

# Editorial Page

## Rights Push Benefits GOP

One of the genuine puzzlers for 1964 is the extent to which President Kennedy and the Democratic party may suffer defections from among the minority groups which have helped provide smashing big city Democratic victories for 30 years.

At this stage, short of any election test, the threat of some defection seems real. Reports multiply that considerable elements of the white urban — and occasionally suburban — population are angry over the Negroes' big civil rights push in 1963.

Up to now this has been most often heard with respect to Polish descendants in such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh. In Philadelphia, Irish and Italian elements — checked in surveys — are said to be complaining bitterly.

Generally speaking, the resentment is found to be sharpest among those people who are closest to Negroes in the economic scale. The competition for jobs, and job preference, is recognized as growing keener as efforts are made to advance the Negroes' lot.

The Irish, of course, have been with the Democratic party for long decades. The big new increment to the party in the 1930s came from the Poles and other Slavic peoples. Second generation families, coming of age as voting citizens for the first time, formed a key part of the fabled "Roosevelt coalition of that era.

For nearly 20 years that allegiance was generally unwavering. The Italians, the Negroes (in 1936 and thereafter) and other minorities swelled the frequently irresistible Democratic urban vote totals.

The year 1952 produced a substantial though not severe break in the ranks. The Korean war, falling heavily on large Italian and Slavic families with many sons of draft age, was deeply unpopular with these groups. They turned in important numbers to support Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Many stayed with him — and others joined the turn — in 1956. He was viewed as a guarantor of peace.

But 1960 was another story. Eisenhower was gone from the ballot. Luring these heavily Catholic peoples back to the Democratic fold was a Catholic party nominee, John F. Kennedy. He won 26 of the 40 biggest cities, sweeping wide through the minorities. Republicans quickly undertook a sober study to figure how to woo at least some of them back.

The question now is whether the great civil rights struggle of 1963 may not have done more for the GOP in this regard than they could ever have done for themselves.

The rumblings of white "national minority" discontent are real enough. But their size and depth have not been measured.

The first major test of any consequence comes next month in Philadelphia's mayoralty election, when Democratic Mayor James Tate runs up against young, personable James McDermott, Republican. Defeat or even a fairly close squeak for Tate in a city which can produce massive Democratic majorities would be a powerful indicator of trouble ahead for the President in 1964.

## 'If Anybody Asks . . . Secretary Korth Fell Into The Pool . . .'



IN WASHINGTON . . .

## Ohio Being Wooed By Both Candidates



By RALPH de TOLEDANO CINCINNATI, Ohio—A veteran newspaperman, who has seen the rise and fall of political fortunes, says: "Dick Nixon didn't make it by much in Ohio. Come 1964, I think President Kennedy can take the state."

Another newspaperman comments: "The Republicans have recovered from the beating they took in 1958. The 1962 election showed that this state has moved back into the GOP column. I don't think Kennedy can make it against a conservative Republican like Barry Goldwater."

This difference of opinion is what makes horse races and elections. At this stage of the game, no amount of polling by George Gallup can come up with any real answers. A visiting reporter goes by the feel and the smell—and this can be deceptive, as many of us will attest.

The basis for the variance in opinions is what's interesting. Those who feel that Mr. Kennedy is now ahead have their reasons. Even in Cincinnati, the largest city in the country to go consistently Republican, there is a belief that the President was hurt seriously only by his handling of the Cuban problem. But this, it is argued, is pretty much forgotten. The test ban Treaty of Moscow seems to have put him ahead, giving him a handle for the "peace" issue. Civil rights has made little dent on the public consciousness in Ohio, the Kennedy optimists assert. Therefore, as the incumbent, he has an edge no challenger can overcome.

This argument is seriously challenged by others. They claim that the Cuba situation is not forgotten, that it is merely quiet. Any flare-up of trouble on the island will bring it back to life. Civil rights remain a plugging but "hidden" issue, particularly with labor, which is the backbone of the Democratic Party here. Given the strong conservatism of many Ohioans, the planned budget deficit of the Kennedy Administration has been disturbing to many people.



## STRICTLY PERSONAL.

By SYDNEY J. HARRIS

In a recent issue of the Atlantic Monthly, I was interested in reading an interview with Stirling Moss, the pre-eminent racing driver of our time.

Among other things, Moss confessed that his great courage on the track does not extend to other activities; for instance, he would under no circumstances dive from a 30-foot board into the water, even though he "knew" the water was deep enough and safe enough for the dive.

We tend to do with the word "courage" what we do with the word "intelligence"—we assume that it is indivisible, when actually there are many different kinds of courage and many different kinds of intelligence.

And those who possess one special kind of courage or intelligence tend to think that those who lack it (even though possessing some other kind) are wholly without the virtue.

Physical courage, for example, is most admired in our society; yet a good cause could be made out that not only are there offering forms of physical courage, but also that there may be superior kinds of courage that make the physically brave man look like a coward.

I was impressed some years ago listening to the rebroadcast of a BBC talk given by Gen. Sir William Slim, former commander-in-chief of the Allied Land Forces in South East Asia, in

But more important than this, say those who feel Mr. Kennedy cannot take the state in 1964, is the undefined feeling they detect of unease about the President, the abrasive edge of the comment about "Kennedy nepotism," and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. There are some, in fact, who feel that Robert Kennedy is the GOP's secret weapon.

Criticism of the President's younger brother was once limited for the most part to insiders, to Washington correspondents who had known him when he was chief counsel to the Senate Labor Rackets Committee. But the Attorney General has been in the public eye since January of 1961, and some observers think he has not helped to enhance the President's image.

One thing is certain. Unless there is a drastic change in sentiment, Ohio is one state that will not fall to either candidate without a considerable struggle. If the Republican ticket, as a whole, is strong, that will help the Presidential nominee—whoever he may be. At this sitting, U.S. Senator Stephen Young is still determined to run for re-election, and the opinion here is that he will be a drag on the Democrats.

There are, moreover, signs of Democratic fragmentation, particularly in Cleveland, the state's largest city, which is normally safe for Democrats. There is a possibility that many Cleveland Democrats will jump the fence in local elections.

The stakes are great. If Senator Goldwater is the nominee, Ohio is one of the states he must take if he is to make his South-Midwest Mountain State parlay. The battle will be all out and, I suspect, with no holds barred. Perhaps because Ohioans realize the pivotal role they can play in the next Presidential go-round, they are confusing and dividing the experts.

Nothing so sets up a state or a city as the knowledge that it is being wooed, and Ohio is aware that the courtship has just about begun. Kennedy or Goldwater, it's going to be fun.

## Stampede To Disaster

By DR. JOHN A. HOWARD President, Rockford College

What is a stampede? It is a rapid mass movement. It is engaged in thoughtlessly. It is caused by fright. It is dangerous, and it is exceedingly difficult to stop. The press toward federal subsidy of education, in my judgment, meets precisely each of these qualifications.

We are being rushed into ill-advised remedies for education that violate the nature and neutralize the vitality of the educational system which has ably served this country's needs under circumstances the most various.

If our nation permits our educational system to be circumscribed and distorted by federal involvement as the agricultural system has been, the destructive consequences will be seen in every aspect of our lives.

The qualities of the educational system—strength or weakness, wisdom or folly, diversity or uniformity—will inevitably be reflected in the society some years later. As we may undermine the effectiveness of our schools and colleges, we reduce the potential of our society and alter its character. It is my belief that we as a nation are unwittingly placing in jeopardy our entire system of education.

As the federal government becomes the largest single source of funds for college after college, and there are a number already in this category, the institutions become beholden to the government. This is not a chimera born of a doctrinaire distrust of government.

Recently I wrote to the president of a well-known university inviting him to join a group of college presidents in making known the arguments against the ever-growing federal subsidies of education. He replied that, although he was in full agreement with our position that subsidies are not in the long-range best interests of the colleges or the country, his own university was now so dependent upon funds from Washington he could not take a public stand on this issue without jeopardizing the university he served.

Think of that answer, if you will. The mere flow of money has silenced the opposition. The loss of political freedom on the part of those who depend on government for their income was the reason for refusing suffrage to the residents of the District of Columbia.

Project the federal aid programs ahead, not too many years the way things are going, to the time when all colleges and universities will receive the largest part of their budgets from the U.S. Treasury. It is likely that all faculty members in that day will feel some obligation to vote for whichever party promises the largest

amount of additional educational subsidies, regardless of other partisan differences. Political freedom is sacrificed by those who depend upon government resources. Can we afford to forfeit the political freedom of the whole academic community?

There is no need to depend upon conjecture or ascertaining the effects of federal funds in education. There is now a manual of almost 800 pages devoted to a brief description of each of the educational programs in which the U.S. Government is already engaged. College executives may subscribe to a periodical solely devoted to the pressures of changes in old programs. The scope of current federal programs offers plenty of opportunity for observation.

Early this year an issue of "Nation's Business" contained an article describing the inconsistencies, the distortions and the general confusion which characterize the aggregate of government educational programs. The source of that article is John F. Morse, who not long ago completed a nine-month study for the Higher Education Subcommittee of the House of Representatives. I urge you to read Mr. Morse's statement.

The inescapable conclusion seems to be that we must have a Washington super-authority to make plans for the academic segment of our society and to coordinate as well as pay for education through a central bureaucracy. This will be the disaster referred to in the title.

The predominant characteristic of American higher education has been its diversity. Each collegiate institution has its own particular nature, totally distinguishable from every other. The degree to which spiritual concerns affect the student during his undergraduate years ranges on different campuses from predominance to insignificance. Similarly, the political impact upon the student varies from pure conservatism to an college to extreme liberalism at other institutions. College curricula differ to a much greater extent than is generally recognized. I am convinced that it is a convergence of diversely educated people in each of the different enterprises of our society that has been the one condition which more than any other has made ours a dynamic, successful and altruistic nation.

What fosters this diversity? Principally it is the autonomy of the various institutions. As a college conceives or receives a new idea that seems promising, it has to sell it only to its own board of control. However, each new educational undertaking of the federal government provides a single board of control and thus diversity of American education is curtailed. I do not know of one college

executive who would not quickly agree that programs now supported on our campuses by federal funds could be carried on at least as effectively by a comparable amount of funds from other sources and, in many, many cases, could be conducted with more imagination, more flexibility, less bother and at a much lower cost. Why then, do not the same executives oppose federal aid? The answer is money.

Money is a good servant but a dangerous master. The only legitimate justification for federal aid is that education lacks money and the federal government is far more prodigal with its funds than are other sources. If only the proponents of federal aid would come right out and state this fact, we could face the issue head on and measure what the easy money buys against what we must sacrifice in order to obtain it from Washington.

It is undeniable that our increasingly technical society requires an increasingly skilled and knowledgeable population and, to accomplish this end, a larger part of gross national product must be invested in education.

The issue is whether this urgent objective is to be achieved through congressional action—which forces people to pay more for education and at the same time diminishes the diversity and circumscribes the creativity of the separate colleges—or whether the nation can be persuaded to provide the necessary funds through traditional sources and thus preserve the freedom and the strength of American education.

I cannot believe that my colleagues in college administration would so readily forfeit the full potential of their respective institutions if they fully realized what was at stake. As difficult as their financial future may appear to them, it cannot be the reason for abandoning integrity. The course of educational statesmanship is to protect the greatest creative potential and the greatest institutional individuality. That course does not lie via the federal treasury.

The college executives and the officers of the government who may have a part through their silent or vocal support of federal subsidy will have to answer to history for the consequences of their work.

May this nation recognize in time the stake it has in keeping education decentralized and unfederalized. If these views make sense to you, I urge you to do everything in your power to defeat additional federal subsidies of education and also to increase the flow of funds to higher education through other channels. The accomplishment of both objectives is essential to the strength and vitality of this nation.

## Why Do They Stay Away?

By CHARLES A. SPRAGUE

In the Oregon-Statesman, Salem Marge Davenport, a local writer for the Oregon Journal, has picked up a statistical item about schools and health and tosses out a question. The item is that on the average the school student in Oregon missed 19.8 days in the school year 1962-63, while the average student over in Washington state missed only 10.5 days. The figures come from a compilation prepared by Schering Corporation, a pharmaceutical firm, for the National Education Association. Miss Davenport asks: "Why?" She says the State Department of Education can't give an explanation, and that the State Board of Health reports no general epidemic which might account for the difference. The Schering study says the common cold was charged with primary responsibility for Oregon absenteeism. But the very word "common" implies that colds are no respecters of state lines.

It is, of course, entirely unsafe to build a theory on so narrow a base as a comparison of one item with a single state for a single year. Nevertheless I will offer one, to "try it on for size." Could it be that absence from school in this state is due to less zeal for getting an education, and less zeal on the part of parents to insist on regularity in school attendance? How much of the absenteeism was due to parents taking a trip, and having their children skip school to go with them? This is on the assumption that little would be missed in a day or two of absence, and the child could quickly make up for the lost time.

I suspect that even the suggestion of this as a possible cause will draw horns around my head, as teachers and parents deny the imputation, and insist that eagerness for an education is fully as strong in Oregon as in any other state. Very well; but please reflect on another characteristic of Oregonians: they are quite self-satisfied. Oregon is about as close to paradise as they expect to find on earth—and by paradise they don't mean California.

Here the climate is "salubrious," as the letters back home from the first pioneers and the literature of land promoters proclaimed. Oh, yes, considerable rain; but no extremes of heat or cold; no cyclones; no severe droughts; no plagues of grasshoppers; no fever and ague.

Another contributor to personal contentment is ready access to the outdoors, for fishing, hunting; year-round golf; recreation at the seashore or mountain lakes and streams. Portland

General Electric is running a series of ads in national magazines now exploiting Oregon as a place where "fun and work are close together." One ad was illustrated with a picture of a man holding up a big salmon "caught before he came to work." Add the delights of varied recreation to climate and the self-satisfaction of the average Oregonian is a m p l i e d g r e a t l y .

Then making a living is fairly easy in Oregon. Wages are high; work is spread out pretty well; unemployment, save for off-seasons, whose hardship is pretty well blunted with unemployment comp., is not extreme. Most everybody works; but he doesn't work "too hard," or have to. Businessmen are content (on the whole) with relatively modest profits. If they build up a big stake, as in timber and lumber mills, the temptation to sell out to a big corporation is apt to be overwhelming—why not relax and enjoy life, and let the other fellow wrestle with the worries?

This adds up to a lack of drive among Oregonians. Just living here has its rich compensations, which is true. Why drive yourself and get heart trouble or ulcers if you do get that million. A home, modest savings, social security—what more do you need?

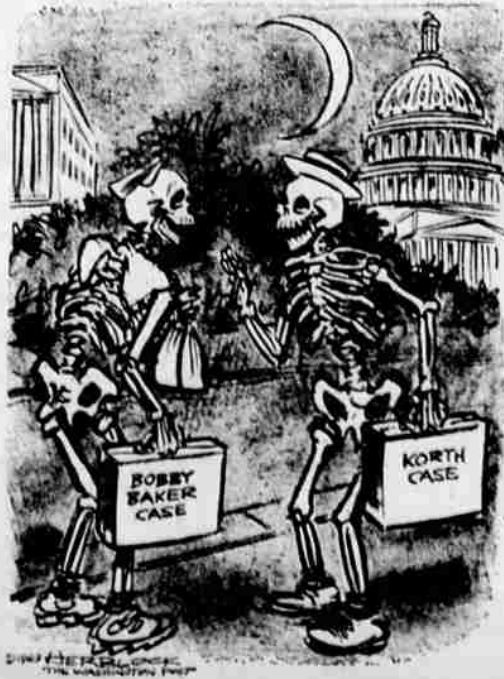
I recall quite a discussion

among Oregon editors around 30 years ago. Then the charge was made that Oregon suffered from an inferiority complex. We were very humble, situate as we were between flamboyant California and wacky (then) Washington. Today I would say the state suffers from a superiority complex. We have it "good" here; and we aren't anxious to have too many come in so we would have to divide up our resources and splinter our satisfactions. Only thing we have to complain of, so it seems, is the tax burden; and, thanks to the referendum, the people can, on occasion, take care of that.

New, I wouldn't say that this self-satisfaction, which invites tolerance, explains why more Oregon students stayed out of school last year, than did those in Washington. But children may catch the easy-going attitudes of their parents. One inference from the late election is that Oregonians aren't too greatly concerned with educational achievement anyway, at least at higher levels.

Nor do I say that this euphoria that attaches to residence in Oregon is really debilitating. Maybe we live longer and more happily thereby. But in this competitive age we do lose out unless we stand up to the "competition." And any inclination to indifference to school attendance is a poor start for youngsters.

## 'Man, It Looks Like A Real Old-Fashioned Halloween!'



## EDSON IN WASHINGTON



## No Increase Justified

By PETER EDSON

WASHINGTON (NEA)—There is no justification whatever for an increase in the U.S. price of bread as a result of wheat sales to Soviet Russia and Communist bloc countries, say Department of Agriculture grain experts.

Rumors of an impending bread price rise have sprung up in various parts of the country as a result of wheat flour price rises recently announced at Minneapolis, Kansas City and Texas mills centers. These increases are seen as seasonal adjustments and not big enough to warrant a rise in bread prices.

Millers and bakers would be playing with dynamite if they used the Communist wheat purchases as an excuse to raise flour and bread prices in the United States.

The rumpus caused by steel price increases after the last strike settlement and the federal grand jury investigation into more recent steel rises would be nothing compared to the uproar over a bread price rise now. Experts point out, however, that in a free world market, there are bound to be some fluctuations reflecting changing conditions.

World wheat prices advanced from an average of \$1.79-\$1.81 to \$2.16-\$2.40 a bushel on a purely speculative basis when Russia made its first half billion dollar purchase from Canada. Previously, Canada had sold wheat to Red China and some to Russia at \$1.74. The U.S. protested this low price.

But wheat futures did not advance further when Russia let it be known she wanted to buy U.S. wheat and President Kennedy announced that such a sale would be approved.

Wheat flour price fluctuations are another story. A year ago, flour sold in Minneapolis at \$3.95 to \$6 a hundred pounds. Last July, when the 1963 wheat crop

began to be harvested, the price dropped to \$5.50-\$5.55. The Oct. 23, 1963, price was \$5.75-\$5.80.

Bakers did not lower the price of bread when flour prices went down last summer. Presumably, bakers bought wheat ahead last summer, before recent grain price increases. Bakers, therefore, have no justification for raising bread prices for at least six months, or even longer if there are no further increases in wheat and flour prices.

The recent 20-cent price increase on 100 pounds of flour warrants an increase of only one cent on a five-pound bag of flour. The comparable, justifiable price increase on bread would be about one-fourth cent a loaf.

Payment will not be made in cash, but in wheat, which grain dealers can market for whatever they can get.

But in getting rid of this

wheat, the government saves on storage costs.

At an average of 26 cents a bushel per year for storage, maintenance and handling, the saving on 150 million bushels would be \$39 million a year, or \$195 million over five years, the average time CCC holds its wheat.

The total purchase price on 150 million bushels of wheat, including transportation charges, is expected to be \$260 million. This would show up as about a \$200 million saving on the 1963 fiscal year U.S. budget and an improvement of that amount on the balance of payments.

Though there is now an increased world demand for wheat from Communist bloc countries, there is no short supply justifying any price increases.

The U.S. wheat supply is estimated at 2.3 billion bushels for the 1963-64 crop year. With domestic use of 600 million bushels and normal exports of 600 million bushels, the carryover as of July 1, 1964, would be 900 million bushels.

Russia and its satellite countries have been talking about purchases of four million tons, which is 150 million bushels. Most of this wheat would have to come from U.S. government stocks, acquired at a cost of \$2 a bushel, average.

The government's Commodity Credit Corp. is prohibited by law from selling this at less than 105 per cent of the present support price of \$1.92 a bushel, which is \$1.91.

With world market prices running below this figure, CCC makes a daily determination of the export subsidy it will pay to make up the difference. This has been running from 50 to 60 cents a bushel.

If Russia & Co. buy 150 million bushels of U.S. wheat, CCC will have to write off a loss of \$90 million.

## Almanac

By United Press International

Today is Wednesday, Oct. 30, the 303rd day of 1963 with 62 to follow.

The moon is approaching its full phase.

The evening stars are Jupiter and Saturn.

Those born today include former U.S. President John Adams, in 1735.

On this day in history:

In 1929, heavy selling was observed on the New York Stock Exchange following the "big bust" of the day before.

In 1958, actor Orson Welles caused a national panic with his radio dramatization of an invasion of New Jersey by men from Mars.

In 1941, a German submarine torpedoed and sank a U.S. naval destroyer, although the United States was not yet at war with Germany.