

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Independence Unfinished

Four score and seven years ago — plus a full century—the Declaration of Independence was signed. That was a long time ago, at least as we measure time by our individual lives.

Perhaps that is why it is so easy to think of Independence Day as merely commemorating an event that happened once and was over with, that is just another fact of history, just another date.

We tend to forget that July 4, 1776, was more than one self-contained day in history. It was the watershed from which has streamed a great, ever-broadening river of freedom into our own time.

We are wrong if we think of July 4th as marking the day when freedom was brought forth by decree and handed to posterity. Independence, even after the end of the Revolutionary War, was not a completed event. It was a continuing process, an evolution, a growth.

Freedom in America is still an unfinished business.

This involves more than the fact that in the past 187 years millions of Americans have

given their lives in defending their nation against external enemies. This is, perhaps, the easiest form of patriotism. In war, the enemy is obvious, and the course of duty clear.

More difficult is it sometimes to recognize other enemies of freedom—not necessarily persons, but ideas, entrenched interests, prejudices hallowed by tradition.

At one time, freedom in America was for the "respectable" people, those who owned enough property to qualify for the right to vote. Throughout our history, too often freedom has been abridged or denied to certain classes and minority groups because of ethnic background, religion, economic status, political beliefs.

Yet eventually these groups attained full acceptance into citizenship — not by riot or revolution but by steady evolution within the framework of the Constitution.

That is the pride and the glory of the United States—and the hope of those who are not yet as free as others.

July 4, 1963, is another marker buoy on the river of freedom. Beyond, in the future, where the current is pulling, can be seen a great vista that embraces the world.

Taming The Teamster Jungle

(The Christian Science Monitor)

A jury in Newark, New Jersey, has convicted Anthony Provenzano, a vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, on charges of having extorted \$17,100 from an employer of members of his union.

By some accounts, "Tony Pro" has been considered the second most powerful figure in the teamsters' union — second only to James R. Hoffa, president, who is in court in Nashville, Tennessee, for having allegedly tampered with a jury.

Members of the ruling faction in the corruption-ridden teamsters' union try to construe government action against their officers as a vendetta between Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and James Hoffa. It is much more than that. It began under the Eisenhower administration. It is an effort of the government to give rank-and-file members control over their own union, protection

against tuggery, and relief from being sold out by self-elected officials.

Shortly before the trial of Provenzano a shop steward who opposed his control of Local 560 was killed in Hoboken. Even if Provenzano goes to prison, his control over the New Jersey docks may not immediately be broken. But the record is not one to encourage him or the men among whom Hoffa rose to the top.

Out of 72 indictments obtained by the Department of Justice against teamster officials in the last several years, 22 convictions have been obtained. Among the convicted are William Presser in Ohio; Anthony Corallo, New York; Floyd Hayes, Kansas City; and Roland B. McMaster and George Roxburgh in Detroit. The largest union in the country deserves a better quality of leadership than that.



HOLMES ALEXANDER . . .

ARA Fails In Objectives

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Foregoing shadows of next year's presidential election crept over the Senate floor in last week's debate on the increasing funds for the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA).

Bennett of Utah said the initials stood for Mr. Kennedy's Administration Reflection Agency.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

School Books

Two of the editorials in last Sunday's paper were of particular interest to me. The first, excerpts from ex-President Eisenhower's May 18 Post article, had been read and discussed here when our Post arrived. We were glad to see you call it to the attention of good citizens everywhere.

The second item, "We Need New School Books?" drew a loud amen here. We have only one average school-age youngster — three more approaching that age — and have heard this complaint for the past two years—second and third grade. Who can blame children who are hearing "Arabian Nights," "The Silver Skates," "Kipling's," "Just-So Stories," "All About Books" (Random House), etc., and watching even the good TV programs at home for failure to get excited about "Uncle Lem's New Outboard Motor," etc.

Can't our youngsters learn something along with their reading. I think they are far more intelligent than some educators give them credit for being.

And whoever says horror is not for children, has no children, has never listened to children play and has certainly never read the children's classics.

Many thanks for publishing this type of thought-provoking editorial.

Mrs. Gene G. Walker, Box 5, Harriman Rte.

Douglas of Illinois chided Bennett with voting for Big Business appropriations, such as the Export-Import banking bill, while being indifferent to the woes of the unemployed.

These, of course, are the standard views which each party takes of the other. Republicans see the Democrats as always buying votes with the people's own money. Democrats see the Republicans as trucking with the big money interests. Republicans find that the spend-and-act projects such as ARA never bring much lasting improvement. Democrats say that the private enterprise system has no social conscience, and can't be trusted to do what's right for the economy.

The country would be lucky if the domestic issues next year could be laid that flatly on the line. They won't be because so much else, such as the personalities of the candidates and the distraction of foreign affairs, will also get into the campaign. But there are debates, such as this one, which tell in miniature, more of what the political struggle is all about, and what the state of the nation is, than the big drama of a national election ever quite does.

The act creating ARA was offered in 1961 by a new Administration sincerely concerned over chronic unemployment in specific distressed areas. The bill was passed by a Congress equally concerned but dubious as to the methods.

There are already nearly 100 government agencies which offer services to aid local development. The two best known and most active are the Small Business Administration, generally urban in its activities, and the Rural Area Development program of the Agriculture Department. In addition, there are about 14,000 local agencies, both public and private, which are engaged in trying to attract business to their communities.

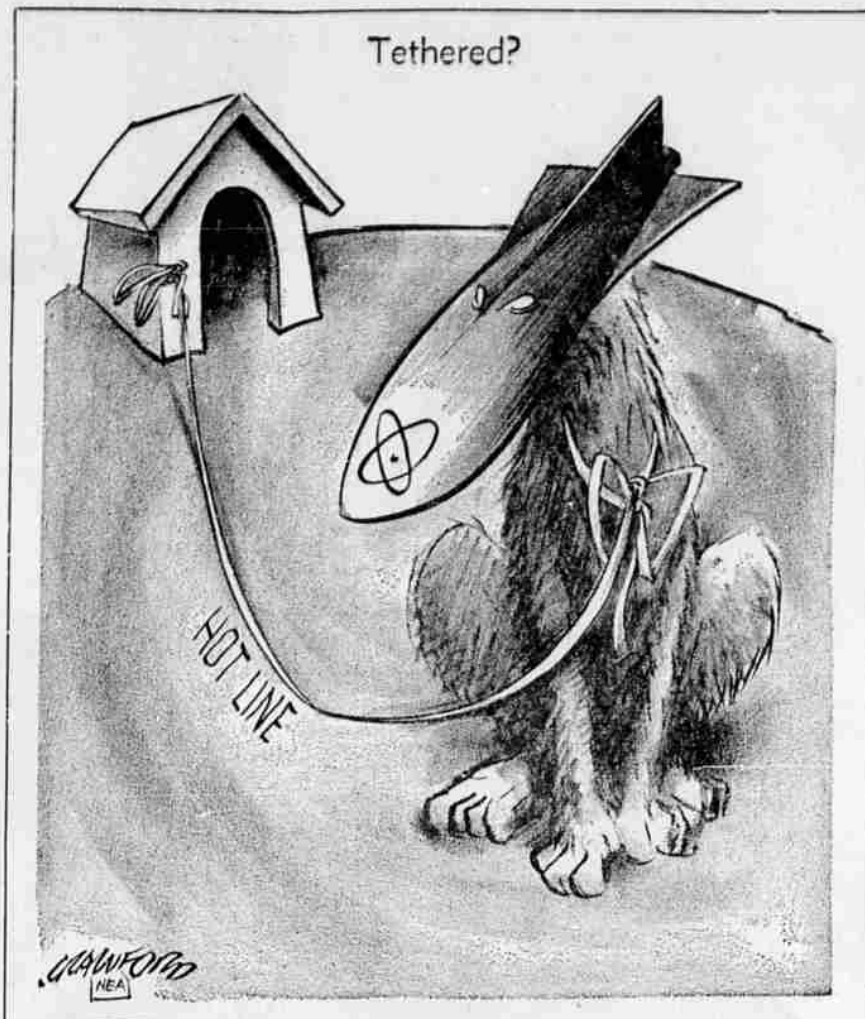
If ARA had a special mission, it was to concentrate entirely upon places, of which West Virginia is always the given ex-

ample, where all else has failed and where large numbers of people have been out of work for a long while. But instead of using the precision method, the ARA bill ended by making more than 1,000 of the nation's 3,072 counties eligible for these redevelopment loans. The largesse was spread too thin. The 42,000 new permanent jobs which ARA says will eventually result from 285 approved projects are scattered around the country, not concentrated in the places of most distress. Only 16,000 of these jobs actually existed as of June 13.

Worse, ARA attempted a defiance of natural economic law by planting business lures in places where business would not normally go. Failing to entice industry into uncongenial climates, ARA spent the money anyhow on fringe enterprises and frivolities. For example, it approved funds for a convention auditorium in Duluth, Minn. Only 22 permanent jobs were created, and they cost the taxpayer \$277,272 apiece. It turns out that about 73 per cent of loans and grants for developing industrial facilities, such as water and electricity, have gone into vague schemes for sites that may never be occupied by business. Recreation and tourism have taken more than 30 cents to the dollar which was earmarked for creating year-round industrial jobs.

But since these communities do exist where business cannot profitably go, and since there are people who will not or cannot migrate from these doomed areas, a theoretical case can be made for ARA on a limited scale. One Republican, Scott of Pennsylvania, tried for an amendment which would have abated the worst abuses, chiefly those of bureaucratic overgrowth.

His amendment drew only 28 votes. This is perhaps a measure of how unwilling politicians are to correct their legislative mistakes. ARA will remain, not because it does much about unemployment, but because it lets politicians boast that they have "done something" for their states.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Kennedy Speech Ominous

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

It is heartwarming for Americans to know that most of Berlin turned out to greet President Kennedy. America still remains the symbol of freedom and power, however much we may have traded away that birthright in recent years. If the reports are accurate, the reception for the President in West Berlin must have been much like the great emotional outpouring of the Poles when Vice President Nixon visited Warsaw in 1959. I was on that memorable ride from the airport to the center of the city then—and it was perhaps the most moving experience of my life.

As in Berlin last week, the Poles cheered and wept and sang. To them, as to the Berliners, the man they cheered was not an official but America personified. He was hope and the future. He was the dream which the oppressed of Europe have held for generations. He was the free air and the abundant life of an America which continues to beckon.

But when President Kennedy spoke at the Free University in West Berlin, there was one cold and ominous note in his address which, if the Communists exploit it properly, can mean the difference between defeat and victory

for the free world in the cold war. To those on this side of the Iron Curtain, it did not at the moment have too much significance. But to the people imprisoned behind it, there could only be one reaction: despair.

Said the President: "When the possibilities of reconciliation appear, we in the West will make it clear that we are not hostile to any people or system, provided they choose their own destiny without interfering with the free choice of others."

At best, this is a historically inadequate statement. At worst, it tells the captive nations and the people of the Soviet Union: "The United States is ready to come to agreement with your masters."

This is the policy of decadence and fear. It stems from the curious and twisted analysis of contemporary history enunciated by Walt Whitman Rostow and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in White House councils. It is the kind of thinking which led to the Bay of Pigs fiasco and to our present horrifying position as caretaker for Comrade Khrushchev of the Castro tyranny.

The President's cynicism, therefore, expresses the further reversal of American foreign policy which began when the New Fron-

tier took over. American policy has always been boldly based on open and uncompromising hostility to Communism and to the Communist system in Eastern Europe. Otherwise, why the billions we have spent in foreign aid to the detriment of the American economy? Why the Korean War or the South Vietnamese intervention? But Mr. Kennedy now tells us that we are not hostile to any system—and that includes Communism.

Well, I continue to be hostile to Communism. Most of the American people continue to be hostile to Communism. Some may have been willing to accept the arguments of the New Frontier that to call for liberation now is not expedient—but they have believed in the moral position liberalism implies. This has now been tossed out the window. The liberal pundits are pleased, but what do the American people say? Have they read the speech and do they accept its prescription for "peace in our time?"

The tragedy of the President's speech is compounded by the fact that it was delivered at the edge of the Iron Curtain and close to the Berlin Wall. Had President Kennedy used the occasion to pledge American support for the captive peoples, to make a ringing statement of America's intent to bury Communism (just as Khrushchev has said he would bury the free West), and to call for a re-dedication of freedom, the effect on the Communist empire would have been incalculable.

At present, there is great turmoil among the captive nations. They are extremely restive. The economic ties with the Soviet Union, under the COMECON (Council on Mutual Economic Assistance) system, have been disrupting the orderly development of their industry and foreign trade. Communist leaders in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany want desperately to find a way of breaking loose—if only to hold the people in check. A courageous speech by the President would have sparked riots in those three countries, adding immeasurably to Comrade Khrushchev's difficulties. It might have meant revolution.

STRICTLY PERSONAL



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Don't you imagine that if there were one single answer to the problem of human beings living together, that we would have long ago found it and applied it to the human society?

This is the question I always feel like asking the "single-minded" people who write to me with their definite recipes for curing our ills. These people have what someone has called "monocular vision"—they see through a glass eye darkly.

They fall into three principal groups—the religious-minded, the political-minded, and the psychological-minded. And none of these groups is very interested in what the others have to say.

What they fail to understand is the difference between the necessary and the sufficient. It is necessary to adopt an ethical viewpoint based on common religious beliefs—but it is not sufficient. It is necessary to evolve a political and social order of greater flexibility and fairness—but it is not sufficient. It is necessary to have deeper insight into the emotional working of ourselves and others—but it is not sufficient.

The art of life—if we ever master it—is the art of combination. The single-minded people cannot see this; they remind one of the old fable about the different organs of the body arguing about which was the most essential—the lungs, the stomach, the liver, and so on.

Of course, in physiological terms, we know that it is the process that is most important—the interaction of the organs, the combinations, the dynamic relationships that obtain among them. Good medicine is always "holistic." In that it considers the entire person as a patient, and not just a part of him.

In the same way, the person as a social being cannot be con-

sidered in a religious vacuum, or a political vacuum, or a psychological vacuum. It is the ways in which the various aspects of his personality combine and function that determine what sort of person, and what sort of community, we shall have.

What is so hard about creating a good human society is not that we do not have the answers, but that everybody has a part of the answers, and thinks they are the whole. We will not combine our truths, modify our assumptions, integrate our world-view into someone else's. For no error in the universe is so dangerous as a part-truth that is tenaciously held as a full truth.

BERRY'S WORLD



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

Economizers Haven't Been Doing Too Well

By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.
WASHINGTON (NEA) — Your federal government begins the fiscal year 1964, as of July 1, in the usual confused financial shape.

The President has signed into law only one appropriation bill to run the government in the coming year. It's the Treasury-Post Office appropriation for \$6 billion. If everything else is allowed to go to pot, it's well to keep the mails going and the bills paid. This record is a net improvement of one more appropriation bill passed than a year ago. House Appropriations Committee Chairman Clarence Cannon and Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Carl Hayden were then having their feud over which side of the Capitol they'd meet on to compromise their differences.

They didn't settle the issue till July, while government ran on the cull.

In all emergencies, Senate and House pass and the President signs into law a bill giving government agencies temporary authority to go on paying the help and spending other money. That's the way it will be done this year until Congress gets around to completing action on appropriations for newly authorized programs, gosh only knows when.

In the meantime, the economizers haven't been doing too well.

Early in the session Republican leaders announced they were going to cut the President's 1964 budget of \$98.9 billion by 15 per cent—\$14.9 billion. Present indications are they won't cut it even 10 per cent, and maybe not even five per cent.

You can only have had dreams about what might do to the tax cut. If it has to wait for action on appropriation bills, it won't be decided till after Labor Day, and maybe after Armistice Day.

There have been some promising cuts made by the House Appropriations Committee, where money bills originate. The Pentagon's \$49 billion budget was cut

\$1.9 billion in committee. A 15 per cent cut would have been \$7.3 billion. But on the House floor, only one cut of \$10 million on procurement of Army radios by competitive bidding was made. This was victory after a two-year fight by Rep. Earl Wilson, R-Ind.

The box score following on House economizing now looks like this, in comparison to what 15 per cent cuts would be with appropriation, budget request, House cut, and the 15 per cent cut in that order:

Agriculture	\$7.2 billion	\$398 million	\$1.1 billion	\$7.3 billion
Defense	\$49 billion	\$1.9 billion	\$7.3 billion	\$49 billion
Interior	\$1 billion	\$43 million	\$154 million	\$1 billion
Legislative	\$145 million	\$8.5 million	\$22 million	\$145 million
Treasury-Post Office	\$6 billion	\$101 million	\$906 million	\$6 billion
State	\$2.1 billion	\$308 million	\$323 million	\$2.1 billion

This last item is the closest economizers have come to making a 15 per cent cut. The big money bills on which substantial savings are possible are the \$5.3 billion space program, the \$5.3 billion Health, Education and Welfare bill and the \$4.5 billion for foreign aid.

President Kennedy has done a little juggling on his January budget requests. First he voluntarily recommended cuts in his programs amounting to \$629 million. But in his civil rights message he recommended taking \$400 million of this and spending it for aids to integrated education, employment security, health and welfare programs.

The President has also recommended a few increases in the 1964 budget for Bureau of Reclamation, Corps of Engineers, Tennessee Valley Authority and Veterans Administration. But they total only \$6.7 million. This can be covered in the \$250 million appropriated for contingencies.

Perhaps the best news is that the budget deficit for fiscal 1963 will not be as large as the \$3.8 billion predicted. Treasury won't have final figures for some weeks, but expenditures will be a little below the \$94.3 billion estimated.

And receipts will be above the \$85.5 billion estimated.

WASHINGTON REPORT . . .



Civil Rights Section Said Unconstitutional

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell stopped off at Long Beach, Calif., the other day, where he was billed as guest of honor at a testimonial dinner given by 1,500 of his friends.

Ninety per cent of those "friends" stayed home and in the end Powell addressed only 150 of the faithful. He called the President's Civil Rights Message "the greatest statement since the Emancipation Proclamation" and then revealed why he thought so: "The Harlem minister says he wrote half of it. 'I rewrote half of that speech the night before it was delivered to Congress. The President had no intention of including many of the points that he did in his message.'"

The White House had "no comment" when queried about the Powell blast. The Harlem Congressman refused to elaborate on his statement. He has been "out of the office." He refuses to return his car. His office does not know where he can be reached.

It is uncertain, therefore, exactly who thought up one section of the President's bill that is said to be unconstitutional. Some of the lawyers in Robert Kennedy's Justice Department are said to consider that Section 11 barring discrimination in all "public places" is at present unconstitutional. They are confident, however, that the present Supreme Court will reverse an old decision which called the proposal unconstitutional.

In March, 1875, the Reconstruction Congress passed a bill that banned segregation in public places. "All persons within the United States," read the bill, "were entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and other places of public amusement."

The constitutionality of the act was challenged and the Supreme Court handed down its ruling on Oct. 3, 1883. The federal government, said the court, had no power to impose such restriction on the use and enjoyment of private property, even if it was in part dedicated to a public use.

The 14th Amendment, the court explained, does not permit Congress to enact a statute securing equal accommodations in inns, restaurants, and places of public amusement. It guarantees only equal protection of the laws.

Sen. Sam Ervin, a former ju-

stice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, is expected to help lead the Southerners in opposition to the Administration bill. He disputes the Administration's claim that the public accommodation statute can be justified under the interstate commerce clause. The Senator, widely respected as a constitutional authority, said the other day: "When the Founding Fathers inserted the interstate commerce clause in the original Constitution, they intended to authorize Congress to regulate economic activities carried on in interstate commerce—not uses of property or personal relations within the borders of a state."

His argument is accepted by others outside Dixie. Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen says the Constitution is not so elastic that it can be twisted 180 degrees. He agrees with Ervin, who argues that passage of the public accommodations section will mean the death knell of states rights. Says Ervin: "If Congress has the power under the commerce clause to enact the public accommodations section on the theory that such places of public accommodations sell or use commodities which in times past have moved in interstate commerce, then Congress has the power to regulate the conduct of all human beings residing anywhere within the United States."

This is obvious, explains Sen. Ervin, because brides and grooms wear clothes which have been moved in interstate commerce; babies use diapers and safety pins which have moved in interstate commerce; and corpses are consigned to the grave in caskets which have moved in interstate commerce.

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Wednesday, July 3, the 184th day of 1963 with 181 to follow.

The moon is approaching its full phase.

The morning stars are Venus, Jupiter and Saturn.

The evening star is Mars.

On this day in history:

In 1963, the tide of the Civil War was turned at Gettysburg, as Union forces crushed the charge of Confederate Gen. George Pickett.

In 1890, Idaho became the 43rd state to enter the Union.