

Editorial Page

Bungling Begins At Home

Worried about how the big boys are conducting the nation's and the world's affairs? Well, let's have a little look at how things are going down in the Department of Small Affairs.

A friend who was going on vacation made the usual arrangements about stopping his newspapers and having his mail shifted to the holiday spot.

One newspaper was cut off two days before the date he requested. The other was continued for two or three days after he left town.

When he got to his vacation hideout, he found that his first-class mail was being forwarded as he had asked. But so were his magazines, which he had asked the post office to hold until his return.

They, of course, all arrived "postage due." If he declined to pay the charge, they were simply tossed away, not sent back where they should have been held in the first place.

Then the man's wife had to go home

early. She quickly requested resumption there of first-class deliveries. For the next 10 days, half such mail came to their home and the rest to the vacation place.

Now there is this other matter. A business outfit which is moving its quarters from one building to another was startled one Monday morning to discover its telephone service had been prematurely cut off.

For four hours the firm was severed from the outside world. But the telephone company mustered its resources and was equal to the occasion. One of its eager agents stepped into the breach:

"I'll report your trouble. Can you be reached by phone, sir?"

Should you imagine these are isolated samples, ask around. And, by the way, have you tried to change address on any of your magazine subscriptions lately? That'll keep you busy for a couple of months.

So, now, what's all this about the big fellows bungling the Cold War?

How Government Grows

(From the Milwaukee Journal)

Parkinson's law — propounded, tongue in cheek, by a British professor of that name — declares that the number of employees in a governmental agency increases in direct proportion to the decrease in the workload.

Chairman Magnuson (D) of Washington of the senate independent offices appropriations subcommittee explained a while back how the law works in the federal government:

"A \$14,000 — or perhaps \$16,000 — career employe retires after long and useful service. The man below him moves into his job. There is an unexpended appropriation because a man in the higher bracket is gone. But instead of hiring one new man, the tendency is to hire two or three men at the bottom of the payroll ladder. Both payroll and personnel grow. These men ultimately work up to higher salaries, eventually retire — and Parkinson's law is repeated all over again."

Magnuson has, according to David Bar-

nett of the North American Newspaper Alliance, proposed a substitute law — that an agency hire only one new employe to replace each one who retires.

Magnuson learned in current hearings on budgets for the 26 independent offices and regulatory agencies that in the last year 4,345 employes retired but the agencies were requesting authority for a net addition to their payrolls of 8,160. That would mean hiring more than 12,000 new employes.

Magnuson found that only the general accounting office, which checks on waste in other agencies and departments, conformed with his proposed substitute. In the last year 150 GAO employes retired and the total number of its employes is dropping from 4,776 to 4,730.

The other agencies denied they were applying Parkinson's law. They said the duties assigned to them had increased. And who assigns the duties? Congress, by passing new legislation.



WILLIAM S. WHITE ...

We Falter In Viet Nam

By WILLIAM S. WHITE
WASHINGTON—Ominous memories of one of the most tragic periods in our history—the fall of China to communism in the late '40s with a resultant embitterment of American politics which nearly two decades have never wholly erased—are crowding in now.

In South Viet Nam, the shadows of the past are falling across the present and menacing the future. Again, the area of danger and crisis is Asia—the scene, in the destruction of Nationalist China, of the most terrible setback to American policy ever suffered and of the most-enduring damage ever done to the Democratic party.

The loss of China to the Communists more than any other single factor broke 20 years of Democratic rule of the White House, amid ceaseless charges that Democratic national leadership had given too little support to the Nationalists and too was responsible for this disaster to the free world.

That these were extreme accusations, and often motivated by partisan politics, is undeniable on any fair and calm and full

knowledge of the record of those distant days. But that China did fall, thus turning more than half a billion people over to the Communist empire, is more than simply the most somber fact of all the cold war.

It is a fact of high and sinister relevance to today—to this nation, to the Kennedy Administration, and to the hopes of all responsible men that our country may be spared a repetition of the savage internal disunion of yesterday.

For American policy in South Viet Nam today — where more than 12,000 American troops are committed in support of President Ngo Dinh Diem's armed resistance to Communist guerrillas—has some undoubted parallels with American policy in China of nearly 20 years ago. It is well-meaning; but it is hesitant and confused. And it puts altogether too much stock in the doubts and fears and complaints of "liberal" experts who always find something wrong in the honest use of honest military power.

Again, as then, we support a military movement of an ally,

But again, as then, we simultaneously denounce that ally as corruptly "dictatorial." Again, as then, we demand of an ally more than that he be willing to fight the enemies of freedom and of our cause. Of Diem we demand that he cease what we call the "persecution" of Buddhists protesting his regime—and what he calls simply the repressive measures simply necessary for the very preservation of his government in a time of war with foreign invaders.

All the ins and outs and rights and wrongs of this wretched affair—where the American State Department and the Diem government daily trade insults while American and Vietnamese troops are daily fighting Communist aggressors side by side—are quite beyond this columnist. But what any reasonable man can surely see is this:

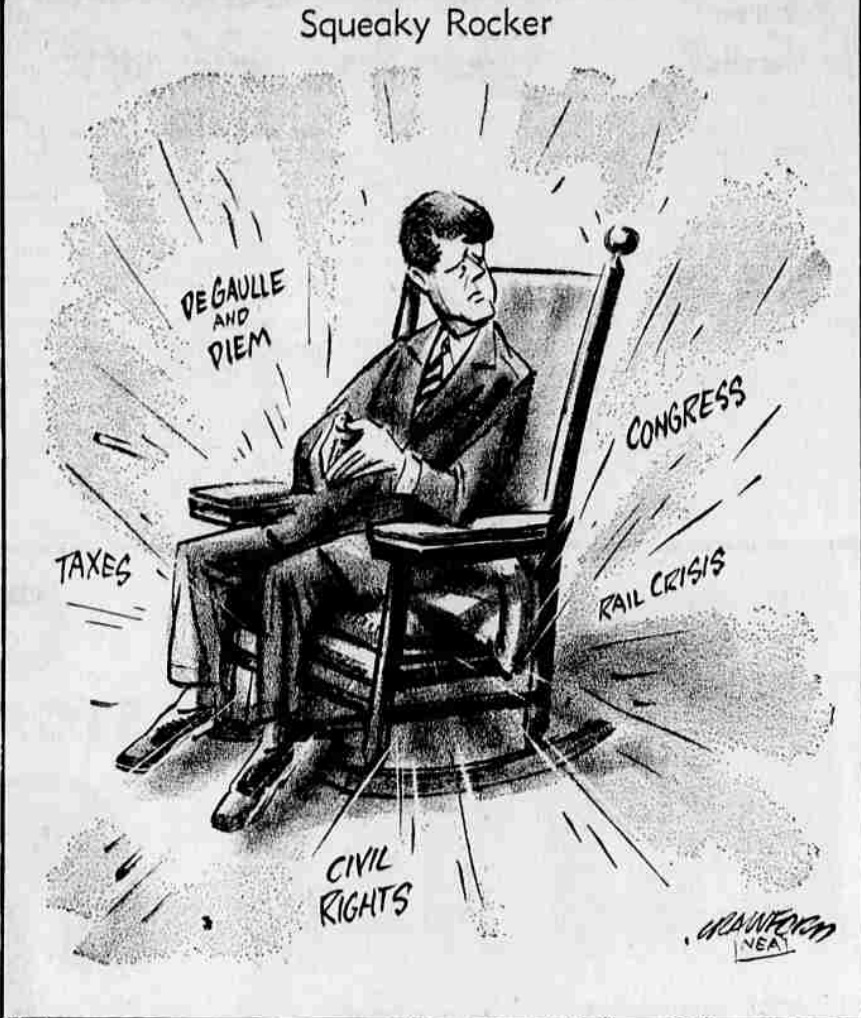
The United States now has only two possible courses open to it, if we intend to see through the militarily brilliant strategy we have adopted to halt creeping Communist assault in Asia. We must support Diem all the way—notwithstanding all cries of "Buddhist persecution" and of "dictatorship." Or we must get rid of him and candidly take the responsibility for ushering in a successor regime capable of governing in his stead and of carrying on the war—if, indeed, such a successor can be found.

But would not this latter course be "intervention" in Vietnamese affairs? Of course it would. But the stakes are very high—and in any case we did not in the first place guarantee that Diem's government would behave exactly as would a government with centuries of democratic tradition behind it. At stake is the salvation of Southeast Asia; or, ultimately, the measureless catastrophe of another China.

Amid these hard realities, logic-chopping and "liberal" qualms will not save world freedom, nor us—not the Administration. Nor will all the sighs and protests of the semi-pacifists, whose sensitive suffering in behalf of "the persecuted Buddhists" must be set against the demonstrable truth that they invariably say yes—but to any effort anywhere in the world to come to effective military grips with the Communists.

The shadows, to repeat, are gathering over the free world's cause—and over another Democratic administration. Will there be, for both, yet another China?

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IN WASHINGTON ...

The Admiral's Warning—II

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In his valdictory speech last week to Washington correspondents — and the country at large — at the National Press Club, Admiral George Anderson marshaled in sober and methodical fashion his experience in the Navy and as Chief of Naval Operations. And he pleaded for a Defense Establishment in which decisions that could mean survival or extinction for the U.S. would not be left entirely in the hands of computer-happy "white kids" who don't know one end of a rifle from the other.

Admiral Anderson didn't put it that way, but his intent was clear. "Those who criticize the military as being backward," he said, "tend to be the very ones who are proponents of procedures and policies which would discourage a creative corps of military professionals. . . . By attempting to stamp officers of all services into a common mold, we may kill incentive, imagination, and independent thought."



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Oscar Wilde once defined a gentleman as "one who is never unintentionally rude." I wonder how many men, and women, realize they are being unintentionally rude when they ask: "You don't remember me, do you?" They mean it in a kindly way, perhaps. Yet they are always a little bit hurt when you have to confess you don't remember them. They are hurt, and you are embarrassed.

Being one of that vast and unhappy number who not only have no memory for names, but for-

That such is the current tendency can be observed by any reporter covering hearings on Capitol Hill. Where in the past the services spoke freely and honestly to committees of House or Senate, now they constantly look back over their shoulders to make sure that Secretary McNamara is not bearing down on them like a super-dreadnought. Perhaps the most significant warning uttered by Admiral Anderson—braving the wrath of the Administration in remarks addressed directly to the American people—was against "a modern fallacy that theories or computers or economics or numbers of weapons win wars. . . . Good leadership unfailingly recognizes that man is the key to success or failure." This is an unfashionable view in a time in which some technicians have reinterpreted the history of mankind.

A materialistic philosophy holds to the new concept. But Admiral Anderson is a better historian than his critics. He says: "Some

of the greatest victories, from Hannibal at Cannae and Nelson at Trafalgar to MacArthur at New Guinea, have come at the hands of forces inferior in numbers but superior in human ability, courage, and determination to win. Our nation will defy every lesson of history if we think that stockpiles of weapons or the decisions of computers win wars. Man, his wits, and his will are still the key to war and peace, victory and defeat."

But where does this lead? Again, Admiral Anderson has proposed a highly unpopular formulation: "The key to leadership is understanding human nature — your opponents, your allies, and your subordinates. To do anything to downgrade the role of the men who have to fight our country's battles is to violate the first principle of leadership. Morale is the business of every leader in our Defense Establishment. Do all else right, and do this wrong—the product in a crisis is disaster."

Yet this is what we are doing wrong. For morale in the armed services is lower today than it has ever been in my experience — lower than when President Truman's Defense Secretary, Louis Johnson, took the ax to the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The civilians brought in by Secretary McNamara have shut off debate — like the Napoleon who became intolerant of criticism, stifled his commanders, and ended his great career in utter defeat.

But Admiral Anderson was not simply making a plea for his military colleagues. Speaking of the American system of checks and balances, he said, "The Congress must be a check on the use of either civilian or military power in the Pentagon and must not default, even in part, its Constitutional responsibility and authority to provide for our armed forces."

The authority has been brushed aside by the "white kids" and the White House Congress objects to the phasing out of America's manned bomber force and the Strategic Air Command, but it has not taken the necessary measures to compel the Pentagon to desist. The Congress watches in something close to panic as Secretary McNamara goes ahead with plans to eliminate the Navy's vital aircraft carrier force. "Over-centralized structures" such as the McNamara "monolithic-structured" Pentagon civilian high command "are conducive to the abuse of power and the compounding of mistakes."

This is sound judgment. The White House has not been happy with the Anderson statement of principle. But it can do little to stop him. After all, the President has said that he "recognizes the value of dissent and daring, that we greet healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change." It may be that Admiral Anderson will get his comeuppance for taking the President's words seriously. But if the nation is to survive, then our military men must act as bravely in Washington as they have always acted under fire.



EDSON IN WASHINGTON ...

Labor Problems Grow Right Along With Boy

By PETER EDSON

Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.
WASHINGTON (NEA) — Every Labor Day finds the American labor situation more confused than it was the year before.

But this is partly paradox. The confusion is not worse. It's just that there is more of it as everything grows bigger.

Actually, more people are employed at higher wages and under better working conditions than ever before in the country's history.

In June the average weekly earnings of factory workers passed the \$100 mark for the first time in history.

The minimum wage for workers in interstate commerce industries went from \$1.15 to \$1.25 an hour on Sept. 3. The maximum work week dropped to 44 hours at the same time, with overtime bringing one-and-a-half times the basic rate.

This will affect about 24 million of the 44 million non-supervisory employes of private industry. Minimum wage for another 3.5 million workers previously not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act will rise to \$1 an hour. This will leave another 16.5 million workers still uncovered by the act.

A law passed last year, requiring equal pay for women doing the same work as men, will go into effect June 11, 1964.

Farm employment at eight million workers in July was just half of what it was in the 1910-14 base period. But farm labor earnings are nearly seven times higher than they were 50 years ago.

Those are the highlights on the credit side of the ledger. The problems of the unfortunates whose troubles haven't been solved make up the debit entries. And the inventory of their woes is a constant reminder of what still needs to be done.

The roughly six per cent of the nonfarm labor force unemployed — more than four million out of 70 million workers — constitutes the worst blight on the economic landscape.

In all, 14 million workers were unemployed for at least part of last year.

The real underlying cause of unemployment is lack of basic education and training in advanced skills for which there are actual shortages of qualified workers.

The cure for this would seem to be in the nation's school systems and institutions of higher learning—not in labor laws.

But the devices government has come up with to reduce unemployment—public works, manpower training and development, depressed area redevelopment and Social Security — have so far proved inadequate.

Nor have management and labor been too helpful. Restrictive union practices on membership and apprenticeship have cut down job opportunities.

"It is only recently that the United States Chamber of Commerce has set up a committee to study unemployment. The President's Labor - Management Commission has labored for more than two years without appreciable results.

The problems of technological unemployment — loss of jobs through automation — have been creeping up on American industry since the end of World War II.

The Department of Labor estimates that 35,000 workers are being displaced by machines every week.

This situation has not been dealt with except in a few pioneering contracts—Kaiser Steel, American Motors, the West Coast longshoremen's union. A joint resolution authorizing creation of still another government commission to study the issue and report is now gathering dust in Congress.

The 4-year-old controversy over railroad work rules and job security was basically a matter of technological changes. What it has shown is that nobody, but nobody—not even Congress nor the President of the United States—can settle a dispute which management and labor can't agree on.

But the key issue in this railroad case is now turning out to be whether there shall be compulsory arbitration.

Compulsory arbitration has been accepted by management and labor in a few transportation contracts this year—Union Pacific, Pan-American Airways and the East Coast maritime unions. But it is still opposed by a majority of the unions and by management.

Free collective bargaining is still held to be the best way to settle labor and management differences.

But if they can't be solved in that way, Congress is bound, in the public interest, to try another formula.



WASHINGTON REPORT ...

Kennedy Misinformed In Statistical Data

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

WASHINGTON—I am grateful to Bob Wilson, ever-alert chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee.

In a recent column I noted that White House ghost writers have become a little sloppy. They turned out one speech advocating ratification of the partial nuclear test ban in which President Kennedy revealed he had ordered 97 underground nuclear tests during the past two years.

Correct figure: 38. Shortly thereafter, the Chief Executive unleashed a blistering attack on those "short-sighted" Republicans who were responsible for lopping off \$385 million from his foreign aid request.

In that statement, the President claimed to have consistently supported foreign aid during his eight years in the U.S. Senate. The record, again, says otherwise. On numerous occasions, the Senator voted to chop large amounts from the Eisenhower requests. On other key votes, Kennedy was nowhere to be found.

Now Representative Wilson brings to my attention a few more instances in which the President has altered facts to suit his purpose. The most recent are found in Kennedy's attack on Republicans for allegedly sabotaging the foreign aid bill.

What the President did not say was this: The sabotage was carried out by 68 Democrats, most of them Southerners, who voted with the GOP to apply the axe. Among them were seven veteran chairmen of House committees. These Democratic leaders included Clarence Cannon (Appropriations); Omar Barrios (Administration); Oren Harris (Interstate and Foreign Commerce); Wilbur Mills (Ways and Means); John McMillan (District of Columbia); Howard Smith (Rules); and Olin Teague (Veterans Affairs).

In that same speech, the President said the House cut would halt any new development loans to Iran, Greece, Thailand or any other country "on the rim of the Communist empire." The truth is the President himself decides how

to allocate his foreign aid funds. He may, in fact, sharply increase funds for the above-named nations—if he knocks off the gravy train left-leaning neutrals and outright Communist states.

The Republicans, said Kennedy, had been "irresponsible and dangerously partisan." He called for bipartisan support of the foreign aid measure.

The fact is that Kennedy's plea for bipartisan support was hollow. Not once this session has a Rep. John Byrnes, chairman of the House GOP Policy Committee, been asked for his views on foreign policy.

What Kennedy did not mention was that GOP leaders saved the foreign aid bill from complete defeat. Minority Leader Charles Halleck and other party chiefs helped switch enough votes to give Kennedy the \$3.5 billion he otherwise would not have received.

Congressman Wilson reminds me of several other cases in which he charges that the President has misstated the facts. —During his Presidential campaign, candidate Kennedy starred in a TV film with an elderly Kentucky man who, JFK said, had used up his life savings of \$800 to pay for medical expenses incurred after a hip injury.

The man later revealed he had a private health insurance plan that paid for all but \$80 of his medical bills. (That figure would have been even less had he not insisted on a private hospital room.) Furthermore, the man said he had told Kennedy the whole story before the TV spot was filmed.

—On Nov. 4, 1960 candidate Kennedy pledged economy in government, and charged the Eisenhower Administration had increased by 106,000 the number of federal employes. Actually, Ike had cut that number by 254,574.

—On Aug. 1, 1962, the President told reporters he had kept his campaign promise to get America moving. He said the Standard and Poor level of stock prices had increased five points since he took office. The fact: It had decreased two points, to 37.9.

Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Monday, Sept. 18, the 239th day of 1963 with 106 to follow.

The moon is approaching its new phase.

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

On this day in history: In 1639, the Massachusetts Village of Shawmut changed its name to Boston.

In 1893, the Cherokee Strip in Oklahoma was opened to homesteaders.

In 1920, a bomb explosion on Wall Street killed 30 persons and injured at least 100. In 1943, the Japanese surrendered Hong Kong.

A thought for the day — The American novelist Mark Twain said: "There are several good protections against temptations, but the surest is cowardice."