately prove to be in its audits, and this doubt and confusion hardly contribute to optimism and a go-ahead spirit on the part of the individual taxpayer.

Moreover, the proposed and possible tax cuts would mean little to the family in the average-income bracket, hardly more than the increase in the social security tax that became effective on January 1 of this year.

Finally, there is a widespread fear that tax cuts without compensating reductions in spending would be exceedingly dangerous—and administration spokesmen see no chance at all for reductions of any substance.

Administration leaders press ahead, as they must, on behalf of the program. But, to repeat, the public response in general is just plain apathy.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Hindsight On Cuba

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The Senate Preparedness Investigation subcommittee has finally issued printed copies of its report on the Soviet missile mess which led to the President's very temporary show of spirit and the short-lived "quarantine" of Cuba. It is an interesting document, for the honorable Senators of the majority have really struggled to rationalize conscience and political expediency.

The 18-page reprise attempts to lay the blame for not being fully aware of the Soviet arms build-up and the smuggling of missiles on the "intelligence community"—a vague enough phrase to spare the feelings of the Central Intelligence Agency and other groups. Yet it is repeatedly forced to admit that a great deal of pertinent and vital information was gathered and sent upward to the Secretary of Defense and the White House.

Most interesting about this report is the careful way in which it fails to give credit to those who were saying in July, August, and September of 1962 what we read from Senator Stennis's subcommittee today. In some cases, moreover, the facts as stated in the Stennis report do not quite match what was public knowledge in the last days of Summer 1962.

For instance, the report states that this government did not have confirmation of the presence in Cuba of MIG 21s and B-29 bombers until September 5 and October 10 respectively. This creates something of a problem in chronology. For before September 5, President Kennedy told a group of congressional leaders about the MIG 21s and the B-29s—and even cited the number already on the island.

The report also does some fancy ice skating on the dates when the Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles and the Medium Range Ballistic Missiles were first "discovered." A good deal of playing about with language is done. The "intelligence community" learned of these IRBMs and MRBMs, but it was not "established" that they

really existed until the U-2 overflights produced the pictures. There is a considerable amount of all-around-the-mulberry-bush on the failure of U.S. intelligence to discover that the Soviet "technicians" were in reality army units, in division strength.

Well, I must be very smart. I do not have a billion-dollar CIA to brief me or a G-2 to confide in me. I have, in certain areas, good sources. And during the critical period, I was writing regularly (and perhaps boring my readers) in very specific terms of troop concentrations, where they were located, and other sundry items suddenly discovered by the Stennis subcommittee. I was warning of the presence of intermediate range missiles. Some days, having gotten my information together and written my column, I would ask myself, "Can I be right? Why does the Administration say it isn't so?"

Of course, I wasn't the only one. A Cuban exile, Carlos Todd, in Florida, had his own private intelligence group that systematically gathered information, which was then denied but later confirmed to the last item. Other newspapermen wrote about the build-up, though perhaps not as naggingly as I did.

Frankly, we weren't so smart. The Central Intelligence Agency had every scrap of information before we published it. But the "intelligence gap" was yawning wide. By this, I do not mean a gap in our ability to collect and evaluate evidence. The "gap" manifested itself in two ways: (1) the full impact of what had been gathered was never allowed to reach the top brass or disturb its equanimity, and (2) the watered-down version which the lower echelons prepared was not taken seriously by the White House.

Point (1) is one of the great dangers of too large an intelligence organization like CIA. Too much of the raw files is evaluated by too many people too far from those who must make the final judgment. Small, tightly integrated intelligence groups eliminate this difficulty, so that the top

men are that much closer to the raw file. And since they are aware of strategic matters, what may be meaningless to a clerk becomes significant to them.

That is the way British intelligence, in its heyday, worked. The Soviets have another method. They use the "vacuum cleaner approach"—sucking up all information in the paths of their agents. But they have fiercely competing apparatus—and this compensates for the unwieldy size. It also allows cross-checking to a degree not known to Western intelligence agencies.

The Stennis subcommittee has a great deal of needed hindsight. But will the lessons of Cuba lead to just a little more foresight?

Almanac

By United Press International
Today is Wednesday, May 22, the 142nd day of 1963 with 223 to follow.

The moon is new.

The morning stars are Venus, Jupiter and Saturn.

The evening star is Mars.

Those born today are under the sign of Gemini.

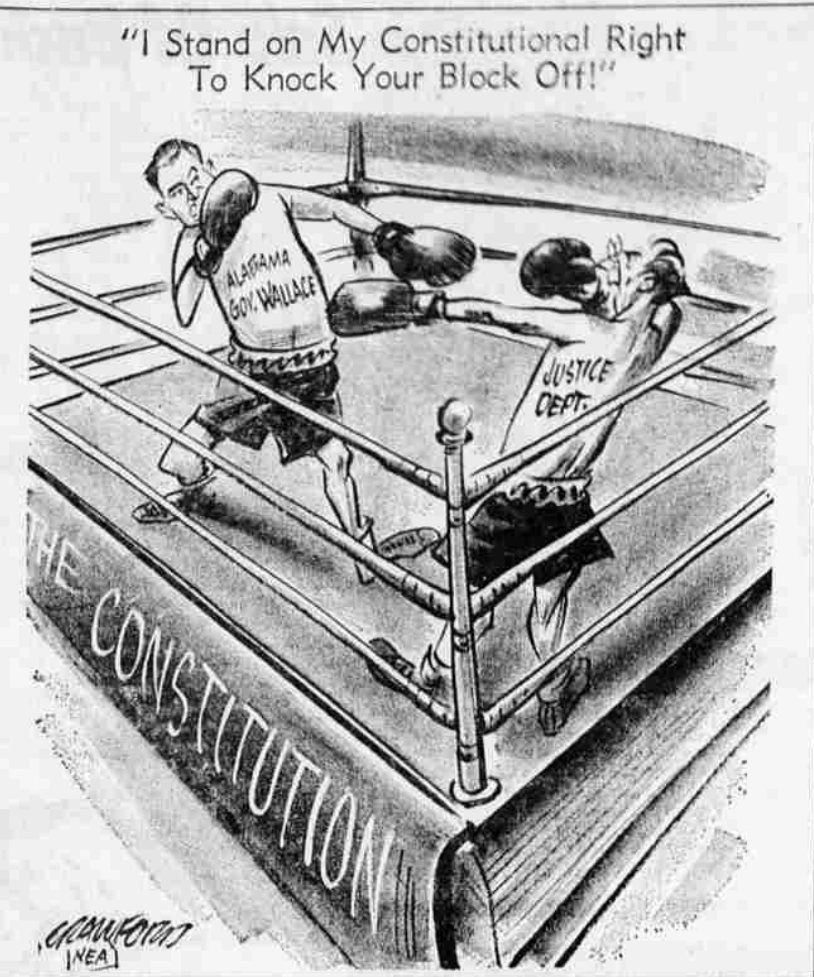
On this day in history:
In 1807, former Vice President Aaron Burr went on trial for "treason" in Richmond, Va. He was acquitted the following August.

In 1943, Soviet Russia announced the dissolution of the Communist International (Comintern), founded in 1919 to promote world revolution.

In 1953, President Eisenhower signed the controversial tidelands oil bill, guaranteeing coastal states the rights to all minerals in submerged lands within their historic boundaries.

In 1962, a Continental 707 passenger jet carrying 46 persons crashed in southeastern Iowa while en route from Chicago to Kansas City. A lone survivor died hours after the mishap.

A thought for the day—Plato said: "Human nature cannot know the mystery of an art without experience."



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

One of the most famous quotations in the world, which has been attributed to everyone from Marcus Aurelius to Robert Louis Stevenson, is this:

"I expect to pass through this world but once; any good thing, therefore, that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to my fellow-creatures, let me do it now; let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

Although praised by many as a truly scriptural sentiment, it is utter nonsense—high-minded nonsense of the sort that sounds good in a speech but means nothing in either philosophical or practical terms.

For those people whose good impulses are in the ascendant, such a stimulant is not needed; and for those very many more whose bad impulses too often dominate, the sentiment is worthless—because they will draw precisely the opposite conclusions from it.

"I shall not pass this way again." Then why does it matter what I do? Why not ruin the fields, deforest the woods, litter the roads, pollute the streams, trample the flowers, and treat people as a mere means to one's own ends?

This quotation admirably illustrates, indeed, the deep difference between genuine religious feeling and specious sentimentality. If the determining factor is our not returning this way again, why not indulge in any species of fraud

STRICTLY PERSONAL

or deceit or cruelty or exploitation? In fact, only if some people were forced to return to the scene of their exploits might they refrain from selfish and inconsiderate behavior.

The reason for kindness to our fellow-creatures has nothing to do with passing this way once, or twice, or a thousand times; it has to do, rather, with the knowledge that we are commanded to act thus, that it is a very condition of our humanness, that not to do so tears the fabric of creation, violates the natural law, and perverts the proper goals designed for us and our descendants.

What most of us practice in the modern world—if we practice it at all—is the religion of sentimentality, of faith in faith, of good sayings and warm feelings. And what is wrong with this attitude is that it is essentially frivolous and superficial; it does not engage the deepest parts of our personality, and most of all, does not give us the strength to resist the evil in ourselves, only in others.

Atheism has never been a formidable enemy of religion; but idolatry has always been. The sentimentalism, and its only dogma is "No dogmas—just warm feelings."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—Of what order of Greek architecture is the Parthenon a good example?
A—Doric.

Food Shopping

1 Roast leg of lamb
2 Three-headed medallion
3 Green vegetable
4 Corn
5 Food seasoning
6 Tabasco
7 Green vegetable
8 Corn
9 Food seasoning
10 Tabasco
11 Green vegetable
12 Corn
13 Food seasoning
14 Tabasco
15 Green vegetable
16 Corn
17 Food seasoning
18 Tabasco
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87 Green vegetable
88 Corn
89 Food seasoning
90 Tabasco
91 Green vegetable
92 Corn
93 Food seasoning
94 Tabasco
95 Green vegetable
96 Corn
97 Food seasoning
98 Tabasco
99 Green vegetable
100 Corn

Answer to Previous Puzzle

1 Shop
2 Glaze
3 Worn by horse and insect
4 Of the shoulder (anatom.)
5 Wife of Yndaravus
6 Canopies
7 Rises
8 Notion
9 Capital of Norway
10 Climbing plants
11 Vipers
12 Father or mother
13 Hat
14 Italian city
15 City of merchants
16 Periods of time
17 At that time
18 French verb "to be"

In writing this, I am expressing my opinions as an individual and not necessarily as chairman of the Elementary School Board of District No. 1.

I feel there is no room for discussing personalities or injecting emotional issues into the question of what type of educational structure is best for our youngsters. There is room for honest discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of any system. What we want is the best system possible under the circumstances, and we feel the one-unit system is just that.

We in Klamath County always have to work and fight hard for anything good.

All I urge is that you be receptive to facts for the single district. They will be forthcoming.

Rollin A. Cantrill,
2343 Lakeshore Drive.

Appreciation

Six major committees include your two capable representatives, Carroll Howe and George Filtrcraft. Two years ago these gentlemen displayed outstanding ability as freshman members of the House. Their experience and unusual ability have made their contribution even greater during this session. By their actions and by their voting record it is evident that both of these legislators believe in good financial management of state affairs.

I am sure my colleagues would join me in expressing appreciation to the people of Klamath County for providing us with the services of two very capable representatives, Carroll Howe and George Filtrcraft.

F. F. (Monty) Montgomery,
House Minority Leader.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

President Outlines Ideas On Business

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON (NEA)—President Kennedy's speech in defense of his tax, spending, budget, balance of payments and fiscal policy in general made a profound impression on the 200 members of the Committee for Economic Development at their annual trustees meeting in Washington.

For good reason. Some of the ideas he espoused were theirs and he praised them.

Whether or not the CED members agreed with the way the President interpreted the ideas, many came out of the meeting admitting that he had a remarkable grasp of facts and figures and could argue persuasively for his ideas.

The cliché is, of course, that the President is antibusiness. And it is inconceivable that the American Iron and Steel Institute, which will present the first Benjamin F. Fairless memorial gold medal to ex-President Eisenhower May 23, will ever award it to Kennedy.

Labor leaders and the ultra-liberals, on the other hand, argue that Kennedy is far too probusiness—particularly on tax policies.

The President's real ideas on business stuck out all through his CED speech. He had praise for the organization's recognition that "federal monetary and fiscal policies can and must supplement the decisions of the market place in determining the course of the economy—that interest rates must be adjusted up or down, budgets into deficits and surplus, to fit the needs of the time."

Kennedy made this speech before the CED for two reasons. One was because they asked him. The other was because this was CED's 20th anniversary meeting and he knew he could get a fair hearing.

In its two decades of public service, CED has made an outstanding contribution to economic sophistication in the United States. It has issued more than 60 research studies and reports on every controversial economic policy question confronting postwar America.

It began operations in 1943 when there was great fear of post-

war depression and high unemployment. Under its first chairman, Paul Hoffman, CED argued rightly, that instead of a recession, the pent-up demand for goods would create a business boom.

Recognizing that the great depression of the 1930s was a confession of failure to provide a livelihood for millions of Americans, CED set out to prove that business must provide the leadership to preserve free enterprise.

But along with this, CED also recognized that government has a responsibility in its tax, spending, deficit and other fiscal policies to influence favorably all business, price and employment levels.

From this start CED went on to support passage of the Full Employment Act of 1946 as a necessary national economic goal.

The next step CED successfully advocated was removal of wartime supports on government securities by the Federal Reserve, since this shackled monetary action and induced inflation.

A third major contribution was CED's "stabilizing budget policy" concept. While it emphasized the desirability of balanced budgets under relatively full employment, it left room for a change in this standard in times of high unemployment and business recession. Kennedy fiscal policies are drawn from this.

From then on—through the 1957 turning point in U.S. economic history and continuing even now—CED has produced careful analyses of current economic problems, and has suggested solutions.

CED's most constructive achievement probably will come from its Commission on Money and Credit, established in 1958 with a Ford Foundation grant. One volume of its report was published in 1961 and has been extensively used by administration economists and Congress. Other volumes are in preparation.

A principal goal of CED now is furtherance of economic education in America. The theory is that if free enterprise and individual liberty are to survive, this will come only through greater understanding of what the system is and how it works.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Republicans Pick Up In Election Returns

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Flowers bloom, birds chirp, people vote, and the Winter of Discontent has become the Spring of Discontent for John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Widely scattered election returns of a week ago indicate that a Republican trend that began in January has continued into early May.

In the most sensational returns of the year, Baltimore voters ousted a Democratic mayor, replaced him with veteran Republican Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin. McKeldin overcame a four-to-one registration edge in unseated incumbent Philip Goodman. It was a personal defeat for the President, whose voice was broadcast countless times on election eve urging voters to support Goodman and his team.

Elected with McKeldin was Hyman Pressman, a peppy little Democrat who denounced his party and ran for comptroller as a Republican.

On the same day last week, voters at High Point, N.C., rejected the pleas of former Gov. Luther Hodges and gave Republicans a clean sweep of city elections. The secretary of commerce did his part to help the local Democratic machine, then saw voters choose a Republican mayor and eight city councilmen.

Also last week, Connecticut Republicans scored their most impressive victories in some time. They swept eight of nine towns, winning in Granby, Bethany, Groton, Avon, Simsbury, Trumbull, Farmington and Naugatuck. The lone Democratic victory was in Enfield, where the GOP nevertheless won four of 11 town council seats.

So a string of GOP victories that began in January continues and Republicans for the first time have expressed genuine optimism about 1964. The January vote saw Republican Don Clausen come to Congress from California in a special election, succeeding the late Clem Miller, a Democrat.

Here is how GOP analysts received recent elections:

Feb. 18: Georgia voters elected a "Goldwater Republican" to the state Senate, increasing the delegation there to three.

Feb. 19: For the first time since Reconstruction, a Republican won election to the Mississippi Legislature. Meridian's "Mack" MacAlister, a Goldwater conservative

active in the Young Republicans, was elected to the State House of Representatives. Republicans plan an all-out campaign for the state's governorship, up for grabs this fall. Former Democrat Russell Phillips will head the GOP slate.

March 19: St. Petersburg, Fla., elected a GOP mayor.

March 26: In a 12-county special election necessitated by reapportionment, the GOP picked up 12 of 34 new seats. On that same day, five new Republicans won election to the Kansas City, Mo., city council. The GOP candidates for mayor came within one per cent of victory.

April 2: Republicans picked up two new seats on the Chicago City Council, making a total of five. A little-regarded mayoralty candidate, Ben Adamowski, came within 157,000 votes of Democratic boss Richard Daley, who won by 466,000 his last time out. GOP hopes of capturing the governorship in 1964 have soared.

On the same day, in Great Falls, Mont., Republicans upset a long-entrenched Democratic machine, electing a mayor, Mrs. Charles Erdmann, and a majority of city councilmen.

April 15: Republicans raced to a 2-2 victory in Charleston, W. Va., electing a mayor, city treasurer, municipal judge, and five at-large councilmen.

April 22: Republicans (two) were elected to the city council in North Augusta, S.C., for the first time since Reconstruction days.

A Republican won a seat in the Fort Worth, Tex., city council in a non-partisan election, another Republican was added to the Texas House in a special election held in Corpus Christi, long a Democratic stronghold.

Congressman Bob Wilson, chairman of the House GOP Campaign Committee, is overjoyed. He says:

"We welcome these advances because a sound party base at the city and local level helps elect congressmen and presidents. With an expanding base at the state and local level, with the decline and deterioration of the New Frontier, we, as Republicans, look forward to 1964 with confidence and zest for the forthcoming elections. We are certain that we will realize substantial gains in the House of Representatives and elect Republicans from the White House to the courthouse."