

Herald and News

Editorial Page

Tax Referral Not A Disaster

It is rather difficult to join in the hand-wringing that is going on (and has been) around the state because of the pending referral of the tax bill that resulted from the past legislative assembly.

From indications, one is almost safe in assuming that the referral effort will be successful. If so, we will probably see a special session of the legislature to whip out a new tax bill. It might be that the governor has power to slash the budget the necessary \$60 million or so to put the budget in balance. The latter seems hardly likely — but it could happen.

Several of the state's most effective lobby groups have gone on record as opposing the referral, and most of the state's lead papers have editorialized strongly in opposition to the effort. Why?

One of the principal objections pointed out is that a successful referral would mean a special session to write a tax bill. The same people, the reasoning goes, that took 141 days during the regular session to write a tax bill would go back to Salem for another try, which would be equally unsuccessful.

Well, why not? We would hope that before the legislature meets enough votes could be pledged to hold the session to considering nothing more than a tax bill. If legislature leaders stand firm, we're certain this agreement would come.

It has been stated that a special session would result in a tax bill worse than the one we now have going into effect Jan. 1. It hardly seems possible a worse tax bill could result. Even those who oppose the referral agree that the present bill is a bad one.

We hear so often the cry that unless taxes are increased, the state will be forced to forego "vital services." Well, what "vital services" are the people demanding? Simply because Governor Hatfield and his staff, and a few legislators say that the people "demand"

certain services doesn't make the claim sacrosanct.

It does seem apparent that higher education would be damaged if the full \$60 million cut were to be made in the budget. Probably welfare services would be slashed.

But, would it be necessary to cut \$60 million out of the budget? We say no. It appears that there are \$25 million or so in budgeted items for various state agencies that would not be used during the present biennium. That money could be re-allocated. If laws have to be passed to get at this money, let the special session pass appropriate laws.

We definitely feel that the higher education budget got a good going over in the regular session, and it appears that most of the requests for funds are justified. But there is quite some question involved in the necessity for \$141 million item for state aid to school districts. That could be cut, and if local school districts feel they want to conduct special education programs, let the people of that district support those programs with property taxes.

No, we can't get too scared of the actions of the "people." If they want to vote out the legislature's tax effort, more power to them. The legislature too often bows to the pressure of lobby groups which profess to be representative of the desires of the people. The people, too often, are not aware of what is going on until somebody takes a whack at their pocketbook. When they wake up it is too often too late. This time it isn't.

We would like to see the governor and his staff and the legislators find out from the people just what "services" they "demand" and develop a program based on that expression. Or, if the demand is there, develop a sound tax program based on the same information.

Maybe the legislators could forget the lobbying of the labor union leaders long enough to write a sales tax bill that would go far to straighten out all of our tax problems.

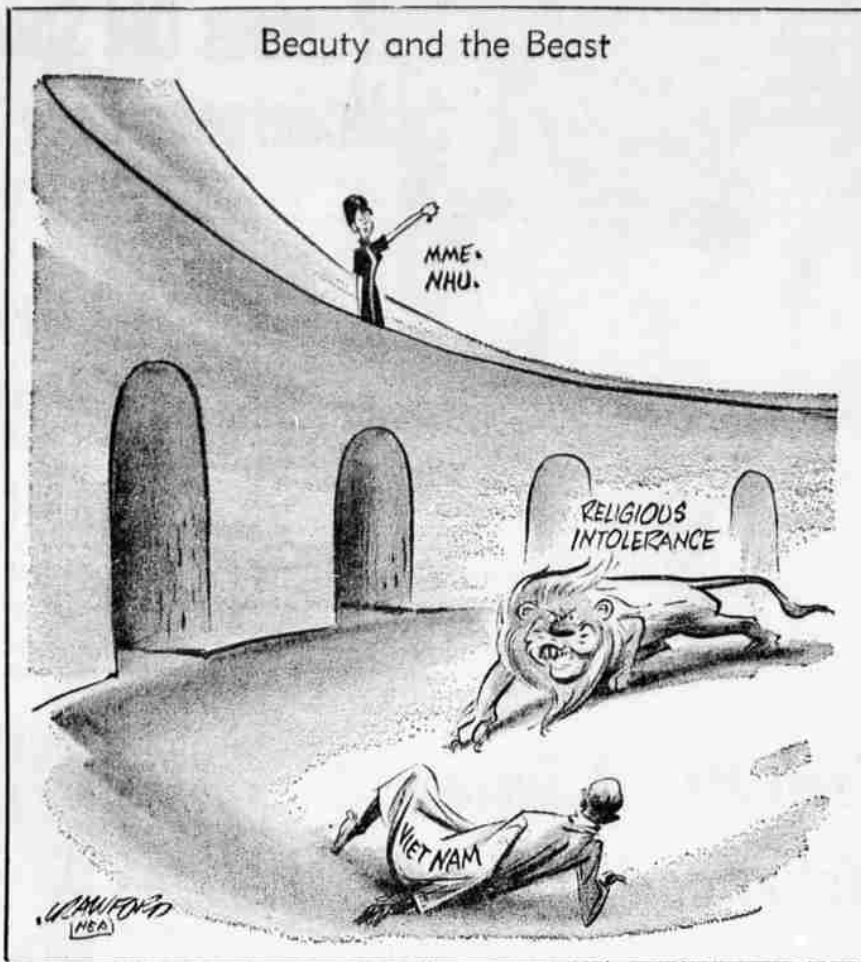
A Smirk Erased

In recent years pipe smokers have been identifiable by their smugness; their assurance that lung cancer was not for them has lent a certain odium to a habit that once was thought to be rather distinguished.

But now the word is that they can start looking anxious, like everybody else. A scientist has found that while the pipe addict may

not get cancer, he and his friend with the cigar are much more subject to another noxious by-product of tobacco than the man with a cigarette. The scientist doesn't know just yet what this substance does to people, but he feels confident it can't be good.

Pretty soon it won't be safe to have any bad habits.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Integration Distorted

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

There was very little amusement at the White House when Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R-Wis.) came to the defense of the President. It was wrong, said Laird, to criticize President Kennedy because he was sending his daughter to an all-white school. This, after all, was consistent with his rights as a parent.

Representative Laird, of course, was speaking with tongue in cheek to point up the "do as I say, not as I do" piety of the Kennedy Dynasty. But he also made an important point. The whole question of integration has been distorted beyond recognition by doctrinaire publicists and ambitious politicians. The idea was to grant equal rights to Negroes, not to make it mandatory for all Americans to revise their way of life on pain of excommunication.

Mr. Laird has spoken up on this aspect of the integration question before. A large company in his home state has plants in three towns. It negotiated an important defense contract, but at the last minute final approval was withheld by the Pentagon. Why? Because in a

questionnaire which must now be filed by all defense contractors, the company stated that it employed no Negroes.

Without any investigation, the contract was held up. The ban was removed when the company learned why it had been imposed and protested that it employed no Negroes because none lived in the three towns in which the plants were located.

Another company, in the same situation and hoping to avoid the same trouble, sought to entice several Negroes living 35 miles away to come to work for it. The Negroes liked the jobs they had and refused the offer.

If the two companies conform to the new theories now being promulgated by the federal government, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, et al, they will seek out Negroes in other localities, then replace some of the townspeople now employed in the offending plants.

For civil rights today no longer mean that school and employment opportunities should go to the most able, without discrimination because of race or color. Not at all. The new theory holds

that wherever a situation exists in which members of one race are thrown together, the government must break this up.

In some cities, it is proposed that it be done by mathematical equation: No school would have more than 50 per cent of its students Negro. If it were necessary to transport white and Negro students for long distances every day in order to obey the 50 per cent rule, then this would be ordered.

This is not what the framers of the Bill of Rights or the Fourteenth Amendment had in mind. And it does no good to either Negroes or whites. If integration is to become a natural pattern in this country, then it must be done without imposing all kinds of artificial constraints on the normal association of the races.

Children have always gone to the school nearest their homes. This is good pedagogical practice and leads to better community feeling. You play with the boy or girl who sits next to you in class. Now, in places like New York, the boy next to you may come from a neighborhood miles away. On paper, this brings about speedier integration. In fact, it slows down the process. Negro and white live as strangers, and it is as strangers that their antagonisms grow.

The organic growth of a national community not subject to racial discrimination can only come about when barriers to union membership and job opportunities are lowered and the Negro standard of living rises. The problem is as economic as it is social.

But the wild rush to integrate everything, whether it makes sense or not, is merely causing frayed tempers on both sides of the racial fence. Negro leaders today call the more orderly approach "gradualism" — a dirty word among them. But the pace of integration has been so stepped up in the last years that "gradualism" has been achieving far greater results than the more radical demands of today. This is something for Negroes and whites to ponder.

Letters To The Editor

Inhumanity

I wish to add to Alice Wilson's recent letter regarding "Inhumanity."
I visited the park just once.

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Sunday Aug. 25, the 237th day of 1963 with 128 to follow.

The moon is approaching its first phase.

The morning star is Jupiter. The evening stars are Mars and Saturn.

On this day in history:
In 1718, the city of New Orleans was founded.

In 1921, the United States signed a peace treaty with Germany and officially ended the war with that nation.

In 1944, U. S. troops liberated Paris.

In 1950, President Harry Truman seized the nation's railroads to prevent a General Strike.

A thought for the day — English novelist D. H. Lawrence said: "I never saw a wild thing sorry for itself."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q — What is the difference between stalactites and stalagmites?

A — The stone formations that hang down from walls and roofs of caves are stalactites. Those built up from the floor are stalagmites.

Q — What is a singular fact about the kiwi bird?

A — It lays an egg one-fourth its own weight.



NOTHING SPECIAL

(W. B. S.)

Nothing is more depressing than to come upon the scene of a highway accident where people are seriously injured or killed. This is especially true (for me, anyway) when there are children involved — either as survivors or the affected. Most disheartening is the cry of a child who is hurt, or crying over the loss of a mother or father or close relative in a car wreck.

Sometimes you get only one chance . . .

. . . to put aside your pride and say, humbly, "I was wrong."

. . . to accept a shy but sincere offer of friendship.

. . . to hear what a child very much needs to tell you.

. . . to explain a misunderstanding that, if ignored, would sour a friendship.

. . . to defend a person when slighting remarks are being made against him.

I suppose every youth in town is again ready to condemn the poor old Herald and News for dramatizing a news incident involving a youth and a million-dollar school fire last Sunday. The head said: "Youth Admits Vandalism!" It was merely a typo, and the dramatic exclamation point was meant to be only a harmless old semicolon.

Actually, I consider myself a success if I manage to keep myself in shape to face another day.

It is alarming to note that 41,000 Americans died in traffic accidents last year. This was 3,000 more deaths than in 1961. Experts tell us that if the soaring accident rate continues, it will be only a few years until traffic accidents kill 1,000 people a week. This could point up at least two principles: alcohol and gas don't mix, and you have a better chance of escaping death or serious injury if you wear seat belts.

It's not a man's world any more — no matter how you cut it. The missile gap, about which there was considerable discussion a few years ago, apparently has ceased to exist, but the sex gap, which began about the same time, is widening.

The Census Bureau reports that the sex gap, the excess of females over males, has increased to a point where there are 3,100,000 more women than men in the United States. In last year's estimated population

of 183.8 million, there were only 96.7 men for every 100 women.

Speaking of women, how about the Madison, Wis., homemaker? She was asked to list her occupation when applying for a driver's license. She filled the blank with a list that included mother, maid, cook, dishwasher, window washer, pet tender, ironer, furniture polisher, painter and a dozen other functions. Then she added, "This is only a partial list, but I hope it will be sufficient."

A newspaper questionnaire on what readers desire to see in their hometown daily brought this interesting response:

* My name.

* A front page article showing how crooked the government is most of the time.

* My wife's name.

* A feature article showing 35 ways on how to cheat on income tax forms.

* My kids' names.

* A local news item about the affair my neighbor is having.

* A classified offering of a new home for sale for \$4,000.00.

* More news about law-breakers.

* Less news about law-breakers.

I was picked up last night and I should not have to pay a fine.

* An editorial condemning high school teachers for being too liberal with "F's."

* A wedding picture of the groom instead of the bride when he is more handsome than she is pretty.

* A sports picture of me when I bowled 183.

* More advertisements on things that merchants are giving away.

* A front page picture of my neighbor being hauled out of the bar by his wife.

* A front page spread about the deadbeat who lives across the street from me who just had his car repossessed.

* Forget the last one. I just got word from the finance company that they're coming after my car.

* More letters to the editor naming the crooks we have in town.

* A full page of local news, a page of national news, several pages of sports and comics, one page on divorcees, and three pages on all the domestic troubles we are having in town.

* Less stuff about how cute everybody else's kids are. My kids are better looking than those you rave about.

* A complete biographical sketch about the "most important citizen in town," and be sure that you spell my name right.

Other Editors' Opinions . . .

Treaties Fare Well In Senate

By NEAL STANFORD

In The Christian Science Monitor

There are really two debates going on in Washington as the Senate considers the three-power nuclear test-ban treaty signed in Moscow.

One is over the treaty itself — with the Constitution requiring that "two-thirds of the senators present concur" before the President can ratify the treaty.

The other is over this constitutional provision, whether it is wise, necessary, and useful. Incidentally this debate is revived almost every time a treaty goes to the Senate for its "advice and consent," but particularly when it is a major and important treaty, as is this one.

In the past, and again today, one can hear the arguments that the number of senators needed for ratification should be reduced to a majority. In the early days of the republic John Hay told Henry Adams that under the two-thirds rule he didn't believe a really important treaty would ever pass the Senate. President Woodrow Wilson, who saw the Senate reject the Versailles Treaty after World War I bitterly referred to this rule as the Senate's "treasure-mapping" power.

Other proposals have asked that the House be given a voice in treaty approval, and even that it be given sole authority to approve.

Actually the treatment of treaties by the Senate has not been so bad. Of the 1,337 treaties submitted to the Senate since 1789 that body has approved without any qualifications 944 or roughly 70 per cent. It has only rejected 14 outright, though many have been modified by reservations and understandings.

Of the actual rejections there have been only two in this century. The Treaty of Versailles rejected in 1920, and a St. Lawrence deep-waterway treaty with Canada rejected in 1934—nearly 30 years ago. However, 20 years after the Senate had rejected this treaty, the Congress authorized the seaway through regular legislation.

This use of executive agreements to come to terms with other powers is a debatable point. There is no exact legal formula detailing what should be submitted to the Senate in the form of a treaty and what can be done through executive agreements.

The latter are widely used in trade and foreign aid deals with foreign governments. The "hot line" communications wire recently set up between Washington and Moscow was done by executive agreement.

The Constitution does not require a Senate roll-call in voting on a treaty. However 10 years ago the Senate leadership adopted an informal rule requiring roll calls, after complaints that treaties and constitutional amendments were sometimes being approved with only a handful of senators present—as little as two!

While the Senate does not often reject a treaty outright—only 1 per cent of those submitted — it does have alternatives.

By majority vote it can write a "reservation" to a treaty that can make it innocuous. If the reservation is serious enough it may be necessary to renegotiate the treaty.

Or the Senate can qualify the treaty in a less formal way. It can approve a treaty with an "understanding" of its intent. This may be a clarifying statement, but it can also be a qualifying one, and if it qualifies or restricts the contents of the treaty enough it can also turn it into quite a different document from that negotiated.

A study of the history of Senate action on treaties shows that, as mentioned, 70 per cent of the 1,337 submitted to the Senate have been approved; also that 18 per cent, or 232 have been approved with reservations or understandings; that 133 have been rejected or were never finally acted on. Twenty-eight treaties are still pending.

Last year, incidentally, the Senate unanimously approved eight treaties, none of transcendent importance. One, for example, had to do with a change in the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention as it concerned mollusks.

It has not turned out to be true, then, as John Hay, when Secretary of State, remarked: "A treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena. No one can say just how or when the final blow will fall. But one thing is certain—it will never leave the arena alive."

A treaty going before the Senate may have a tough time, but its prospects of approval are good despite the two-thirds rule.



HOLMES ALEXANDER . . .

Senators And The Treaty

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, a senior and essential Republican in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty debate, has in his possession Volume 78, Part One, Congressional Record—a 29-year-old document of historic pertinence to the latest can-we-trust-Russia debate.

Back in 1933 President Roosevelt used his executive authority to recognize Soviet Russia. The Congress had nothing to do with this decision, but in January, 1934, after Roosevelt nominated William Christian Bullitt to be Ambassador to the USSR, the Senate assumed the same advise-and-consent responsibility that it now has in the Nuclear Treaty.

The late Senator Vandenberg (R, Mich.) did just what Hickenlooper has now done. Both these Republican members of the Foreign Relations committee demanded to see the correspondence between the President and Russian negotiators. Roosevelt did submit the letters in question. President Kennedy at this writing has not complied. The Congressional Record, now in Hickenlooper's possession (and read by me), contains the Roosevelt-Litvinoff correspondence which was the subject of debate in January, 1934, during the second session of the 73rd Congress. Only three Senators — Harry Byrd, Hayden and Russell — have careers that span the three turbulent decades.

Vandenberg told the Senate that, while not certain he'd have voted for recognition, he felt constrained to agree that we should send an Ambassador — now that

the correspondence was before the Senate.

"But," he added, "I should have declined to proceed in the absence of these all-controlling documents."

We shall see in a moment why Vandenberg believed, as Hickenlooper does today, such documents to be "all-controlling" in the Senate's decision to ratify the President's action. But first, let's note that Vandenberg was acting from vigilance, not from fear, in this early dealing with Soviet Russia.

"I want to make it perfectly plain," said Vandenberg, "that I am not in the slightest degree fearful of any raid by communism on America . . . But fear does not need to precede vigilance. I have been raised on the theory that vigilance is the price of liberty. Therefore, it has seemed to me that complete, effective and conclusive defense against the infiltration in America by subversive propaganda was a prerequisite to any relationships of an official nature with Moscow."

Vandenberg, a little too over-confident of his country in one respect, said he agreed with Stalin that communism could not be exported to America, yet he insisted that the Senate see for itself what pledges were given. The key pledges were contained in a letter, dated Washington, Nov. 16, 1933, from People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Maxim Litvinoff to FDR. It reads in its substantial part:

"Dear Mr. President: I have the honor to inform you that coinci-

dent with the establishment of diplomatic relationship between our two governments, it will be the fixed policy of the government of the USSR:

"(1.) To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the U.S. to order its own life . . . in its own way and to refrain from interference in any manner in the internal affairs of the U.S. . . .

"(2.) To refrain, and to restrain all persons . . . from any act, overt or covert, liable in any way whatever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order and security of the whole or any part of the U.S. . . .

"(3.) Not to permit the formation or residence . . . of any organization or group . . . which . . . makes attempt upon the territorial integrity of the U.S.; not to form, subsidize, support or permit . . . groups having the aim of armed struggles against the U.S. . . .

"(4.) Not to permit the formation or residence . . . of any organization . . . which has as an aim the overthrow or . . . the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the U.S. . . .

Such was the Soviet Union's solemn vow of live-and-let-live. It was given to the President, the Senate and the American people at a time when we had relatively little experience in Communist trustworthiness.

But today, after nearly 30 years of Russian perfidy, the Senate has the same question before it: What good is any diplomatic arrangement with Red Russia?