

Herald and News

Editorial Page

When Experts Keep Silent

In America today, the man who masters a specialty of major consequence, like space or nuclear or military science, is sometimes judged to be an expert in fields beyond his own.

To some degree this has perhaps always been so in this country. When industrialists were building America in earlier decades, they were listened to on everything under the sun.

Yet there is great danger in imagining that the man with expertise in one realm is thereby qualified to make broad political, economic or moral judgments.

For instance, the scientist who works at improving our nuclear weapons is not by that fact necessarily fit to tell us when and how, as a nation, to use them or to say we should not use them at all.

Similarly, the general who spends a great deal of his time fathoming the military tactics of Communist nations is not by that alone qualified to judge best what we should do about Red tactics in the political and diplomatic world.

A number of prominent men get into this problem in a new document prepared for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a Ford Foundation offshoot.

Charles Frankel, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, says most political

decisions involve weighing evidence from a wide range of different specialties. He adds:

"This means that even those who are experts in one field become laymen the moment they move into another field."

"No one today can be an expert in all the fields that he should ideally be... to make public decisions."

What counts in such decisions, says Frankel, is not "omnipotent knowledge but something closer to wisdom and common sense, and an understanding of when and where and for what reasons to rely on the advice of experts."

As another contributor to the document, Arkansas' Sen. J. William Fulbright, observes, this kind of judgment is especially required where matters of morals are concerned.

"There are no experts in morals," says Frankel.

A subject apart is how to get wise, broad, common sense judgments from both the rank and file electorate and the political leadership in a democracy.

It is enough here to make the one big point: "Expertise" does not transfer. The major public decisions involving our goals, our moral bent, our pace of effort, our priorities in national life, are not the province of the narrow specialist however supreme he is in his chosen field.

The Television Wrestlers

(Washington Post)

Television wrestling is, for all its synthetic sadisms, probably the safest of all professional sports. Ballplayers, as you know, are sometimes felled by line drives or put out of action with broken fingers. Matadors are sometimes painfully gored. Boxing has become so lethal as to incur a papal condemnation. Golfers must take the risk of ivy poisoning in the rough, of flea bites in the sandtraps and of bee stings on the putting greens. But if anybody has ever been seriously injured in a televised wrestling bout, it has escaped our notice; indeed we never cease to be as-

tonished by the frantic eagerness of the participants to renew the combat even after the decision has been announced.

Wrestling is also the most egalitarian of sports. In other forms of athletic endeavor the race is usually to the swift, the battle to the strong and favor to men of skill. But wrestling championships appear to be awarded on the basis of popularity, and since crowds are notoriously fickle with their favorites the title is constantly passing from one performer to another, so that in the end, probably, everybody gets a fair turn at being champion. This, we take it, is in the true democratic tradition.



THE GLOBAL VIEW...

Softer Policy For Bonn?

By LEON DENNEN

Newspaper Enterprise Analyst

NEW YORK (NEA)—President Kennedy's swing through Europe coincided with what his "liberal" advisers call the "end of the Konrad Adenauer era" in West Germany.

The 87-year-old chancellor, known as der Alte, who so ably guided Bonn's destinies for 14 years, will be succeeded in August by his economics minister, Prof. Ludwig Erhard.

Though the President lavished praise on the retiring chancellor when they met in Bonn, influential members of the Kennedy Administration are not sorry to see the "stubborn old man" go. They never liked the "reactionary" Adenauer who doggedly resisted Western concessions to Moscow, especially on Berlin.

Yet even the cheers of the millions of disciplined Germans who greeted President Kennedy cannot obscure the fact that Adenauer's departure carries new elements of uncertainty into NATO which is already in dangerous disarray.

It was Dr. Adenauer's historic achievement that he guided Germany's rehabilitation and tied the Bonn Republic to the West through NATO and the European unification movement based on French-German reconciliation. But even Erhard's fervent partisans concede that he does not

have Adenauer's unwavering attachment to the West.

Chancellor Adenauer was strongly opposed to the man who will succeed him because he did not consider Erhard a suitable political leader to steer Germany through perilous times.

Bonn's new chancellor is a brilliant economist. He is justly regarded as the architect of the "miracle" of German economic recovery and prosperity through his "social market economy" based on private enterprise. But Erhard is not a fighter like the tough old man whom he succeeds. His views on international affairs, including the cold war, are at best hazy.

Erhard is also closely associated with some of Bonn's leading industrialists who are convinced that a solution to Germany's problems can be found halfway between the West and the Russian bloc. They are hardly Communists or even pro-Russian. But, in search of new and profitable markets, they would like to be friends with everybody and postpone to a distant future the disagreeable task of taking sides.

They want Germany to be neutral while the West, especially the United States, holds the Reds in check.

NATO diplomats thus believe that there was more than mere coincidence that when Premier Khrushchev recently invited Erhard to visit Moscow he used as

his emissary Berthold Beitz, manager of West Germany's Krupp works.

Beitz, in fact, is emerging as a dominant figure among German industrialists whose deals with the Russians should be watched by the West. In recent months, he spent more time visiting the Iron Curtain countries and negotiating secretly with Khrushchev than managing the Krupp industrial empire at home.

According to the German newspaper Sontagsblatt, industry, trade and economy are the only links between Germany and Russia that have never been entirely broken. "And Mr. Berthold Beitz is intent on more than strengthening these links. He also wants to tighten the wire of political understanding," Sontagsblatt said.

Krupp's manager is a representative of "Big Capital," to be sure. But he is obviously considered by Khrushchev as a friendly capitalist who wants to sell the Russians even strategic war goods. He is also close to Erhard.

In 1922, "realistic" German politicians and businessmen signed at Rapallo a secret economic and military treaty with Soviet Russia's emissaries under the very noses of the victorious Western allies.

Rapallo prepared the ground for Hitler's war almost two decades later.

Will history repeat itself under Professor Erhard?



Letters To The Editor

Deerslaying

I have read with much interest Mr. Hubler's letter about the Game Commission's abundance of deer. Such letters burn up any true sportsman and lover of the outdoors. The small minority he spoke of that scared the pants off of the Game Commission consisted of 50,000 true sportsmen that signed the petitions to stop the ruthless butchery of does and little fawns.

I don't believe over 51,000 were asked to sign the petitions so 50 out of 51 is a small minority.

I took petition after petition around and only one said he didn't care to put his name to any kind of a petition, and two believed that the killing of does wouldn't deplete the deer herds.

I am glad we scared the pants off of the Game Commission; so they closed the interstate unit to give only 500 permits for the Klamath unit.

My hope is that every true sportsman will apply for a doe permit and use it to start a campfire. I sure intend too. That way we'll save a few more does to produce bucks and save a few

more little fawns from a death by cold and starvation, because some brute has killed their mothers.

Let's everyone of us, when we meet a doe killer, ostracize him and try to do all we can to make him see the ignorance of that talk about the lack of forage for the deer. Then, if he still persists in the murder of does, make it so miserable for him he'll go home.

As to the talk about all the deer up around the snow line—where is the snow line? At the North Pole? Sure you can see a deer now and then as they are here and there, but not 25 and 100 in a band. There are no more deer up near the snow line than anywhere else.

As to the lack of browse. The only place there's a lack of browse is where the cattle and sheep have destroyed the feed that rightfully belonged to the deer.

If Mr. Hubler saw so many deer in the Lava Beds, they had either been killed by poachers or died as a result of some epidemic, not a lack of feed.

I'm not a tenderfoot hunter by any means, but a true sportsman who enjoys the out-of-doors whether I get a deer or not, and if I

can't get a buck and do it legally I don't want a deer. Two years ago I could have brought a monster of a buck home if I had been the type of some of the so-called sportsmen. I saw a buck I would say weighed at least 250 pounds, near Keno Springs, by my headlights, and no one was within miles, but I let him go without molesting him. I could have killed him easily then told how easily I got my buck and been a real hero to some, but in my own mind I would have been a rat.

Paul E. Pfeiffer, 5002 Denver Ave.

Puzzling

I noted with interest and admiration your remarks in Sunday's paper regarding the arrogant behavior of our sheriff.

You mentioned the surprising lack of comment of protest against the actions of the office of sheriff and district attorney. I have spoken to many people regarding the last few charges brought against the sheriff. It seems to be the opinion of most of the people I have spoken to that he is being persecuted! A man is held in jail for 105 days and denied his legal rights and the Lord High Sheriff is Persecuted! It is my belief that the people of Klamath County deserve what they have put in office and are allowing to stay in office if they are not sufficiently aroused to demand an immediate change.

The other comment I have received puzzles me most of all. This comment is that the sheriff is a Democrat and they could never vote for someone who is not a Democrat. I am also registered as a Democrat, Mr. Editor, but I would like to know when, or why should a political party enter into the enforcement of the law?

I am employed by people who are very easy to work for and as lenient as any employers I have ever had. They have shown that they like me as a person and they have shown respect for me. Yet I have no delusion as to how long I would hold this job were I to make repeated mistakes that proved to be costly to my employers; especially regarding duties to which they have gone to great lengths and expense to train me.

Elaine York, 2121 Applegate.

STRICTLY PERSONAL



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Our naive and pathetic national faith in "questionnaires" and their results was again demonstrated recently, when a news story out of Washington disclosed that the government has decided to find out what Americans think about money and investment.

The U.S. Census Bureau is going to sample 3,600 families in 100 areas in an effort to obtain statistical data on public attitudes toward "disposable income."

In a formal statement, the bureau said, "This information can be obtained only from the individuals involved and will be of great help to those responsible for the nation's monetary policies."

What we think about the uses of money, and how our practices square with our expressed thoughts, will never be told to the government or to anyone else—because we ourselves are confused, contradictory, and the truth is buried deep in our own unconscious motivations.

Money, like sex, is a subject that cannot be verbalized adequately. It carries too much psychic weight, it means too many different things on too many levels, it has symbolic significance that goes far beyond any canons of prudence or common sense.

Any experienced broker will tell you that even the customers who voluntarily come to him for counseling and investment won't reveal their real motives—in many cases, because they are not aware of them. They will say one thing and mean another; they will take only the "advice" they were prepared to take before they stepped into his office.

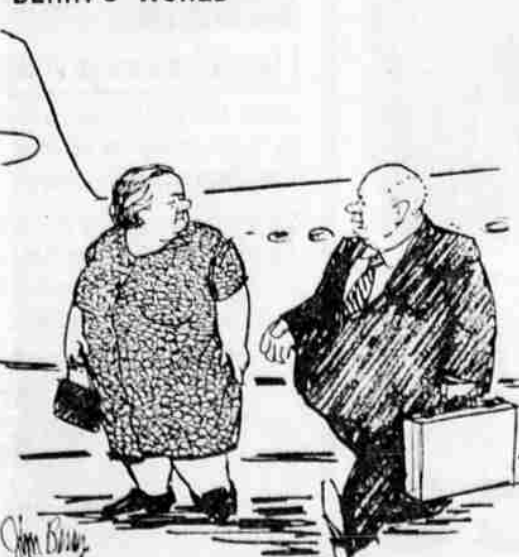
What they really want—again in money as in sex—is the child's fantasy of omnipotence to come magically true for them. They want to make an investment that will do everything for them—give them rapid growth, quick profits, absolute security, and prove to themselves that they are

both sagacious and the favorite of the gods.

Money has many meanings for everybody, and some of these meanings go far back into childhood; how else explain the multi-millionaire who becomes panicky if he loses a few thousand in one month, or the man who makes and loses several fortunes in a lifetime? They may seem to be rational businessmen, but they are driven by irrational forces that have nothing to do with the reality of the present situation.

What people answer to questionnaires is what they think the questioner would like to hear, or what makes the best impression, or what they may sincerely (however mistakenly) believe about themselves. A questionnaire may, more or less accurately, tell us what someone thinks about someone else; never what he feels about himself.

BERRY'S WORLD



"If you think Moscow is depressing, you should see East Berlin."



EDSON IN WASHINGTON...

Gross National Product Lagging

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent

Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA)—Internal Revenue Service has just reported that for the third year in a row American business receipts were in excess of one trillion dollars.

That's \$1,000 billion or \$1,000,000,000,000, an amount to ponder on.

This accounting for the calendar year 1962 and for business fiscal years ending in 1962 was made from income tax returns filed by nearly 11.4 million business concerns.

The returns came from 9.2 million sole proprietors, 939,000 partnerships and 1.2 million corporations. Corporate returns were over a million for the third year in a row. Every figure is up over the previous income tax year except the number of partnerships—down about 1,600—and their volume of business, down \$276 million.

Business profits rose 4.3 per cent during the year to \$37.4 billion. Profits of corporations were up 3.4 per cent to over \$32 billion. Profits of sole proprietors were up six per cent to \$25.7 billion and profits of partnerships up four per cent to \$9.7 billion, in spite of the drop in concerns.

This statistical rundown hardly indicates that U.S. business is terrible or that private enterprise is about to disappear.

But with these figures in mind, it is interesting to take a look at Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon's pretty realistic round-up on the economy in his talk before the National Coal Association.

Speaking of more recent economic developments, Dillon pointed out that in the past 12 months, U.S. gross national product has risen \$28 billion or 5.5 per cent to an annual rate of \$380 billion. He said this isn't good enough.

The bad part of the situation is that unemployment is up from 5.5 per cent of the labor force a year ago to 5.9 per cent in May, and likely to go over six per cent for June, as graduates start looking for jobs.

"To put it another way," says Dillon, "we would need an average GNP rise of \$14 billion a

quarter—beginning now—to close the gap between unemployment and output by the end of 1964." At the present growth rate of a little over \$8 billion a quarter, it would take 10 years to reach the interim target of four per cent unemployment.

One reason Dillon gives for the increased unemployment is that by June 30, 1964, there will be 10 million more Americans than there were the day President Kennedy took office. Population is growing faster than jobs.

This gave the secretary—who is a Republican, by the way—his chance to put in a plug for the administration tax program, which is having its troubles in Congress.

House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., now hopes to get a tax bill passed by the House by late July or early August. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., has promised he won't delay action on the House bill, although he is personally opposed to the administration program. But if the bill runs into a Senate filibuster on civil rights there's no telling whether a tax bill can be passed to become effective next Jan. 1.

If the bill can be passed by Oct. 1, says Dillon, there would be \$10 billion in tax relief in the following 15 months. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress has estimated this would eventually increase GNP by \$40 billion, which would give a considerable lift to employment.

On the question of reducing government expenses to offset the tax cut, Dillon charges that there has been a lot of "loose and spendthrift oratory" on holding 1964 expenditures to the 1963 level.

"The truth is," says Dillon, "that the entire \$4.5 billion increase can be accounted for in only three areas—defense, space and interest on the public debt. The total of all other expenditures is being held below the 1963 levels."

If this is irresponsible financing, it was not reflected in the most recent Treasury bond offering of \$1.2 billion bonds maturing in 1970. It drew subscriptions of \$16.2 billion, or nearly 14 times the offer.

WASHINGTON REPORT...

Interest Conflicts Under Senate Study



By FULTON LEWIS JR.

A wealthy Deputy Secretary of Defense who formerly served in the Administration of Harry Truman has submitted his resignation.

Tennis-playing, thrice-married Russell Gilpatrick will step down this summer to return to a lucrative New York law practice. Meanwhile, investigators of John McClellan's Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee have turned up information pointing to a possible conflict of interest on Gilpatrick's part.

Gilpatrick, whose former law firm had General Dynamics Corporation, as a client, did not disqualify himself from negotiations that led up to the controversial \$3 billion TFX contract won by that company.

The subcommittee, which seeks to determine whether General Dynamics — of the Boeing Company — deserved the contract, has discovered the following:

1. Gilpatrick's law firm, Cravath, Swaine and Moore, continues to represent General Dynamics and has received more than \$300,000 in legal fees.

2. One of Gilpatrick's law partners has been named a director of General Dynamics.

3. Gilpatrick plans to rejoin Cravath, Swaine and Moore upon service.

4. Gilpatrick has refused to tell reporters about legal fees he has received since joining the Government in January, 1961.

A second top-ranking Administration figure is also under Senate investigation for possible conflict of interest. He is Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth, a Fort Worth banker before he accepted his Pentagon position.

Korth was president of the Continental National Bank and a director of the Bell Aerospace Corporation which borrowed funds from his bank. He plans to rejoin the bank when his present job is finished.

Observes Iowa Congressman H. R. Gross: "This past relationship to the Continental National Bank does create a problem of conflict of interest when the Bell Aerospace Corporation or any other firm doing business with Continental National Bank is involved in a contract competition that must be considered by the Navy."

A subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee head-

ed by Mississippi's John Stennis has been looking into a Defense Department contract for the X-22, an experimental vertical take-off craft.

The Bell Aerospace Corporation sought the contract. So did the Douglas Aircraft Company. Testimony before the Stennis Subcommittee revealed that the Navy Source Selection team was unanimously for the Douglas Company on the basis of a superior technical proposal and a lower price. The Bell proposal was rated as "unacceptable" in four major areas.

Nevertheless, Bell received the contract.

It was Gilpatrick's decision to award the contract to Bell. He acknowledged in an appearance before the subcommittee that he had sought advice from Korth before making up his mind.

He explained: "I thought I could rely on his judgment as being objective since I had to make the decision and he did not."

Comments Rep. Gross: "It is my judgment that the Government could terminate either the TFX contract or the X-22 contract on the ground it is infected with a conflict of interest that is against the public policy." He cites a Supreme Court decision (in the Dixon-Yates case) that gives the Government the right to void such a contract.

Almanac

By United Press International. Today is Friday, July 5, the 186th day of 1963 with 179 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 1811, Venezuela declared her independence from Spain, the first South American country to do so.

In 1865, the Salvation Army was founded in London.

In 1945, Gen. Douglas MacArthur announced the Philippine Islands were liberated from the Japanese and the campaign could be regarded as virtually closed.

In 1961, 80 persons died in a riot in Algeria.



J. F. K. IN BERLIN: "Even the cheers cannot obscure the fact that Adenauer's departure carries new elements of uncertainty."