

# Editorial Page

## Make Haste Slowly

The tortuous progress that the Administration's tax reduction bill has been making toward eventual enactment provides a significant and interesting example of changes in thinking that have been taking place in this country, and in Congress.

The tax bill is at the very heart of Mr. Kennedy's economic program. It is, he argues again and again, the essential force needed to stimulate economic growth, to provide more goods and services, to create more jobs, to increase the general standard of living, and to strengthen the nation all along the line.

The President and his advisors would have had good reason to believe that a tax reduction bill would make its way through Congress with much less difficulty than in the present case. In the past, tax reduction has offered about as sure-fire an appeal as anything could. Bills have gone through with next to no debate. Here is the most tangible of all ways, Congress has felt, to make the folks back home happy.

It is very different now—not because tax reduction isn't wanted. It is. But there is grave concern over how best to achieve it without creating new and formidable dangers.

It is argued, for instance, that balanced budgets are a shibboleth, and that deficits can be almost a way of fiscal life for a nation without undermining its economic strength and stability. In other words, in effect, this theory holds that a nation is not comparable to a business or a family. It is something to which the usual rules do not apply. But this theory has not been tested, and a great many people believe that the policy which would follow its acceptance could be absolutely disastrous.

There is strong feeling that any tax cut should be accompanied by a proviso that federal expenditures also be reduced, and

that the Administration pledge itself to hold spending during coming fiscal years to a stated amount. An amendment to this end was defeated in the House, but by a comparatively narrow margin.

There is also the belief that even an \$11 billion overall tax cut would not mean a great deal to the average family, and would not materially spur spending and purchasing. A corollary here is that the whole tax system needs drastic overhaul, and that this should come first.

The tax bill—considerably amended—has passed the House. But it is due for some rough manhandling in the Senate, where Senator Byrd is chairman of the all-important Finance Committee. There is a good chance, perhaps even a likelihood, that no action will be taken this year. And, now, Senate priority has been given to civil rights legislation.

Actually, very little of the Administration's domestic legislative program has gone anywhere at all. Parts of it—such as Medicare and aid to education—seem absolutely dead, at least for the time being. Other parts, such as the training plan for young people and urban mass transportation, are in a sickly condition.

Some of the Administration's most dramatic ideas are finding the reception cool too. The man-on-the-moon project is one. A price tag of some \$40 billion has been tied to it, though no one can really know now just what the cost would be, or if it is practical at all. In any event, more and more opposition is appearing, on the grounds that the gains would be tenuous at best, and that this is no time to devote so gigantic a sum of money and resources to it.

In sum, the mood of this long-sitting Congress can be fairly said to be one of growing caution. "Make haste slowly" comes pretty close to being its motto.



### IN WASHINGTON . . .

## Rights Issue Cuts Deep

By RALPH de TOLEDANO  
MANCHESTER, N.H. — New England, which sired the Abolitionist movement and gave it some of its most fiery spokesmen, seems to have undergone a change of heart. This would be minor intelligence but for one reason. It affects the outcome of the 1964 Presidential election and the chances of President Kennedy. It is starting to hear labor leaders, businessmen, and civic leaders talk of the Administration's civil rights program and its stance on the Negro issue in terms which would make some Southerners blush.

What has happened, simply, is that many people here who took it for granted that civil rights legislation and the "Negro question" were a Southern problem have been made to feel that the Federal government is now jumping down their own throats. A labor leader became almost apoplectic as he discussed what he considered the federal government's attempts to tell him how to run his union.

"We don't discriminate," he said, "but no one is going to tell us that we have to give Negroes preference when they are not qualified. We had a number of Negroes in our union, but if this keeps up, you can bet there won't be a one pretty soon. I've known some absolute down-the-line Kennedymen who have swung the other way completely because of this civil rights nonsense. It's a terrible thing that an election should swing on something like this, but that is what's happening."

This same outrage is expressed by some who have no real cause to feel concern—and no real contact with the Negro issue. What was once academic for them suddenly looms very big and real. However, their motives may be judged—and leaving out the rights and the wrongs of the matter—they suddenly see their world threatened. The specter of a federal government, armed with the new legislation now pending in Congress, moving in on all their activities shocks them.

It should be noted here that the anger and bitterness are not

aimed at the Negro but at the Administration—and Mr. Kennedy in particular. Manchester is a Democratic city in a usually Republican state. It is an industrial city as well. The union member feels that his livelihood is being put in jeopardy by the White House as strongly as do the more prosperous citizens. There is considerable comment here on the recent local Boston election in which opponents of an "integrationist" school program were handily re-elected, despite the zealous campaign of Negro organizations. ("In the President's home town," is the ironic comment.)

The sentiments on civil rights here corroborate recent polls which show that whereas the preponderance of Americans feel that the Negro has not gotten a fair shake, the same group is equally convinced that the Federal government is moving irresponsibly and too rapidly to right the wrong.

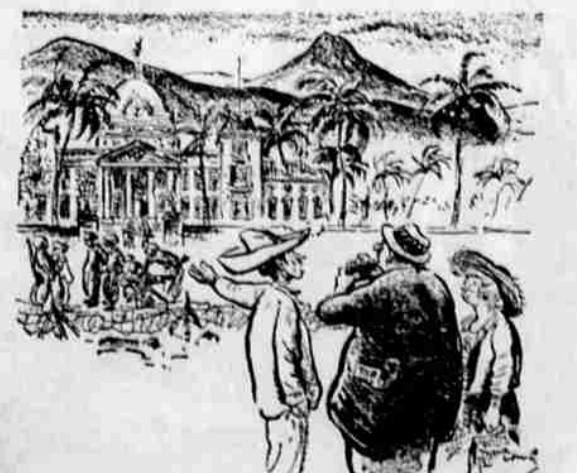
Justice is one thing, but the consensus here is that the President believes in giving preferential status to Negroes. Sons and grandsons of immigrants remark that there was strong prejudice against those of their race and nationality, but "no

one went crying to the government for help."

It is possible that this rising anti-Administration feeling will become, as one newspaperman here said, the "gut issue" of 1964. If this is so, it casts a new light on the chances of Senator Barry Goldwater in the New Hampshire primary of March, 1964. Mr. Goldwater is not a segregationist, nor would any of the people I spoke to want him to become one. But he takes a position that these matters should be left up to the states. And to New Englanders, this makes sense. The problems to be faced are entirely different for New Hampshire and, let us say, Georgia. A single uniform and punitive law cannot do the job.

Between the position of President Kennedy and that of New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, there is little difference. Other things being equal, Senator Goldwater will benefit if the present temper of the voters prevails. It would not surprise me, in fact, if a good many of the old AFL unionists quietly cast their votes (in the privacy of the polls) for Barry Goldwater simply on the civil rights issue.

### "--- and There's Where El Presidente Lives When We Have One"



ROSS LEWIS, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

### 'Down, Boy - Not That One - Down, You Dumb Mutt'



WILLIAM S. WHITE . . .

## Senate Action Unfair In Baker Dismissal

By WILLIAM S. WHITE  
WASHINGTON — Large and troubling questions have been raised around the small, sad and presently all but friendless person of Bobby Baker, who has just involuntarily ended 21 years of almost incredibly devoted and skillful service to the United States Senate.

Baker, in the euphemism of that cruelest of all professions, politics, has been "allowed to resign" as secretary to the Senate's Democratic majority, meaning its principal executive agent. It is a post which can mean anything or nothing much, and in his case it has meant a very great deal, indeed.

For he happens to be that rare human article, an authentic—if rough—diamond—parliamentary genius. He is, in fact, far abler than many of his late senatorial masters, for all his humble rural South Carolina background and his little night-school law degree. And to his country, to his party, to the Senate and to them, his late masters, he has contributed much more than the public can ever possibly know.

For Bobby Baker, now at the less than advanced age of 33, came to the Senate as a 14-year-old page boy and remained there to become a tireless and irreplaceable force for decent legislation decently arrived at. He did those quiet, endless chores to bring that understanding and consent among contending parties and factions—among all of which he was respected and among most of which he was loved—which is essential to producing the informed, civilized consensus that is legislation at its best.

He was, of course, a Democrat, and a loyal one at that. But he was much more. He was, at the least end of it, a man of the Senate and an unselected but brilliant legislator—humorous, tolerant, fair but principled—over and above any partisan feeling or ideological hair-splitting. He had as many friends among the Democrats; for he played the game in the Senate on the level and on the square, and everybody knew it.

He was, in short, the untitled intelligence officer of the Senate, as far above a "secretary" in the ordinary meaning of that word, as an Army divisional G-2 is above, say, the corporal who counts the underwear in the supply room.

Why, then, has Bobby been

"allowed to resign?" Well, it turned out recently that in his life outside the Senate he had developed tough and urgent private business interests, complicated in nature but wrong or evil if—and only if—it can be established by any trace of competent evidence that he made improper use of his Senate position to forward those interests.

The "evidence" against him so far, to the best of my ability to grasp something that is rather like a moonbeam in a dark room, seems to lie in certain accusations made against him in a civil law suit by an angry ex-associate. Men filing lawsuits in business quarrels are not commonly supposed to be absolutely fair and objective in what they say. Moreover, the common American notion is that a fellow is not deemed guilty, or otherwise at fault, unless and until the court itself has made some such finding.

Bobby, however, has not been found either guilty—of whatever it is he is supposed to have done under the vaguely sinister but impossibly loose term of "wheeling and dealing"—or not guilty. He has just been let go, without any proper chance to tell his story to that full Senate he has served so long.

It happens that I am very fond of the institution of the Senate. But I am just a trifle less fond of it today. I think a man of the Senate—even though not actually a member—deserves a hearing by his peers before his career is left in dust and ashes. If he has done wrong, let him be punished. But do let him have his say.

And I think the Senate—where hardly a single member is innocent of the historic crime of "having outside business interests"—will regret the manner in which it has disposed of Robert G. Baker. For this is the form of justice expressed in the phrase "Verdict first—evidence later." And this kind of justice does not become the Senate of the United States.

### Thoughts

My little children, I am writing this to you so that you may not sin; but if any one does sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.—1 John 2:1.

Jesus did all the saving-work. He brought the cross to our level. Get saved by looking to Him, and then live to God.—W. P. Mackay.

### BERRY'S WORLD



"Here's that letter about the slowness of Congress, Senator. Senator! . . . Scrup!"



### WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

## Goldwater Ranks In Maryland Politics

By FULTON LEWIS JR.  
WASHINGTON—The Goldwater for President bandwagon has a new passenger who surprised many when he hopped aboard.

He is Maryland Sen. J. Glenn Beall, long considered a member of the GOP's liberal wing.

The two Solons have served together since 1952, frequently finding themselves on opposite sides of the ideological aisle. But Beall now calls Goldwater "our next President." He has moved in recent months to a more conservative position. The reasons are not hard to discern.

Beall faces a serious primary challenge next year from Congressman Charles "Mac" Mathias. The vast majority of Free State Republicans appear to be solidly behind Goldwater. So Beall and other GOP figures are trying to out-Barry each other. Even Baltimore Mayor Theodore McKeldin, perhaps the country's most liberal Republican, says, sure, he can back Goldwater.

State Chairman David Scull, also considered a liberal Republican, now says publicly that Goldwater will carry Maryland in any primary.

More than that, Republicans and Democrats agree Goldwater would stand an excellent chance of defeating John Kennedy in Maryland in November, 1964. Kennedy carried the state by 76,000 votes in 1960 and few gave any Republican much chance of victory until recently.

Now Maryland has become the scene of tumultuous racial conflict, particularly on its Eastern shore. National Guardsmen patrol the streets of Cambridge. Anti-Kennedy feeling is at a fever pitch.

Eastern Shore Republican Rogers Morton won election to the U.S. House last fall. Morton, a brother of GOP Sen. Thurston Morton, has long been thought moderately liberal on the race question. Sizing up political opinion in his district, he now indicates he will oppose the Kennedy civil rights package.

One reason John Kennedy's

recent farm state tour was something less than a smashing success: Administration figures show the American farmer is in the worst shape in many years.

The Department of Agriculture announced the other day the parity ratio—the relationship between the prices farmers get and the prices farmers pay—has fallen again. The September figure is 77, down one point in a month and four points in the past year. It has not been this low since 1939.

Says Congressman Paul Findley, a Republican who represents a downstate Illinois farm area: "The U.S. farmer is in the worst cost-price squeeze in 24 years. The current parity ratio of 77 is in sharp contrast to the 90-per cent parity promised by candidate Kennedy in 1960."

Early last month a contingent of 145 Peace Corps volunteers were dispatched to Liberia. Air fare for the group cost \$45,855 and Uncle Sam will continue to pick up the tab.

Liberia is a nation in which no Caucasian can hold citizenship or office. Its president, William Tubman, has collected \$131 million in U.S. foreign aid. Last year he spent \$12 million for a presidential palace.

The situation is similar in the Ivory Coast, another emerging nation. President Felix Houphouët-Boigny last year asked for and got \$4.6 million from Uncle Sam. He is now building a \$10 million marble edifice.

Explained Time magazine not so long ago: "As far as most leaders of newly-independent black African countries are concerned, a new Presidential palace, a stable of custom-built limousines, a shiny yacht and a foreign bank account or two are no more than the legitimate rewards of power, even in the most poverty-stricken nation."

In most British colonies, the new rulers carefully preserved the old pomp and purple, the mace, the wigs, the colonial etiquette and added a few touches of their own.



## STRICTLY PERSONAL.

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

Purely Personal Prejudices: There is a profound difference between the genuine conservative who wants to preserve what was best in the past, and the reactionary who wants to restore what was most profitable in the past; and it is hard for one to distinguish between these two tendencies within himself, because to most of us what is profitable is, ipso facto, the best.

The real evil of war is not the destruction and death it leaves so much as the reversal of values it promotes: it sanctifies force and fraud, and turns brutality and treachery from vices into virtues; and when it is over, the ordinary man wonders why, if morality can be suspended between nations, it should be resumed or respected between persons.

Those who scrutinize too closely imagine they are getting at the "truth" when they are only distorting nature; after all, when glimpsed through a magnifying glass, the skin of the most beautiful woman in the world seems full of large and ugly pores.

It is good to know when one's limit has been reached, and to keep in mind that fine old Savoyard proverb: "I have so much to do that I am going to bed."

A neurosis is just a prosthetic device of the mind to help us get through life after a psychic limb has been crippled or amputated in early childhood; and it can never be got rid of, but only made to function more nearly like its natural prototype.

### THEY SAY . . .

The Soviet leaders know—if some Americans seem to forget—that our foreign aid program is a key weapon in the continuing struggle by free peoples against Communist aggression. Mr. Khrushchev would be pleased to be competing against a crippled effort on our part.

Undersecretary of State W. Averell Harriman on foreign aid cuts.

The younger the child, the better the dog understands him: it is only after we acquire words, education, abstract ideas, and a rigid system of beliefs and attitudes that we lose the power to communicate with those less intelligent than we are.

Man would need at least three lives in order to profit from his faults: the first in which to commit his errors, the second in which to commit exactly the opposite ones, and the third in which to maintain his spiritual balance.

Those who complain that an author is "obscure" or "confused" are sometimes assuming a superiority they may not have; it is a good exercise in humility to remember Lichtenberg's tart aphorism: "A book is a mirror: if an ass peers into it, you can't expect an apostle to look out."

To scorn small talk in social gatherings is as foolish and supercilious as bringing nothing but a hundred dollar bill to a penny arcade.

United States officials have made clear to the Latin Americans, however, that their increased participation in planning the Alliance for Progress would be welcome whenever they furnish the bulk of the resources for development.

In two years, only seven of the 19 Latin American countries have been able to work out their own development plans.

United States aid cannot be considered as a subsidy to make up for loss of foreign markets or low commodity prices caused by their own overproduction. Coffee countries, for instance, must diversify their economies.

United States loans cannot be doled out endlessly to close gaps caused by runaway inflation, as in Brazil.

And there must be a whole new school of politicians, career public servants and administrators developed to give Latin American countries responsible government. They need better educational systems and must provide them for themselves.

"Only the governments of Latin America can bring about the basic reforms which, soundly conceived and implemented, will ultimately help to make democracy secure," says Alliance for Progress co-ordinator Theodore Moscoso.

The question is not whether there will be enough U.S. dollars to finance these undertakings. It is whether there is enough patience to wait for the Latin Americans to carry out their part of the program.

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q—What country claims the establishment of the first law school?

A—Italy, at Bologna University, in the 1200s.

Q—What has become of the space craft used by Colonel Glenn in America's first orbital flight?

A—Friendship 7 has been installed in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

## Latin America Benefits From Aid Program

By PETER EDSON  
Washington Correspondent  
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA)—News from Latin America always seems to be the most discouraging and there is much more of it.

This is emphasized by the overthrow of the Juan Bosch government in Dominican Republic and the Ramon Villeda Morales government in Honduras, for being too democratic.

In the past year there has been trouble of some kind in every country from Mexico to Honduras, back up the east coast to Venezuela and on across the Caribbean to Cuba.

If there was just one country where the outlook was really bright, there would be hope and more encouragement.

The United States has been pouring aid into Latin America since Nelson Rockefeller took over the Good Neighbor policy in 1940. Twenty years later—after nearly \$4 billion had been loaned or given away—this effort really boomed with President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program.

Some \$1.3 billion has been expended on it in fiscal years 1962 and 1963. Another \$600 million has been asked for the current fiscal year. This would make the total \$8 billion.

Tentative congressional cuts of 25 per cent or \$150 million on this year's program have raised cries of alarm from the administration that it will sabotage the program.

But the opposition to it is based on a contention that foreign aid to Cuba did not prevent Fidel Castro from taking over any more than aid to Bosch prevented the generals from throwing him out for being soft on the Communists.

So even if foreign aid is not directly responsible for Latin American instability, the Alliance for Progress may be cut down as a sacrifice on the altars of economy.

Latin American reaction to this possibility seems to be that whatever is wrong with the Alliance for Progress is primarily the fault of United States bad management. The contention is that the program cannot be run from Washington. They want it run by a Latin American organization and not between the U.S. and each country, separately.

Any thought that the United States will turn over to an international organization the control of wholly U.S. appropriated funds is ridiculous. Congress would never approve.

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