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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Sleeper

On Tuesday morning, September 5, Governor George Romney was asked by a reporter at a press conference in Lansing whether he would consider himself a "positive dove." Romney replied that he would not, adding: "People are not reading what I have really said on this subject thoroughly." Romney had a point. The question had been prompted by remarks the governor had made on his now famous "brainwashing" interview, which had been broadcast in Detroit the night before and which had been taped on August 31. But none of the questioners on that morning after even asked him about his extraordinary statement, and the press release put out by Kaiser Broadcasting, in an effort to make news out of the show, also failed to mention the news that was there. "On Monday, September 4th," it declared, "Governor George Romney of Michigan stated on Kaiser Broadcasting's LOU GORDON'S/HOT SEAT PROGRAM that he would not be interested in accepting the Vice Presidential spot on the Republican ticket." The release, which was accompanied by a transcript of the show, went on to say that Romney "also discussed Vietnam, recent riots in the Midwest, the Mormon Church and his background and experience."

Although it is by no means clear that the "brainwashing" statement has done him in (mail to his office and to editorialists is said to be predominantly sympathetic), there is no doubt that Romney's remark was a gaffe and that it has done him a great deal of harm among party professionals. For this reason, the way in which the remark was inflated into a national issue by the press, after such a sleepy start, has aroused suspicion on the part of some of the governor's friends and advisers: What or who was behind the delayed pouncing on Romney's indis-

cretion? The answer turns out to be: bad judgment and bad luck.

On Tuesday both the UPI and Detroit's morning paper, the *Free Press*, buried the remark well along in their stories. UPI, for instance, put it in the ninth paragraph of a thirteen-paragraph story, which appeared in the *Washington Post*. But AP led with it, and the AP story was carried in the afternoon *Washington Star*. Moreover, the *New York Times*—although it put the story on page 28—went straight at it: "Romney Charges 'Brainwash' on War." Then the columnists based in Washington and New York began to write about the matter, and—more important—newsmen in the capital had a ready-made issue with which to tax the governor who, as luck would have it, was scheduled to arrive in Washington at the end of the week.

Not that things were any less ominous on the home front. In Detroit, Romney was about to become the victim of a lively press war in which he himself figured as a sort of bombed-out, ravaged DMZ. Unlike the *Free Press*, Detroit's afternoon *News* featured the "brainwashing" statement. And immediately thereafter it set about preparing a lead editorial for the following Sunday in which it would ask the governor to terminate his quest for the Presidency. The editorial was distributed as a news item to reporters on Friday with a Sunday release date, but the embargo didn't hold. In fact, the *Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Washington Post* all carried stories about the editorial the day before it appeared. For its part, the *Free Press* did its friend Romney the dubious favor of printing the text of the *News's* editorial a day before the *News* did, as well as printing a front-page story about it under a six-column head—"DETROIT NEWS DUMPS ROMNEY." That afternoon, the *News* retaliated with an eight-column head—"NEWS'

ROMNEY STAND STIRS U.S. UP-ROAR." "In a rare compliment to the dominating political influence of a competing newspaper," the *News* declared, "the *Detroit Free Press* broke the press associations' release times to publish a complete text of the *News*' editorial in a late Saturday morning edition of comparatively small circulation." It added that the editorial "will appear Sunday"—and, of course, it did.

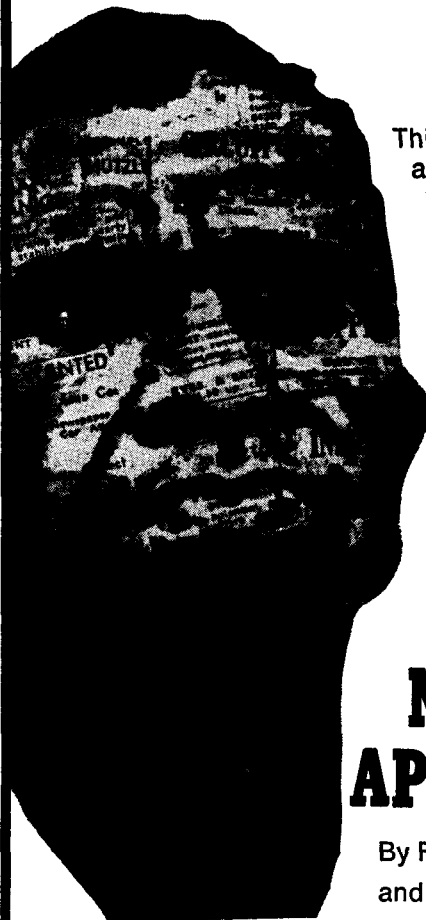
It is not inconceivable that some day Governor Romney may find himself sitting among his clippings and souvenirs, cursing the part the press played in his downfall. That, after all, is not an unfamiliar condition among Republican candidates. As we say, we are by no means certain that Romney has been brainwashed out. If that turns out to be the case, he will doubtless be obliged to give some thought to the role of his friends in the press, who—as the saying goes—may have made his enemies superfluous.

A few days after the fuss began, the *Free Press* undertook to defend Romney's new position on Vietnam, chiding him nonetheless for "a poor choice of words" when he referred to his "brainwashing." Coming from the *Free Press*, that may have been just too much. Naturally, no one knows for sure the source of Romney's gaffe, but some suspect it was none other than the *Free Press* itself. By way of paying him some compliments in a long editorial on August 28, for having "disengaged" himself from administration "nonsense" on the war, the *Free Press* explained Romney's earlier position this way: "He appeared to be brainwashed by the military during his 1965 trip to the front." That was three days before Romney taped his interview.

Igloo Renewal

The urban programs initiated by the Johnson administration have led perilous lives. The metropolitan development incentive grant program is one example. These grants—aimed at what many planners and political scientists regard as one of our most crucial governmental problems, the lack of joint planning in the nation's 224 conglomerations of cities

"Senator Robert F. Kennedy confronted the leaders of the nation's building trades unions in a Senate committee room today and told them that their efforts to open union ranks to Negroes had failed..."



This uncompromising opening to a *New York Times* article of April 18, 1967, quoted the Senator as predicting a new round of race riots in the cities this summer. "One of the reasons," he said, "is that Negroes and members of minorities are having difficulty finding employment. They feel bitter, frustrated, estranged from our society — from business, Government, and labor organization."

THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP

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and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

A prime source of the facts and figures used by Senator Kennedy in his indictment of the unions was a report by F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., now published as **THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP**, in which the authors analyze the factors that influence the low rate of Negro participation in the skilled trades. Making case studies of ten metropolitan areas, they interviewed union and government officials, employers, educators, human relations committees, and Negroes who had sought or obtained admission to apprenticeship programs. Their research has enabled them not only to evaluate the various remedial programs now in operation, but to make valuable recommendations for the future. **THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP** is basic reading for anyone attempting to understand the current crisis in race relations.

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and suburbs—would have encouraged states, cities, and counties to work together on urban problems to avoid repeating past mistakes. The Department of Housing and Urban Development asked for \$30 million for the grants. The House allotted nothing; the Senate allotted nothing.

Another unhappy example is the administration's most imaginative idea, the rent-supplement program, which attempts to erase the barracks-like quality of public housing by building new projects—sponsored by churches, unions, and other non-profit groups—on a human scale. Under the program, if a tenant's income rises so does his rent, but never to more than twenty-five per cent of his income. But each time the administration has requested money for rent supplements, the request has been either decimated or rejected altogether by the House.

The latest attempt by the Senate to rescue the rent-supplement program came on September 20, when it restored \$40 million after the House had refused to appropriate any money at all. However, the rescue had less to do with the merit of rent supplements than with a smaller item in the appropriations bill labeled "Alaska Housing," for which the Senate voted \$1 million.

Alaska housing is the child of Senator E. L. Bartlett (D., Alaska), who sought in vain for years to find a suitable Federal program to house the Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts scattered throughout his vast constituency. None of the old Federal housing programs and none of the new ones, including rent supplements, would help the Alaska natives, who met none of the criteria for urban-renewal funds or other housing programs. Bartlett also complained that "I couldn't get a yes or no answer from anyone in the government."

In April, 1966, Bartlett, who previously had supported most urban programs, voted in the Appropriations Committee to kill rent-supplement money. "Within forty-eight hours," he said later, "everybody called me to say funds were available" for the Alaska natives. He defined "everybody" as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of the Budget.

"There was a tremendous change of heart," he said. When rent-supplement funds came to the floor last month, Bartlett switched his vote and the funds were approved by a single vote, 46-45. "I hated to do it this way," the Senator declaimed, "but those huts and shacks in some parts of my state are a shame and disgrace to America."

Spurious Sacrifice

The name of Henry David Thoreau is ritually invoked by the small but growing number of those whose Vietnam protest takes the form of refusing to pay the portion of their income tax they believe goes to finance the war. Thoreau didn't pay his money, but he took his choice, which was a night in jail. Today's protesters seem to run less risk.

A recent appeal to magazine editors and writers to withhold a third of their taxes as a protest measure is typical of the current mode of sacrifice without inconvenience. A draft of the newspaper ad this group intends to publish cites the death toll in Vietnam and proclaims that "we are willing to lay our middle-class lives on the line" by refusing to pay up to a third of their taxes. A letter soliciting signatures to the ad pointed out that the penalty could be a year in jail and/or up to \$10,000 in fines—not fatal, to be sure, but a sacrifice in any middle-class life. But, as any tax man knows, there's always a loophole. "However," the letter went on, "of the 421 signers of a similar no-payment ad in 1966, not one has been prosecuted and sentenced; of the estimated 1,500 additional protest non-payers, none has been prosecuted since the war began."

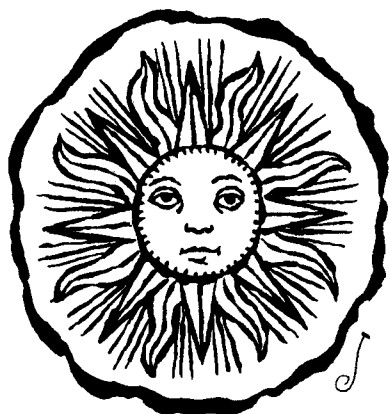
Having reassured the prospective self-immolators that it won't hurt, the group explained that the Internal Revenue Service normally will collect the money anyway by garnisheeing income or attaching bank accounts. Thus everybody is served: the protesters feel comfortably defiant; the IRS—and the Pentagon—get the money.

One of the telling arguments against the proposal to allow citizens to allocate one dollar of their income-tax payment to a Presidential campaign fund was the prin-

ciple that no individual should be able to place any kind of condition on how his tax money should be spent. It is a good principle. Without it, one can imagine a chaotic situation in which owners of pets withheld cash that might be spent on vivisection, vegetarians refused to contribute to livestock price supports, and Christian Scientists declined to support Medicare. Many of the Vietnam protesters would rather see military appropriations spent on fighting the war on poverty in city slums—a proposition to which we would subscribe if all things were equal. But there are many in rural areas who, particularly since reapportionment, feel that too much of their tax money already goes to the cities. Would they, too, have the moral right to withhold their tax payment to the degree it supports urban programs?

The campaign for tax refusal is by no means confined to editors and writers. It began with the self-appointed intellectual elite and spread predictably. Many of the defiant are otherwise loud in their allegiance to representative government and some were, no doubt, among the first to condemn the embattled lady industrialist, Vivien Kellems, when she refused to withhold taxes for her employees.

According to the IRS, there have been no prosecutions of the new tax-refusers because so far the government has never failed to collect. Yet somehow we feel that the frisson of civil disobedience with impunity is depriving these protesters of the full rapture of real sacrifice. It seems a pity.



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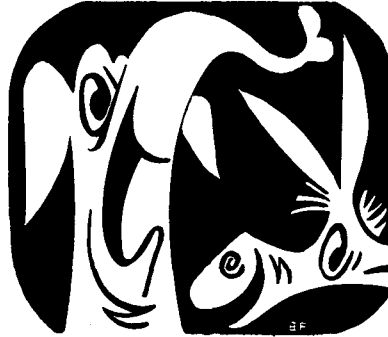
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The Rocky of Little Rock

TOM DEARMORE

LITTLE ROCK was Arkansas' political change-over of the century. Orval Faubus, the self-made man from the hills who was governor longer than any other man in the state's history, had finished his lengthy good-bye, laced with Scripture and sad poetry, and some of the legislators were all choked up. Outside the hushed House chamber the only Rockefeller who is a cowhand shuffled in his fancy boots as he waited to make his historic walk. When the moment came, he hurried stiffly down the aisle to the podium and took the oath as Arkansas' first Republican governor in ninety-three years. As he turned to face the phalanx of Democrats who compose the General Assembly, his face was drenched with perspiration and his voice broke with emotion.

Veteran observers on that morning last January still found it difficult to believe that Winthrop Rockefeller had pulled it off, and that in breaching the statehouse he had even car-

ried in a Republican lieutenant governor. For Rockefeller is not a natural politician. He is uncomfortable with the breed and with crowds, his speeches convey little warmth, and he possesses no strong personal appeal. But he is a man of deep feeling and rigid determination, and he has, with money and hard work, fashioned a state Republican Party that is unique in the South in its racial liberalism, its drive for reforms, and its success at the polls. He has blotted out the reputation as a rich and racy New York carpet-bagger that his adversaries sought to exploit, has emerged from a bruising legislative session as the psychological victor over a General Assembly in which his party holds only three seats out of 135, and has set in motion a string of wide-ranging administrative, economic, and humanitarian innovations. If they gain momentum and if the Democrats fail to patch up the divisions that made his election possible, he may win a second

two-year term next year with relative ease. That is not foreordained at this point, however. Accident figured in Rockefeller's victory and a minor mishap in this Democratic province could bring him down.

A Unique Specimen

There has been no one like Winthrop in Southern politics, and Arkansas seemed to be about the hardest soil in which he could have chosen to labor. Never since Reconstruction has the state voted Republican in a Presidential election. It has been a rock of Fundamentalism (it and Mississippi are the only states that still have laws forbidding the teaching of evolution), and nowhere, in the pre-Rockefeller years, was there a state Republican Party of more dismal impotency. No one would have predicted during the Little Rock racial crisis ten years ago that the successor to the inflammatory Faubus would be a Republican, much less a liberal who had served