

Editorial Page

Battle For The Young Voters

During the heyday of the New Deal and its early aftermath, it was a commonplace to say that young Americans were voting heavily Democratic. Lately the political interests of the young folk have not seemed so clearly one-sided.

The Young Republicans recently finished another of their fire and brimstone conventions in San Francisco. You would hardly know the Young Democrats are alive.

In a wide area across the Old South, into the Southwest and well sprinkled in the Mountain states are new Republican leaders in their tender 30s. They are giving the GOP organization a new face, and some observers dare to suggest they may have already altered the party's power structure.

By contrast key portions of the rival Democratic organization look old and tired — and here and there corrupt. Sen. Barry Goldwater reminded the Young Republicans of this in his speech stressing liberal (Democratic) dependence on "corrupt big city machines" for voting power.

Yet, despite all the sights and sounds of youthful upsurge on the Republican side, it is not clear that young voters are turning consistently to Republican choices at the polls.

Dwight Eisenhower won many of them,

but President Kennedy scored well among them, too. The 1962 election results, strongly weighted with Democratic victories in Congress and at the governorship level, did not suggest the Democrats are suffering material defections.

But every election is a new ball game, and the Republicans will have a golden chance in 1964 to cut into the ranks of youth—and build overall vote totals to winning levels.

The Census Bureau says, in response to inquiry, that by November, 1964, there will be 10,300,000 persons who will have come to voting age since the 1960 election. Not all these will register, or otherwise be eligible to vote. But perhaps 6 million new voters will be on the rolls, two thirds of them in cities and suburbs.

These youngsters inevitably will represent one of the important battlegrounds of the 1964 campaign. Who will get them?

Is conservatism the theme they want to hear? On the assumption it is, Republicans bang hard on that drum.

Or is there still a quiet, somewhat unassertive but pronounced majority for the Democratic party's philosophy and programs?

The answer should be one of the most fascinating political results of 1964.

A Place For Greatness

"Sir, you have knocked down many things we believed in, but have not put anything in their place."

This was an earnest student's lament to a teacher who was busy trying to instill in all his pupils a healthy skepticism as they plunged into the varied fields of knowledge.

In the view of Bergen Evans, a Northwestern University professor, the job that teacher was doing is vital. Writing in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, he says of the American youngster in school:

"The boy must be encouraged to doubt, to question, to demand the credentials of every blustering assertion that claims to be incontrovertible."

"It seems almost cruel. The innocent trust of youth is so attractive that it seems wrong to undermine it. But the questioning spirit . . . will be the boy's first line of defense as he passes into manhood."

"The predators of the modern world work through thought control — through slogans, clichés, dogmas and isms, all clamoring for the boy's allegiance and blind acceptance."

What is at stake in the proper schooling of our young should be obvious to us all. In two years there will be more than 20 million pre-teen and teen-age boys in U.S. schools. How their minds are shaped will clearly affect the course of national and world history.

Professor Evans calls for careful balance to assure fair treatment for students through the whole spectrum of talent.

Like many others, he urges patience and eternal vigilance to the end that creative individuals be identified and encouraged rather than suppressed by the routine rigidities of the large class.

At the same time he would not have the great mass of average students downgraded by teachers or any others:

"No good is accomplished if, by disparaging contrast with the fortunate few, the many are led to feel inferior."

Evans is equally solicitous that reasonable attitudes be shown toward those who learn slowly or exhibit limited powers. Says he:

"They, too, are human beings. They, too, will be men with a place in society . . . They are helpless in the face of eternal blame and open or implied contempt."

A good school he adds, must protect the individual boy — against those in or out of the school who would stigmatize him for failure, corrode his creativity, embarrass him in his averageness.

"The purpose of the protection is often the highest educational aim of all — to preserve that boyish eagerness . . . that innocence permits."

"For much human greatness is simply a retention of the boy in the man."

If that spirit were instantly applied in all U.S. education, then the waste of human resource among America's 20 million school-boys would be far less than it is in sad fact likely to be in 1965 and thereafter.

"He Says It Can't Wait!"



IN WASHINGTON . . .

Junketing Newspapermen

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

In the guise of investigating improper lobbying by foreign governments, Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee has come perilously close to impinging on the protections granted the press under the First Amendment. It is one thing to look into the matter of highly-paid lobbyists who may be influencing legislation as they swarm over the Capitol. It is another to go prying into the affairs of public relations outfits which supply features and pictures to the press, movies, and television.

Where, how, or why the press publishes what it does is the concern of the reader. But Congress has no business to move in on this process. There can be no legislative purpose, since Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to enter this area. And we have been told repeatedly—though almost always in Communist cases—that legislative committees cannot investigate solely to inform the public.

The Fulbright Committee has for some time been gunning for the Hamilton Wright Organization which does public relations for foreign governments. Its work is no secret and it abides by the laws. It runs, moreover, an ethical operation. The Fulbright Committee is terribly upset because the Hamilton Wright outfit arranges free junkets for newspapermen to the countries it represents. (It would seem that the honorable Senators believe that they alone are entitled to all-

costs-paid trips abroad, presumably because the American taxpayer picks up the tab.)

Now junkets for newspapermen have been standard operating procedure as far back as living memory goes. They allow reporters to visit places where news is breaking or to give them background which will come in handy later. Businesses, trade associations, the U.S. military services, foreign governments and on ad infinitum arrange these junkets. Every publication in the world has at one time or another made use of the junket.

As a reporter, I was on many of them. I never experienced any arm-twisting. And I can think of no reporters who were so overcome with gratitude that they wrote what they didn't believe in order to pay off. I have also seen the good that an organization like Hamilton Wright can do.

Let me give an example: When Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico began his Operation Bootstrap, the island meant almost nothing to informed people in the states. The Hamilton Wright Organization was called in. Newspapermen were flown down to Puerto Rico and talked to the governor and to other officials. They looked at the island and saw what was being done to raise its standard of living and get it on its feet. To a man, they were tremendously impressed.

They began putting Puerto Rico on the map and describing Operation Bootstrap. Businessmen be-

came interested. Today, Puerto Rico is in many ways an American showcase—its standard of living has doubled—and some of the credit belongs to the public relations job done by the Wright people.

As an editor on *Newsweek*, I went on the first Wright junket to Puerto Rico. I was told, and the words were sincere: "Look around. If you see a story write it. If you don't, no one will hold it against you. See anyone and go anywhere. If you write a story that's tough on us, no one will be mad."

The Fulbright Committee is attempting to make it seem sordid and underhand. There is nothing underhand about it. When a reporter gets a free trip to Germany, Egypt, or points east and west, his editor knows about it—has to know about it—and so do his colleagues. The junket is a legitimate part of news gathering, and this is something of which Senator Fulbright would be aware if he knew anything about the newspaper business. Among his aides, he has a former newspaperman—the person responsible for the present attack on junkets, in fact. Has he listed the trips he took? And is he repaying the hospitality by turning on his hosts?

Of course, public relations outfits prepare material which puts their clients in the best possible light. This is what industry expects. Why shouldn't foreign governments expect the same. Until it is shown that these public relations organizations act unscrupulously or illegally, they have a right to conduct business without having the details of their operations spread out in the public record.

I have taken junkets. So have most other newspapermen. I have seen the travelogue short subjects prepared by Hamilton Wright for distribution to neighborhood theaters. They are clearly labeled for what they are—and technically superior to the Hollywood product. I will continue to enjoy the short subjects—and if I get a bid for a junket tomorrow, I'll take it.

What others think of us, is, of course, important; and we do not want them to have a wrong conception. Yet, merely dressing up our image to please and flatter and beguile the public is a form of prostitution, unless the inner self conforms to the outer appearance.

When a professional group, such as doctors or lawyers, feels that its image has become somewhat tarnished in recent years, it usually opens a barrage of publicity about the "dedication," the "service," the "high ideals" that animate these professions. Rarely is any attempt made to remedy practices and reform procedures that have tarnished the image.

It is generally considered sufficient if the public is persuaded to adopt a newer and brighter image; but this, too, will fail the test if the substance is not altered—and successive campaigns will have to be more intense and hysterical to offset the renewed cynicism.

"Image" is a word we should all forget as quickly as possible. It is a debased currency, whose purchasing power decreases the more we inflate it with publicity.



By PETER EDSON
Washington Correspondent
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

WASHINGTON (NEA) — Is it true, as some are saying, that fewer than half of the American people are in favor of the policies President Kennedy is advocating?

Not if the current public opinion polls accurately reflect public opinion.

Recent copyrighted polls taken by George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion give Kennedy a 61 per cent popularity rating.

While this is his low score to date—a 15 per cent drop in the first six months of 1963 and a 22 per cent plunge from his all-time high in 1961—it still doesn't indicate that more than half the people oppose his policies.

Popularity polls undoubtedly reflect news trends. If the news is good, the rating goes up. If the news is bad, the rating comes down.

This is true, it seems, whether the president is Democrat or a Republican.

For example, the low point for President Eisenhower—a popularity rating of 49 per cent—came in January 1958 at the depth of the depression. But when his Summit conference in September 1955 offered hope of a Berlin solution, his rating jumped up to 70 per cent—a peak equaled only after his re-election in 1956.

Similarly, a large factor in Kennedy's low score of 61 per cent in the most recent Gallup poll seems to be Southern opposition to his civil rights program.

The South gave him an approval rating of only 33 per cent, compared to 71 per cent approval outside the South.

Curiously, when a president is

Kennedy Holding His Own In Public Polls

in deep international trouble, his popular support is apt to go up. Eisenhower's rating soared from 62 to 71 per cent in June 1960 after the U-2 was shot down over Russia and the second Summit conference blew up in Paris.

Similarly, Kennedy's all-time high of 83 per cent came after the Cuban invasion fiasco in April 1961.

The Kennedy rating stayed above the 70 per cent mark through his first two years in office—a record.

At the end of 1961, it was 78 per cent. At the end of 1962, after the forced withdrawal of Russian missiles from Cuba and the 1962 elections in which Democrats made big congressional gains, it was 76 per cent.

Lack of action on Kennedy's program in Congress may be partly responsible for his sharp drop in popularity rating in the first half of 1963.

The surprising thing in Kennedy's poll ratings is that he still shows as favorite over the leading Republican possibilities to run against him in 1964.

In the Gallup poll made at the end of June, Kennedy and Johnson were favored for re-election over a hypothetical ticket of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Barry Goldwater by a vote of 56 to 38 per cent.

This may be a little tricky, for the pollsters' question was asked in such a way that Rockefeller was put at the head of the ticket. Only in the South did the Republican ticket fare better—47 per cent to 45 per cent for the Democrats.

Such figures seem to indicate Kennedy's slipping personal popularity has not vitally affected his standing against his most likely 1964 opponents.

WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Controversial Bill Maintains Pressure



By FULTON LEWIS JR.
Chief White House lobbyist

Larry O'Brien is hard at work picking up those handful of votes he needs for passage of the controversial Area Redevelopment bill.

He was stunned a month ago when House members voted 209-204 against an Administration proposal that would have provided another \$455 million for the Redevelopment Agency (ARA).

Congressional leaders then breakfasted at the White House, agreed a similar bill would be passed by the Senate (it subsequently was) and returned to the House for consideration.

Now O'Brien, working closely with Speaker John McCormack and Majority Leader Carl Albert is looking for those few House "switches" that can give him victory.

He hopes to find them in the ranks of Republican liberals. Manhattan's John Lindsay, an original supporter of ARA, helped lead opposition to the Administration proposal a month ago. It is thought doubtful he can be won over.

But O'Brien has high hopes of picking up the vote of West Virginia's Arch Moore who has come under heavy criticism in a district where unemployment is high. Local newspapers—egged on, no doubt, by Washington—have been savage in their attacks upon the Congressman.

Another GOP vote that O'Brien hopes to win is Massachusetts' Silvio Conte. Immediately after Conte voted against ARA, the Democratic State Committee staged a "unity dinner" in which all speakers attacked the Con-

gressman for taking bread out of children's mouths.

O'Brien helped lead the attack. Others joining in were Gov. "Chub" Peabody and District Attorney Matthew Ryan. They served notice on Conte that "Mossy" Donahue, Democratic floor leader in the State Senate, might challenge him next fall unless he got back on the right track.

Sen. Ted Kennedy did his part too by telling 200 business and political leaders to pressure Conte into backing ARA on the upcoming vote.

But Conte has not backed off. He has told Peabody to begin worrying about his own reelection and Ryan to start enforcing the law in his domain. From Kennedy he had demanded a detailed explanation of how government participation in the construction of motels throughout rural Oklahoma will help relieve chronic unemployment in hard-core distressed areas.

Conte says he now opposes ARA because it simply has not done the job. Massachusetts taxpayers have paid more than \$14 million into the ARA kitty, and have yet to get their money's worth, he says.

To Conte, one of the most disturbing ARA projects to date has been one that delivered a shoe manufacturing plant to Indiana. Before the firm would locate there, ARA had first to provide a loan of \$474,000, a grant of \$137,000, a water and sewer project worth \$105,000 and a job retraining program priced at \$64,272.

"In one fell swoop," Conte says, "the ARA made itself a party to the promotion of cut-throat competition, to the creation of additional unemployment in a depressed industry, to the lowering of industry wage levels, to the encouragement of anti-union activity and to the subsidy of racial discrimination in employment."

"My information comes not from diehard conservatives who oppose any or all measures of the Kennedy Administration but from responsible spokesmen of the United Shoe Workers, AFL-CIO. I have one shoe factory left in my district and that kind of pirating, even without the aid of taxpayer money, is always like a sword hanging over our heads."

Conte points to the following ARA programs with something less than enthusiasm:

"ARA funds were used to train machine tool operators for the Mack Truck Company in Hagerstown, Md., after it had vacated an old plant in Plainfield, N.J., where it had employed 2,000 workers."

"ARA made a grant—not a loan—of \$75,000 to help modernize the Hawthorne, Nev., Municipal Airport. Hawthorne has a population of 2,628."

"ARA loaned \$410,000 to the Tomahawk, Wis., Paper Company for the manufacture of household tissues even though the industry now produces 400,000 tons more a year than consumers demand."



HOLMES ALEXANDER . . .

Atmosphere Of Action

By HOLMES ALEXANDER
WASHINGTON, D.C. — Sen. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) is a tall, silvered journalist, jolly of purpose, gifted with gray matter, and co-author of the only modern reorganization of Congressional procedures.

Monroney had been talking a little and brooding a lot over the Public Accommodations bill before the Commerce Committee. This bill would make use of the overused interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. It would force virtually all proprietors of private businesses to serve the public, regardless of the owner's desire to discriminate.

"I'm all in favor of ending discrimination," Monroney told a reporter, who had been observing his meditation from the press table. "But I'm wondering how far this bill will take us in bringing the federal government into private business. I wouldn't want a situation where the federal government would be licensing, say, plumbers."

Monroney still has a lot of thinking and consulting to do, so it would be unfair to pin him to a premature conclusion. But one of the ideas he's weighing is a Constitutional Amendment which would outlaw discrimination in places of employment and accommodation, yet not open the door to unlimited federal intervention.

But in the present Civil Rights

atmosphere of "Action — Now," Monroney's contemplative approach would seem to have little chance. It would take at least two years for Congress and the states to approve a Constitutional Amendment. It would take this session of Congress and the next to conduct a depth study of how to apply the commerce clause to Civil Rights without inadvertently making it apply to other aspects of business.

The Kennedy Administration seemingly can't wait—and the Negro insurgents won't wait—that long. At the same Commerce Committee meeting at which your reporter had a chance to question Monroney, there wasn't an out-of-order ovation for Secretary Rusk, who testified for the bill. A tough-minded chairman like McClellan would have gavelled the audience down. But Pastore, the acting chairman, and Magnuson, the regular chairman, both sat still and allowed the demonstration to run its course.

Such is the atmosphere of the Civil Rights hearings. It will greatly intensify when the legislation comes to the floors of House and Senate, with hundreds of thousands of Negro demonstrators in town.

In a late afternoon Senate session, with only himself on the floor, and with the President's brother in the chair, Hubert Humphrey filled six columns of the Congressional Record with a rab-

ble-raising harangue that was more like the radical young agitator of 10 years past than the respected and mature veteran of parliamentary affairs that Humphrey has become. His fiery diatribe was not meant for his colleagues, who weren't around to hear him, but it will doubtless go through the mails and add fuel to the flames of demagoguery which are already licking the edges of our cities.

Humphrey, acting floor leader in the absence of Mike Mansfield, quoted an Administration columnist to attack the Senate itself ("What kind of a legislative body is it that cannot or will not legislate?"). He jeered at the "bleeding of the hearts" of fellow Senators who, earlier in the day, had spoken against the slave state of Cuba. He threatened Congress with the warning that the best way to prevent a massive Negro demonstration next month would be to pass the Civil Rights package—now.

Plainly this is a bad time of history for the contemplative legislator, of whom Monroney is not the only exemplar. It is a bad time for the reflective citizen who might hope for something better than laws passed in haste and repented in leisure.

In the atmosphere of "Action—Now," it's devil take the hindmost, alias those Americans who might want time to think these matters through.



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

I was pleased to read that at a recent meeting of advertising people in New York, the director of creative projects at NBC news told the group that the worst word ever coined by advertising people is "image."

As reported in *Advertising Age*, he said that "substance and truth are the important things, rather than image, even if the picture is at times unpleasant."

The "image" is what the public sees and bears; the reality behind the image may be quite another thing. If we labor heavily and expensively at the image, and make the public believe what we are not, then there is little incentive to change the reality itself.

There is the same difference between the old-fashioned words "character" and "reputation." A man's reputation is what others have been trained to think about him; his character is what he really is. If he devotes most of his efforts to improving his reputation, for its own sake, then his character will inevitably suffer.

"We must change our image," says a company—but an image must be a true reflection of reality, or it is a fake. And the only permanent, meaningful way to change an image is to change the substance behind it.

The substance cannot be changed by publicity, by promotion, by advertising—but only

STRICTLY PERSONAL

by a radical re-examination of one's goals, standards, and values. This is hard work, and often unpleasant to face, but it is the only ultimately rewarding way to merge the reality with the image.

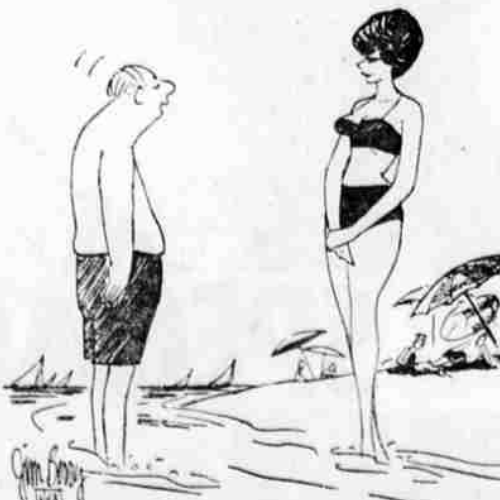
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BERRY'S WORLD



"It certainly is good to see some new faces around the hotel this year!"