

# Editorial Page

## Senator Goldwater Surges Ahead

If the Republican presidential nominating convention were to be held tomorrow, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona would be the party's candidate against President John F. Kennedy a year from next November.

That is the view of the great majority of political writers and pundits, whether or not they happen to personally agree with the Goldwater philosophy. And it is backed up by public opinion polls with excellent past performance records. In these polls, the Senator is significantly ahead of other possible candidates.

The Goldwater boom has been a dramatic one. Numbers of his followers are imbued with almost a Messiah-like zeal. Goldwater clubs have sprung up throughout the country. Goldwater stickers and buttons are seen in growing number. He seems to have a particularly strong following among the younger Republicans, which is a very great asset indeed. And this has happened even though he is not a formally announced candidate for anything except his Senate seat. He has taken it in stride, with modesty and good humor.

Senator Goldwater is a conservative, who has small use for most of the ideas of the liberal wing either in or out of his party. Yet he is a strong party man, who had charge of the campaign to elect Republican senators in '62 and labored loyally for all concerned, including some with whom he is in profound disagreement. Moreover, he has gone to some length, particularly of late, to disassociate himself from the extreme conservative right wing. He has modified some of his positions — on taxation, certain government welfare activities, and other controversies. But he is the tireless and eloquent enemy of policies which, in his view, threaten to create a central governmental colossus, possessed of virtually limitless powers, at the expense of local and in-

dividual rights and responsibilities. The individual human being looms very large in his esteem. He doesn't think of people as statistics.

But the fact that the Senator now seems well ahead of any other Republican hopeful does not mean that this condition will obtain next summer, when the convention is held. A great deal of water can go under the bridge between now and then. Some Goldwater supporters feel that the drive to nominate him may have started too early — that it may run out of steam at the crucial time. In any event, a real fight looms. The anti-Goldwater forces are now gathering, in large part at least, behind Governor Rockefeller. The Governor, like the Senator, is not formally a candidate. But a few doubt that he will make a run for the prize. And, like the Senator, the Governor has been clarifying his ideas on the big issues in speeches and interviews. His purpose is to avoid labels, either liberal or conservative, and to make it clear that views aren't just a Republican version of the present Administration's. He has strongly emphasized his faith in private enterprise, in maintaining vigorous and responsible local government, in holding federal spending to the present level, and so on. Actually, there are a good many important areas in which he and Goldwater see pretty much eye to eye. But there are others where the differences are great, and it is this that will be stressed in the months ahead.

Meanwhile, there seems to have been an upsurge in GOP optimism so far as '64 is concerned. There is a feeling that Mr. Kennedy can be beaten; that he has lacked decisiveness and effectiveness, and that the electorate has been disappointed in him. Next year's election will show whether that feeling is right or wrong.

'I'm All Right Now — This Time I've Changed My Name To Bo-Beep'



EDSON IN WASHINGTON . . .

## Congress Hit With Rights Pressure



By PETER EDSON  
Washington Correspondent  
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.  
WASHINGTON (NEA)—A massive, nation-wide campaign reaching a climax Thanksgiving weekend is being planned by the March on Washington leaders to pressure Congress for passage of strong civil rights legislation this year.

Local campaigns will be concentrated on states and districts represented by perhaps 100 congressmen whose position on civil rights reform is considered doubtful.

Individual letter writing appeals and group petitions from these congressmen's own constituents are to be organized.

There will be other petitions to city councils, state legislatures and governors.

Local marches are planned to accompany petitions to the post offices, to start them on their way to Washington.

Delegations of 15 to 20 local citizens will be brought to the Capitol to sit in the galleries while civil rights debate is on and key votes are being taken.

Meetings will be sought with congressmen in their own districts, especially during Thanksgiving weekend, Nov. 27-30. It is expected that civil rights legislation will be emerging from the House about this time and entering the Senate for committee consideration.

A second phase of the campaign to deal with an expected Senate filibuster will then be thrown into gear.

In announcing these plans after an all-day meeting of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in Washington, its chairman, Roy Wilkins, declared there would be no sit-ins at congressmen's offices.

Wilkins also opposed plans for a nationwide boycott of Christmas shopping.

"We have used boycotts against specific merchants effectively," he said. "If this is scattered to the 50 states, it will lose its power."

Any idea of postponing action of or passing only the tax cut or the civil rights bill this year is rejected by the Negro leaders.

"I think we can have both," says Wilkins. "But if not, we've got to have ours. Tax cuts can

be made retroactive if passed next year. But our people are being killed.

"This is not 1957 or 1960. It's 1963, and if any politician thinks he can postpone action, it is a monumental blunder."

These strong views were expressed in Washington on the same day that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights filed its third biennial report just before the Senate gave it a one-year lease on life. Its report was a frank admission that it had failed to accomplish its mission.

"The conclusion is inevitable that present legal remedies for voter discrimination are inadequate," says its report. "The only effective guarantee is enactment by Congress of some form of uniform (federal and state) voter qualification standards."

"Nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision in the school desegregation cases, Negro children will attend segregated schools in all parts of the nation . . . because of existing housing patterns and employment practices."

"Within one year after issuance of Executive Order 11063 (banning discrimination in housing), little has been done to implement it so far."

"The vast majority of Negroes are unskilled and semiskilled workers. Displaced by machines, they swell the ranks of the unemployed. . . . The reasons include inadequate education, inferior job training, discrimination by private employers and by state and local administration of federal programs."

"Civil rights denials exist in all areas of the nation, but their inter-relationships are more apparent in the heavily populated urban areas. . . . This is the challenge of the 60s."

The Civil Rights Commission makes a score of detailed recommendations to correct these abuses. In every case, these recommendations go far beyond provisions of the House Judiciary subcommittee civil rights bill.

Negro leaders hail the report as "a clean and welcome break from the old piecemeal approach." It is considered better than President Kennedy's original program but still not good enough.



WILLIAM S. WHITE . . .

## Issues Will Decide Voting

By WILLIAM S. WHITE  
WASHINGTON—So many great questions are shaping up for the 1964 presidential campaign as to make it strongly probable that the voters' decision may be based on issues more than on personalities to a degree not seen in many years.

Already, more than a year ahead of Election Day, five major issues are at work: the nuclear test ban with the Soviet Union; civil rights; Cuba; South Viet Nam, and the deep fiscal argument involved in the Kennedy administration's tax-cutting bill.

On the test ban, President Kennedy, in the detached opinion of this columnist, is well ahead today and will stay well ahead—if the Russians do not again break their word. The "peace vote" is a big one.

On the two domestic issues here—the civil rights and tax bills—Kennedy is in trouble. First of all, he has put both down as "must" for this session of Congress, and one or the other is almost certainly going to have to be deferred.

If the one set aside for next year is civil rights—and the odds are that civil rights it will be—the President may expect far sharper attacks from extremist Negro leaders who already are charging that he is not going far enough. He will at the same time in no way placate much Southern and Western and Midwestern—and possibly also Eastern—feeling that he is trying to go much too far, especially in seeking to force integration in private property and private housing.

As to tax reduction, he has a better chance to bring off a bill than on civil rights. But even an administration success here will be of doubtful political value if a cut is at length approved with no absolute guarantees, of the kind being demanded by the Republicans, for major reductions are in federal spending. There is great doubt—based on polls, on Congressional mail and on letters to this columnist—that a majority of the people really favor tax relief if it is not to be accompanied by a rugged paring down of the costs of government.

As to Cuba, there is more anxiety in the nation about that Communist-dominated island than the administration seems to recognize. Though the President stood up to Nikita Khrushchev last October over Cuba, the fact remains that what would have been only a bad nightmare a few years ago is an enduring reality now. This is the presence in this hemisphere of an actively hostile Communist regime.

If the President elects to enter the campaign of next fall with Castro communism still standing triumphant and not visibly hurt in the Caribbean, he will take an enormous risk. It could be a fatal risk should Castro and/or the Russians decide to humiliate this

country during that campaign by some impudent gesture in Cuba undermining our national powerlessness to get rid of that point of Communist infection. In a word, Kennedy is a prisoner here of Communist initiative. Either Castro or Khrushchev could destroy the election for him by a single irresponsible act.

The position in South Viet Nam is no less grave. Here, the United States is committed to a sensible program to halt creeping Communist aggression in Southeast Asia by supplying arms and military advice—and also 15,000 American troops in or near the forward battle line. If the administration has made a single brilliant stroke in military-foreign policy, it has been this very concept of fighting a wisely limited war, at small cost in American life, for the limitlessly important objective of holding Southeast Asia.

But the basic division in the Democratic party between moderates and conservatives on the one

side and liberal extremists on the other, which has been the President's greatest weakness from the start, is threatening him here. The bulk of moderate-to-conservative Democrats, certainly in Congress and probably in the country, too, support this war all the way. They are increasingly concerned that we do not somehow lose it by concentrating on the shortcomings of the South Vietnamese government rather than on the perils posed by the Communist invaders.

It is the Democratic ultra-liberals who incessantly press the President to center on what is wrong with the "dictatorial" Vietnamese leadership. Here, as always, the President's left wing is his Achilles heel. It is alienating moderate opinion in this country on this and other matters. This is precisely why the conservative front-runner for the Republican Presidential nomination, Sen. Barry Goldwater, is indeed running in so front a position.



By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

On the chill and rainy day of this past summer in the country, I spent some time watching television in more sustained segments than I had ever done before, and today I'd like to discuss some of the moral and intellectual ramifications of this medium.

But first a word from my syndicate. . . . Do you know that the Harris column is more widely syndicated and read than any other column written by a man named Harris? Young wives say, in interviews from coast to coast: "I prefer Harris because his verbs are so clean, his adjectives glisten for hours with a lustrous sheen, and his conjunctions fit so superbly and luxuriously."

To get back. . . . What most fascinated me about the medium is its ritualistic attitude of imitation. There is not the slightest deviation from the accepted canons of each stereotyped program: all the parts seem interchangeable, including the MCs, the panel contestants, the family groups, the comedy routines, even the poignant dramas of . . .

I'd like to interrupt to remind you to watch for next week's columns, which will plumb the depths of the human mind, soar to unprecedented heights of speculation and offer a well-rounded, warm, human, gripping and yet funny overview of the cosmic situation today.

Where was I? Oh, yes. It seems clear to me that a quite new moral and intellectual frame

of reference is being created by the medium, in terms of mass manipulation of the basic emotional clichés. I'd like to quote some pertinent studies made by Talcott and Parsons, as well as a most illuminating paper presented last year by Gordon Allport at the International Psychological Conference in Berne. But now . . .

All your friends are talking about the new improved Harris column—so refreshing, just mild enough, but full of flavor. Try Harris for a week and see if your literary taste buds don't perk up. You don't experience a new surge of pure joy, if you don't say to yourself, "Where has this wonderful man been all my life?" Remember, Harris uses only the most expensive words, hand-picked, in a secret formula combination, Magiword, that no other writer can duplicate. Try him today, won't you?

In the Talcott and Parsons study, it was shown that the age-level from 6 to 11 was the most profoundly influenced by the emphasis on violence, and by a wholly pragmatic and empirical approach to ethical problems. Thus, the traditional values in the Western world, which have heretofore been transmitted institutionally, are now undergoing a rapid transformation in terms of . . .

But my space is up. Remember, I'm followed on the next page by the Obituary Column Club, with new personalities each day. Don't miss it!

## STRICTLY PERSONAL.



IN WASHINGTON . . .

## Latin American Policy

By RALPH de TOLEDANO  
The official who decides what the United States should do in the Caribbean is not the Secretary of State. Nor is he the President. Since January, 1961, the most important man where Latin American affairs are concerned is Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico. Not only is his advice heeded, but it is immediately implemented by two of his people, Alliance for Progress coordinator Teodoro Moscoso and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Arturo Morales-Carrion.

Mr. Moscoso was, for many years, Governor Munoz's right hand man in Puerto Rican government. Mr. Morales-Carrion was known in San Juan, when he worked for the governor, as a yes-man.

Governor Munoz's influence, however, should derive from the consent of President Kennedy. Under the Organic Act which gives Puerto Rico its unique status as a "commonwealth," all foreign policy for the island is left in the hands of the United States. But Governor Munoz has convinced the State Department that he is indispensable as the "bridge between the U.S. and Latin America."

To be fair about it, this was true once upon a time. Many leaders south of the border were highly impressed by the job Governor Munoz had done in improving Puerto Rico's economic conditions. But the prestige gained in this manner was dissipated when he became one of the leading drum-beaters for Fidel Castro. As an expert on such matters, the governor was highly influential in arguing that Castro was not a Communist.

Fidel Castro's fall from grace, however, did not bruise Governor Munoz's reputation at the State Department for perspicacity and a thorough knowledge of all things Latino. The biggest Munoz coup was his sale—signed, sealed, and delivered—to the Administration of Juan Bosch. Sr. Bosch, boss until recently of the Dominican Republic, was known to be Munoz's man—and that was enough to convince the White House that he was a winner. But the new Dominican government turned out to be inefficient and high-handed, with a tendency to permit—if not encourage—a steady infiltration of Communists. When Sr. Bosch took power, agents of the

Munoz Puerto Rican government were helping to run the show. Since then, Governor Munoz has been "the man to see" where Caribbean affairs are concerned. At the time of the Dominican coup d'etat, which overthrew Sr. Bosch and announced restoration of the U.S.-style constitution which had been suspended by the Bosch regime, representatives of Governor Munoz flew into the Dominican Republic in an attempt to block the new regime. At the same time, the governor began calling the Venezuelan president, Romulo Betancourt, and other sympathetic Latin American leaders and heads of government. He suggested that they light a fire under President Kennedy and the State Department by urging military intervention to keep Sr. Bosch on his shaky throne.

This meddling in the foreign policy of the United States is a violation of the law. Only the president, and those specifically delegated by him, have any Constitutional right to speak for this country. (It will be recalled that there were loud outcries when the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

got a number of shipowners to sign a "pact" that they would desist from trading with the Communist enemy.) There are, in fact, laws which make what Governor Munoz is doing a punishable offense.

The State Department can, of course, be counted on to say that Governor Munoz was acting with the President's consent. But it is a little troubling when an official who does not have the right, and has shown no sign of the proper ability, begins to serve as a kind of super-State Department in the Caribbean. Governor Munoz is a brilliant man and he has done much to bring economic health to Puerto Rico. But he has helped to saddle us with a disastrous Cuban policy.

Now he is seeking to force the Dominican Republic to take back Juan Bosch. That voices in the Senate, taking their lead from him, now call for war in order to restore the Bosch regime, shows how far off base we are. If the Administration wants to show its muscle, it can take first things first by dealing with the Castro danger.

## BERRY'S WORLD



"After work, let's stop off for one o' them 'big-calorie hard drinks!'"

## Letters To The Editor

Peeved

I am writing in hopes this letter will be published in the paper for everyone to see. I would like to express my feelings on this tax increase. It is supposed to go the people for a vote this fall.

What good will it do if three-fourths of the people vote against it? From what I have read and heard, if we vote against it, the property tax will go up.

It seems to me, it doesn't make any difference what we, the people, do, the government will get what it wants anyway, so why let the people vote?

If we vote for it, we will have higher taxes to pay. If we vote against it, we will have higher property tax. We will have higher taxes either way. It seems as if the government has all the say-so and the people have none.

I can remember when there was a time when we didn't have to pay high prices and high taxes on everything.

It seems like everytime a new generation grows up, prices and taxes both go up too. Prices are so high now that the poor man can hardly afford to live. He does well if he can buy enough clothes to cover himself and enough food

to feed himself properly. He does really well if he can provide for his family he loves. I have often wondered what is really going to happen to us all. Maybe the good Lord knows. One thing is for sure, I don't think we do.

Another subject I feel so strong about is the dogs and cats. Why do we vote for leash laws and pens for the animals that God meant to be free? I am one that did not vote for the leash law. We got a big Collie dog to play with the children, of which we have five. He is a darn good playmate and followed the children everywhere they went. Whenever I wanted the children for something, all I had to do was look for his big tail or head and I would find the children. The picture of a dog that was in a recent paper was very pitiful. The caption read "This Is Your Week Rover, But Celebrate At Home." Where else can be celebrated? He has to be chained up all the time, it is very unlikely that he will go anywhere else to celebrate. What is to be celebrated anyway? Being tied up all day and night?

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WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

## Rockefeller Is Fading

By FULTON LEWIS JR.  
WASHINGTON—Not until recently has Nelson Rockefeller, who first entered politics at the age of 30, shown much interest in Young Republican affairs.

Three times (1959, 1961 and 1963) he rejected invitations to address the YR national convention. On July 14, little more than a month after the third such conclave he had refused to attend, Rocky issued an exaggerated statement in which he charged that "well-financed extremist" elements had taken over the YR's.

Radical right lunatics, he said, successfully engineered a disgraceful subversion of YR principles in electing a Goldwater conservative, Donald "Buz" Lukens, National Chairman.

The Governor was promptly repudiated by a group of Young Republican Congressmen who had been present at San Francisco. Rep. Bill Brock and Ed Foreman, among others, issued statements sharply critical of Rockefeller's analysis. YR delegates, including many who had supported Lukens' opponent, Charles McDevitt, wrote Rocky to set the record straight.

The governor was silent. Then, on Meet the Press two weeks ago, he renewed his attack on the right-wing fanatics who allegedly seized control of the YR's.

Now Rockefeller is again condemned, this time by several former Young Republican National Chairmen. They include John Ashbrook, the articulate young Congressman from Ohio's 17th District; Kansas banker Ned Cushing; and Herbert Warburton, a former official in the Eisenhower Administration.

The only recent YR chairman who did not endorse the criticism of Rockefeller is Cleveland McWhorter.

Rockefeller's frequent target, current YR Chairman "Buz" Lukens, saved the governor from severe embarrassment a week ago when members of the Young Republican executive committee met in Chicago for their first meeting since San Francisco. They were angry at Rockefeller for his frontal attacks on the YR's. They were strong in advocating passage of a resolution censuring Rockefeller for his stands.

It was Lukens who urged that the motion be tabled as it might be construed as a divisive measure.

Republican Congressmen who represent upstate New York say Governor Rockefeller's popularity has plummeted badly in their districts.

This is the finding of Edwin Safford, highly respected Washington correspondent for the Syracuse Post Standard. Safford interviewed four GOP Congressmen from the Syracuse area and learned that all four have written off Rocky as a presidential prospect.

Explained one: "He is a dead duck. The remarriage hurt him with the women in my district. His state income tax reversal also seems to have turned many against him."

Said another: "The plain truth is his name is mud in my district. I spoke to a lot of party

workers and they just do not have a high opinion of him as a winner."

Safford quotes one Representative as saying anti-Rockefeller sentiment is also noticeable among his colleagues in Washington. Only last year, the Congressman explained, Rockefeller was talked of by mid-West Republicans as the almost-certain GOP nominee in 1964.

"It is a long time since that has happened, though," he says. "Now these same people are for Goldwater."

## Almanac

By United Press International  
Today is Tuesday, Oct. 8, the 281st day of 1963 with 84 to follow.

The moon is approaching its last quarter.

The morning stars are Mercury and Jupiter.

The evening stars are Jupiter and Saturn.

Those born today include World War I aviator Eddie Rickenbacker, in 1890.

On this day in history: In 1871, the great Chicago fire began and burned more than 17,000 buildings.

In 1923, Germany's shaky post-war economy produced a wave of such disastrous inflation that one U.S. penny bought more than 6-million marks.

In 1940, Congress passed an act levying taxes on excess profits of corporate earnings.

A thought for the day — The American naturalist and author, Henry David Thoreau, said: "It takes two to speak the truth — one to speak and another to hear."