

Herald and News

Editorial Page

GOP Faces Primary Issue

The flurry of talk about tossing a flock of favorite sons into the 1964 GOP presidential race could evaporate when the present confusion in the party shakes down a little.

Some experienced politicians listening to this talk believe it is a direct response to the uncertainty introduced when New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller remarried. Politicians in doubt tend to seek protective cover. The favorite son device qualifies as such.

Right now favorite son candidates seem a sure thing in Wisconsin, a strong prospect in Ohio and Colorado, a possibility in Oregon and California. All of these save Colorado are also states which conduct presidential preference primaries.

If the trend toward favorite son candidates in such states should persist into 1964, that would raise a question of major importance to Republican voters.

The principal candidates now in sight for the GOP nomination are Rockefeller, Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and Gov. George Romney of Michigan. The first two, particularly, are expected to be in sharp combat in state after state.

Whatever the faults of the presidential primary system—and they are many—these tests are the only expression voters can give to their choices for the nomination. They are the only means by which legitimate candidates can measure their real potential.

The Magic That Failed

(The Wall Street Journal)

Idling of the highly touted nuclear ship Savannah by a labor dispute may or may not be "simply unbelievable" and a "national disgrace," as Representative Herbert Bonner says. But maybe by the time the vessel leaves Galveston where she now is immobilized she will have provided a useful lesson to those who regard arbitration as a sure-fire way to avoid long and costly employer-employee deadlocks.

What's keeping the Savannah in port is a dispute over wages between the engineers' union, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, and the deck officers represented by the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots. Conflicts over wages between below-decks and topside personnel have been going on ever since steam replaced sails. As the complexity of ships' machinery has increased, engineer pay has gone up, until now it is about on a par with deck officers.

But on the Savannah the engineers' pay, based on the extra training needed to handle the ship's nuclear reactor was about 20 per cent higher than that of deck officers. Result:

But the widespread resort to favorite sons would tend to discourage such tests. Where a respected state leader is given this honor, the real candidates often decide to stay out and not challenge him. Sometimes it is in fear of defeat. Sometimes it reflects a wish to avoid embarrassing the leader on his home grounds.

There are only some 15 states which hold presidential primaries. A few are quite minor. But those in Wisconsin, Oregon and California are among the potentially most significant on the list.

It would hardly be healthy for Republican presidential politics if these states were to be stripped from the agenda of major tests in 1964.

Politicians of course are of two minds about primaries. They devour the evidence they offer of a candidate's salability. They welcome the national publicity they bring the party.

But they really would like these benefits of open competition without the attendant pain. They dislike the divisive effects of battle, the cost and the trouble.

But as the Republicans approach the 1964 contest, their leaders must ask themselves whether the American people want a decision arrived at behind hotel room doors at convention time—or a decision the voters have had at least some part in shaping.

A dispute which in due time was submitted to arbitration. The arbitrator, following historical precedent under which deck officers in charge of a ship earn higher pay than other members of the crew, ruled that whatever the engineers were paid, top deck officers should receive more.

Now this satisfied the deck officers, but was wholly unacceptable to the engineers. Though an effort by Government and the ship's operator to get the arbitration ruling changed was pending in the courts, the engineers turned off the reactor, lights and water, thus forcing officers and everyone else to move ashore. At this, the engineers were fired. So the Savannah's "Atoms for Peace" cruise abroad awaits months-long training of a new engineering crew in the intricacies of nuclear power.

All this is slightly ridiculous. But it's also rather odd that so many people these days are looking to arbitration as the smooth magic which will supplant old-fashioned, often bumpy-road collective bargaining. As the Savannah demonstrates, there's nothing magical about arbitration. Indeed, in this nuclear dispute it even deepened the fissions.



WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

House Committee Scores

By FULTON LEWIS JR.
The operating budget for the House Un-American Activities Committee last year was \$350,000. Debauched taxpayers got their money's worth in a single investigation. Within hours after Radio Moscow had announced the defection to the Soviet Union of two American intelligence operatives, HUAC Chairman Francis Walter ordered an investigation into security practices at the super-secret National Security Agency. House liberals moved quickly

behind the scenes to thwart the HUAC probe. In an effort to persuade Representative Walter to call off his investigation, they managed to get another group—a subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee—to announce its intention of probing NSA.

Undeterred by the presence of other investigators, Chairman Walter continued his work while a liberal columnist howled that the Pennsylvania Democrat was too heavy-handed to probe NSA.

Members of the competing subcommittee quickly demonstrated their interest. They held a handful of hearings, then issued a statement giving NSA a clean bill of health, never bothering to issue a report on their findings.

HUAC probes uncovered the following items, unknown to NSA security officials at the time that Berton F. Mitchell and William H. Martin pulled their disappearing act:

1. Martin associated with known Communists.
2. The two traveled to Castro Cuba in December, 1959, without permission of the agency and in violation of its directives.
3. Martin was sexually abnormal and was, in fact, masochist.
4. Mitchell had posed for nude color slides perched on a velvet-covered stool.
5. Mitchell and Martin were professed agnostics, bitter in their denunciation of the United States, lavish in their praise of the Soviet Union. This was common knowledge among several dozen employees of NSA, but unknown to its Office of Security Services.
6. Mitchell confessed to a psychiatrist in May, 1960, that he had been a homosexual for many years.

Behind closed doors, without any distracting glare of national publicity, the HUAC probes worked hard. They chalked up 2,000 man hours in 15 states tracking down information. Sixteen separate executive session hearings were held. Scores of former NSA employees were interviewed and 24 present and onetime employees were called for sworn testimony.

When Chairman Walter turned over his findings to Defense Department top brass, NSA's director of personnel was fired. Committee investigators discovered that Maurice Klein had falsified his own government record.

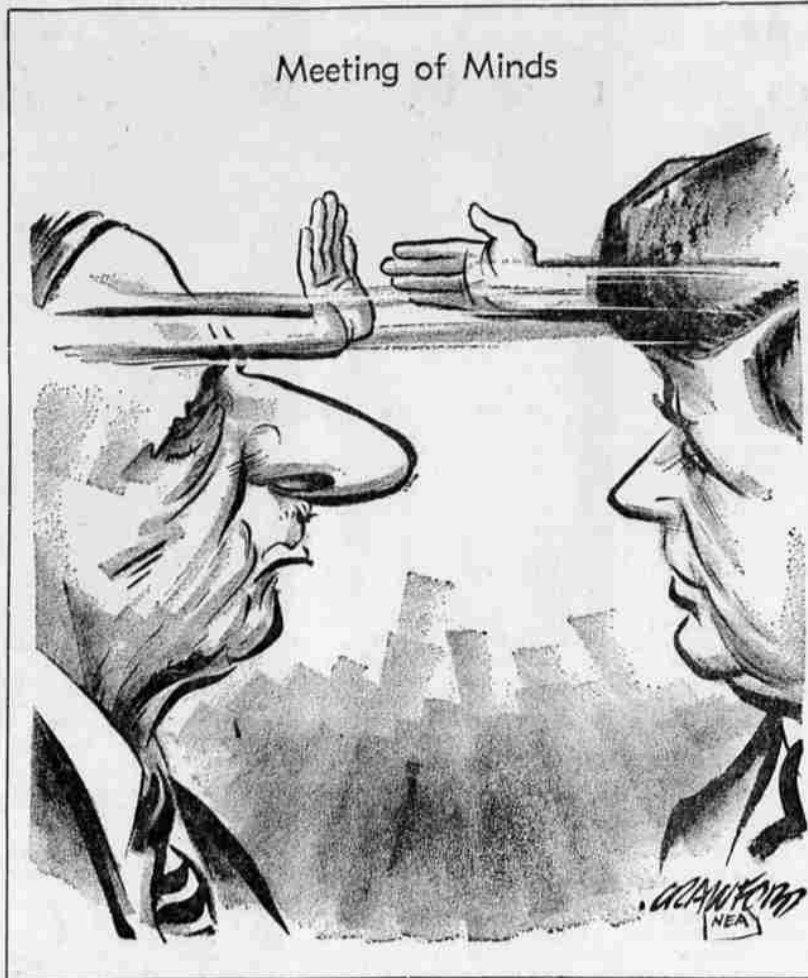
The director of security, S. Wesley Reynolds, and two other employees in the Office of Security Services were also ordered to resign for violation of regulations governing favors and gratuities.

Twenty six employees were dropped from agency rolls for sexual deviation.

Following HUAC recommendations, the Office of Security Services was reorganized to permit "maximum emphasis on counter-intelligence and personnel security." Its investigative staff was extended to handle a much larger number of selected cases. No longer could one medium-grade evaluator pass judgment on the security clearance for a prospective employee.

A key House bill, HR 950, designed to make sweeping reforms in NSA personnel procedures, was reported out of committee. It passed the House earlier this month by a vote of 340-40.

"This case," says Rep. John Ashbrook, who joined HUAC after the NSA investigation, "could well serve as a model for proper cooperation between government agencies and legislative committees."



Helping The Reds To Victory

By DURWARD G. HALL, MISSOURI CONGRESSMAN

We Americans are paying to help make communism work.

Two projects of the Special Fund of the United Nations are now being conducted in Poland. One allocates more than \$1,000,000 to aid Polish agriculture; the other allows at least \$700,000 to help Polish industry. Forty per cent of these grants equals some \$680,000—the amount American taxpayers are coughing up under a deficit budget to help make communism work.

It should be noted that Polish Communist Premier Joseph Cyrankiewicz recently talked with Mexican officials with the announced purpose of pressuring them to lay off Castro.

This Polish agriculture program is not a food-for-peace plan we Americans are subsidizing.

Nor is it a plan whereby our surplus agricultural materials are used to benefit needy persons.

It is a program for which we get no credit, into which we put our dollars and by which we are helping the Reds learn how to feed their people—with them getting credit for any improvement.

American taxpayers are paying to help improve communism's most colossal failure—a failure even they admit. Under the United Nations Special Fund, American taxpayers are contributing to a project designed to teach communists how to feed their people, something they never have been able to do before.

Consider some of the details of this Polish food project.

Last January the Governing Council of the U.N. Special Fund approved expenditures in Poland of \$1,020,500 for a four-year project entitled "Research and Extension Services for Food Production, Processing and Utilization." The goal is the establishment of a national center of nutritional research, education and food extension services, and technical advisory services to the food industry.

The Food and Agriculture Organization—FAO—of the United Nations—remember that farm project in Cuba?—is the executing agency. The discussion of this project in a Special Fund document, marked for "restricted" distribution, notes that Poland wishes to bring "special emphasis to bear on questions of nutritional policy as related to communal feeding."

Poland, the U.N. says, "has embarked on a policy of coordination, extension and upgrading of the research now being done on food production and processing, with a view to solving the most pressing nutritional problems."

No doubt, the Reds are feeling some pressure from the spirited Polish people who are getting a little hungry, but more pointedly—resent being leaved on in kind. In this case, the Reds would welcome a few capitalistic dollars to help them over this rough, Red spot.

The U.N.—without asking the American taxpayer—has agreed to help solve this communist problem. The Special Fund will provide 14 man-years of experts, including a project manager, 9 man-years of fellowships and equipment.

As a final glorious note, the restricted United Nations document observes that, once the United Nations has paid to help get this program and institutes set up, the Red Polish Government will be glad to keep on using them after the U.N. has left.

But solving the Red food crisis is not the only spending concern of the American-battered United Nations. The Special Fund is providing at least \$700,000 for a project entitled "National Center for Training Supervisory Personnel in Industry"—a 3-year project administered by ILO—The International Labor Organization.

The American share of that grant—40 per cent—is \$280,000. I wonder if there are any American cities which have improvement projects needing \$280,000 worth of help?

This industry project, started in 1959, is designed, says the U.N., in a document marked for "limited" distribution: "To develop a center to provide research, consulting services, and specialized training in supervisory techniques, with initial emphasis on preparing personnel to serve as instructors in regional centers."

entment of Poland is preparing to establish a series of training centers in productivity and supervisory techniques to meet both the country's short range and longer range needs."

We in the United States have heard about some of the long range goals of communism. They involve world domination and a threat to bury the free West.

The assistance which the Polish Government asked for, and which the U.N. Special Fund is providing, amounts to making available foreign exchange to pay for the services of international experts, for fellowships and for equipment.

With previous projects, it is much more than total contributions to the Special Fund from this Red satellite.

The international staff consists of four long-term and three short-term experts a year, over the 3 years. The long-term experts are authorities on industrial cost accounting, work study, materials handling, plant transport systems and inventory accounting.

The Special Fund reminds us that: "The (Communist Polish) Government will assume full financial responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the center after the Special Fund's grant has expired."

We are helping the Reds make a success in areas where they never have done so under their own steam.

We are helping strengthen Red Cuba in agriculture.

We are helping Red Yugoslavia in nuclear research.

Under this amazing second foreign aid plan, Americans are giving money to the U.N., letting the U.N. spend it anywhere it wants, and abdicating any chance to check on how our money is spent.

Would it be too much to suggest that, at the very least, the American taxpayers may want to take a look at how the United Nations spends their money to see that it goes where they want it to go?

We are told that an ILO mission to Poland estimated that there were 140,000 Poles in supervisory grades in industry who could benefit by having specialized training. In addition, the ILO estimated that 15,000 Polish engineers require further training.

Let us remember that it was the United Nations who decided this communist nation's engineers needed further training—not the American taxpayers.

The U.N. tells us that "the Gov-



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . . U.S. Beefs Up India To Resist Chinese Reds

By PETER EDSON, Washington Correspondent, Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — The next big question may be how deeply the United States wants to become involved in a possible renewal of the India-Red China war.

To Americans who believe that any military action against Communist China is a good war to get into, military assistance to India may become a sacred cause in Congress, even though economic aid to socialist India has been opposed by congressmen as a waste of money. That's the way the ball bounces in this foreign aid business.

Prior to Oct. 20, 1962, when Red Chinese forces first crossed the border to occupy claimed territory, India had rejected all offers of military assistance.

As Prime Minister Nehru admitted after the invasion, India found that it had been living in a dream world, trying to co-exist with Communist China.

So American military aid became welcome.

In mid-November India signed a military assistance agreement. American MAAG—military assistance advisory group from Army and Air Force—moved in.

It now consists of 45 officers under Maj. Gen. John E. Kelly. But it is sure to grow as supply and training missions are built up.

Under the Nassau agreement of last December, the United States and Britain promised India military assistance valued at \$120 million, about 40 per cent of which has now been delivered. A third of this was British, with minor contributions from Canada and Australia.

The American contribution comes from military assistance funds in the foreign aid program. More than \$80 million has been allocated from current fiscal year appropriations, taking funds from other programs which have been downgraded to a lower priority.

Allocations for the year beginning July 1 are now being calculated on a first-things-first basis, with no estimates yet on what the final figure will be.

A gross figure of \$1.5 billion has been put out by Indian sources as their military assistance requirement. But this figure was not even mentioned by the Indian Defense Minister T. T. Krishnamachari during a week's conferences with U.S. State and Defense Department officials.

Though the 2,000-mile India-China border from Ladakh to

Leh is relatively quiet now, each side is charging the other with preparations to resume fighting. What goes on north of the Himalaya curtain is known only to the Communists. But it is no secret that India is building up her defenses.

All current Indian advice to American officials indicate that war with Red China will not be a short-term border skirmish, but a long-term conflict with special problems.

The terrain is the highest mountain range in the world. Red China has the advantage of a better main supply road across southern Tibet. India has practically no roads at all paralleling the border, and few feeder roads. One of the highest priority items on military aid to India therefore is road building.

Helicopters are useless at high altitudes, but the United States is supplying some C-130 transports from NATO-based squadrons—whose planes, incidentally, must be flown back to Germany for servicing. India bought 50 U.S. C-119 transports in 1960 and will receive another 24 reconditioned planes in June.

The possibility of aerial bombing across the border is of questionable value to India. There are few strategic targets in Tibet or southern Red China. On the other hand, India's teeming cities on the southern plain are vulnerable.

Indian air defense therefore becomes important, and here the British have been principal suppliers of combat planes. Air-to-air missiles have been given to the Indian Air Force, but because of a lack of radar—against which the Himalayas are a formidable barrier—no ground-to-air missiles are in the defense plan yet.

India's ground forces have as their main elements 12 understrength divisions, half of which are mountain troops. India's Fourth Mountain Division was badly mauled in the fighting last October and is being completely re-equipped. But all Indian army units need strengthening. Neither side lacks manpower.

The worst complication in aiding India, however, is that any defense of South Asia must be planned to include Pakistan. Because of India's standing feud with Pakistan over Kashmir, cooperation between the two countries on defense against Red China is nil.

Aid has been given to both Pakistan and Afghanistan, which have now agreed to negotiate their differences.



STRICTLY PERSONAL

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Each time I visit New York, I think that the traffic cannot possibly be any worse—but it always is. On my latest visit, a few weeks ago, I walked the two dozen blocks from my hotel to the theater every night, in order to be on time.

If we want to understand international relations, the simplest analogy lies in a city itself. A city generally does nothing about its problems until the situation gets so bad that only radical remedies will work.

Most cities began one-way streets too late. They restricted parking too late. They built superhighways only when the traffic was so congested that the superhighways were obsolescent by the time they were finished.

Every American metropolis today faces the immense task of turning itself around, of demolition and rebuilding, of cutting out the cancer at its core, of coping with staggering problems of slums and race relations and poor schools and high taxes and the utter lack of planning that has characterized the growth of all large communities.

If we have not had the foresight to come to terms with relatively small problems within a given city, how can we expect that our relations with the world outside our borders can be any more rational?

"Too little too late" may be the epitaph of Western civilization. The modern twin menaces of communism and fascism—which are stronger than ever today, in various guises—could have been effectively aborted without great wars and widespread suffering. But we lacked the foresight, the concerted will, the energy to make the effort.

The most important part of medicine is preventive medicine. Everybody knows this. But we have not applied this knowledge to the social areas, whether it is traffic, or slums, or juvenile delinquency, or war and dictatorship. We spend, by instance, billions on prisons and reformatories, but hardly a penny to erase the so-

cial psychological conditions that create crime and delinquency.

Which American, private or public, was really interested in Cuba during the long dark years of Batista's regime? It was an exotic isle, a pleasure spot, a gambling haven. That it was rottenly overripe for revolution did not concern us—until a Castro looms up 90 miles from our shores, to our shocked surprise, fear and indignation.

No business could exist for more than a year without planning ahead, without spending considerable sums on research and development. But cities go on for years, countries for decades, building useless highways and unnecessary jails, stockpiling arms and making ineffectual treaties, in the name of "realism," while reality slowly crushed them to death.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—What northern European countries became independent states as a result of World War I, and then lost their independent status as a result of World War II?

A—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

Q—How was Lafayette granted United States citizenship? Did Congress confer U.S. citizenship on General Lafayette?

A—Lafayette was made an honorary citizen by two states before independence was achieved, and this was carried over to the new nation later.

Q—How could a man serve for 19 years as United States president?

A—If a vice president succeeds to the presidency and serves two years or less of the unexpired term, he may still be elected to two terms as president. If he has served more than two years of the unexpired term, he may be elected for only one four-year term.

BERRY'S WORLD



"Yeh, Mac, how many 'sides' DOES your Pentagon have?"

THEY SAY . . .

It takes nine days a week and 28 hours a day. And then everybody hates you for it. I don't advise it.

—Homer H. Rhoads of Los Angeles, on how he made \$19 million.

It is not coincidence that whenever political democracy flourishes in the modern world there is also a strong, active, responsible, free trade union movement.

—President Kennedy.

No matter how much the rulers of the United States may pride themselves on their vaunted democracy no one will believe them. There is a democracy of moneybags, exploiters and Ku Klux assassins.

—Moscow paper Komsomolskaya Pravda, on the Birmingham race troubles.

Statistics may be likened to Rikani bathing suits. What they reveal is enticing but what they conceal is vital.

—Dr. Ridgeway Trimble of Johns Hopkins Hospital.

I do not condemn people who sit down in the streets to ban the bomb. I condemn people who do not have any views at all.

—Peter Thorneycroft, British Minister of Defense.