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# Newsweek

OCTOBER 6, 1969 50c

# THE TROUBLED AMERICAN

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A Special Report on the White Majority

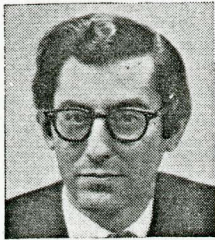
# Top of the Week

## The Troubled American Majority PAGE 28

No one can mark the precise moment when the new current began running deep in the American psyche. It surfaced in fragmentary ways—backlashy election returns, defeated school-bond issues, angry white counterdemonstrations against unrelenting black demands, and a sullen new tone in the talk, at laundermats and corner taverns, the barber shops and beauty parlors where Richard Nixon's "forgotten Americans" gather. The white middle-class majority was rediscovering itself, totting up its discontents and beginning to reassert its political clout. But how strong was the new tide and what did it portend for the nation?

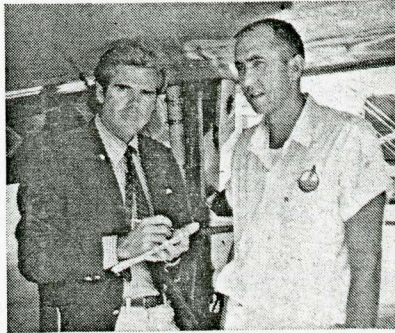
Three months ago, Newsweek's editors decided to undertake a major assessment of the shifting American mood. National Affairs editor **Edward Kosner** organized the effort that brought together editors and correspondents from New York and eight domestic bureaus, the resources of The Gallup Organization and the expertise of Newsweek's polling consultant, Richard M. Scammon. For this week's special survey, Gallup interviewers polled an outsize sampling of 2,165 white Americans. Los Angeles bureau chief **Karl Fleming** toured the nation for a personal report on what

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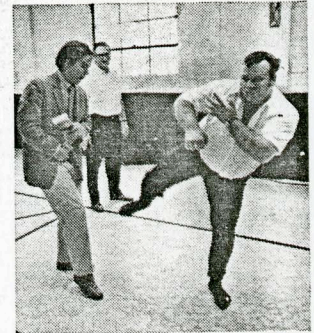
Kosner

Fleming on tour



Auchincloss, Martz

Mathews, Imperiale



Middle America is talking about. In Washington, bureau man **Richard Stout** reported the view from the Capital, while a score of other correspondents around the U.S. interviewed political scientists, sociologists and local politicians—among them, Newark's chesty **Tony Imperiale**, who gave reporter **Tom Mathews** an impromptu lesson in karate.

The resulting 32-page special report on The Troubled American includes Kosner's survey of the new mood, General Editor **Lawrence S. Martz's** analysis of the poll, General Editor **Kenneth Auchincloss's** profile of the emerging new breed of outspoken folk politicians, Fleming's report, Scammon's discussion of the national political implications of the new balance of power, and nine pages of color photographs of life in Middle America. (Newsweek cover photo by Charles Harbutt—Magnum.)

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(Kenneth Crawford is on vacation; his Washington column will resume on his return.)	
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raged by Negro job demands in Pittsburgh last month and again last week in Chicago (page 105).

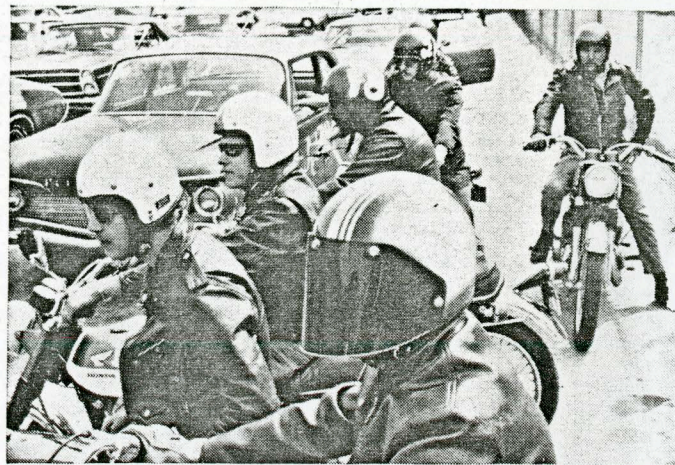
NEWSWEEK's survey yielded provocative evidence of a deep crisis of the spirit in Middle America—but so far, at least, no real indication of outright rebellion. The average white American feels relatively optimistic about his own personal prospects, but he fears that the country itself has changed for the worse, that it will deteriorate further in years to come, that his government is not coping with its problems, that America's troubles may be so overwhelming that the nation may not be able to solve them at all. He thinks the war in Vietnam is America's most pressing concern right now, feels it was probably a mistake to send American troops to fight it, but has no clear idea how to get them home with honor. He gives President Nixon a generally favorable rating (highest in the South) and is inclined to prolong the new President's honeymoon, but he shows no deep enthusiasm for Mr. Nixon.

**H**e bitterly opposes much of what is happening in the country. The Middle American complains that standards of morality have declined and that the exploitation of sex and nudity in the mass media erodes morals further every passing day. He is relentlessly opposed to violent tactics by blacks and campus radicals and believes that the police should have more power to curb crime and unrest. Out of perversity or ignorance, he is convinced that Negroes actually have a better chance to get ahead in America than he does and that any troubles blacks suffer are probably their own fault. Yet he does not reject black aspirations altogether. And, despite his rejection of campus revolutionaries, the average white has a favorable attitude about young people and thinks much of their criticism of the society is warranted. Perhaps most encouraging of all, the middle-class American wants the government to start moving on the nation's domestic ills. Even though he grumbles that taxes are too high, he would favor spending money on such programs as training for the unemployed and housing for the ghetto poor.

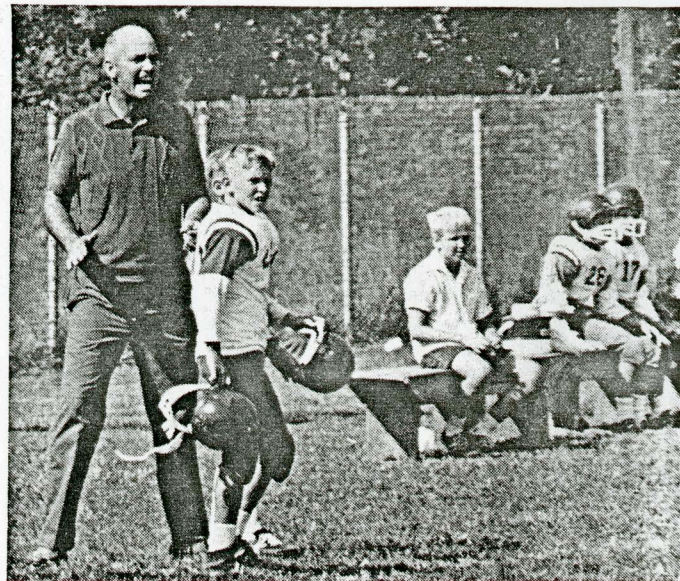
The statistics flesh out only one dimension of the story, of course. For all the essential stability the numbers indicate, the people of Middle America talk with eloquent bitterness or forlorn resignation about the state of the nation. There is a strong strain of fear in their conversation. "The honest person doesn't stand a chance because of what the Supreme Court has done," a Boston cabbie complained to a NEWSWEEK correspondent. "People are scared and they've changed. Ten years ago if you were getting beaten up you could expect some help. Now people just walk by—they're afraid for their lives." In Inglewood, Calif., a dentist wonderingly recalls a confrontation with a booted band of motorcyclists: "When the light changed they didn't move off so I blew my horn. One of them yelled, 'What do you want, you old son of a bitch?' I was so scared and nervous I didn't even get their license numbers."

There is a pervasive feeling of being cheated by the affluent society. "Why, I can't even afford a color-TV set!" explodes a Los Angeles plumber. And there is the conviction that the government has its priorities wrong. "They spend \$50 million to send a f----- monkey around the moon and there are people starving at home," growls a Milwaukee garage man.

But most of all there is a sense of loss and neglect.

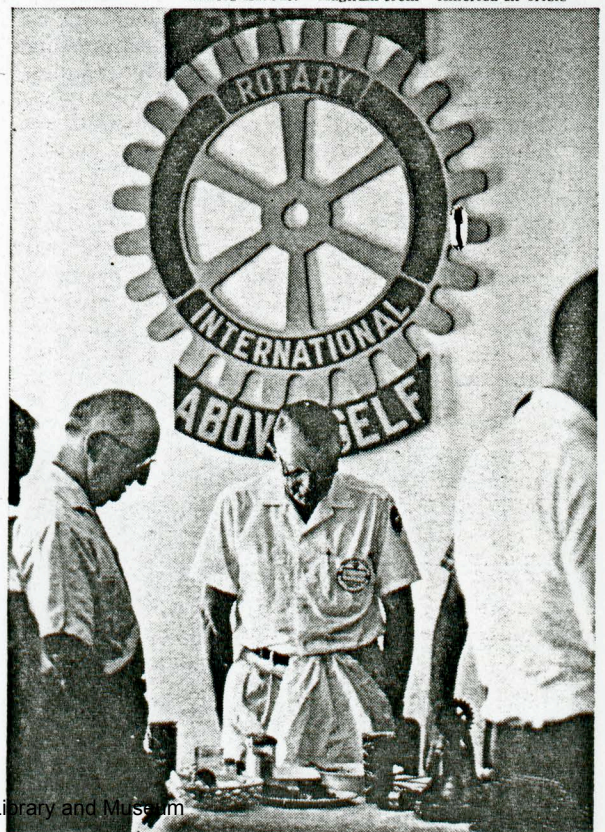


Burk Uzzle—Magnum



Newsweek—Wally McNamee

Charles Harbutt—Magnum from "America In Crisis"



A feeling of being cheated by affluence

# THE TROUBLED AMERICAN

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## A Special Report on the White Majority

All through the skittish 1960s, America has been almost obsessed with its alienated minorities—the incendiary black militant and the welfare mother, the hedonistic hippie and the campus revolutionary. But now the pendulum of public attention is in the midst of one of those great swings that profoundly change the way the nation thinks about itself. Suddenly, the focus is on the citizen who outnumbers, outvotes and could, if he chose to, outgun the fringe rebel. After years of feeling himself a besieged minority, the man in the middle—representing America's vast white middle-class majority—is giving vent to his frustration, his disillusionment—and his anger.

"You better watch out," barks Eric Hoffer, San Francisco's bare-knuckle philosopher. "The common man is standing up and someday he's going to elect a policeman President of the United States."

How fed up is the little guy, the average white citizen who has been dubbed "the Middle American"? Is the country sliding inexorably toward an apocalyptic spasm—perhaps racial or class warfare or a turn to a grass-roots dictator who would promise to restore domestic tranquillity by suppressing all dissent and unrest? To get a definitive reading on the mood of the American majority, NEWSWEEK commissioned The Gallup Organization to survey the white population with special attention to the middle-income group—the blue- and white-collar families who make up three-fifths of U.S. whites.

The survey, bolstered by reports from NEWSWEEK correspondents around the country, suggests that the average American is more deeply troubled about his country's future than at any time since the Great Depression. The surface concerns are easy to catalogue: a futile war abroad and a malignant racial atmosphere at home, unnerving inflation and scaring crime rates, the implacable hostility of much of the young. But the Middle American malaise cuts much deeper—right to those fundamental questions of the sanctity of work and the stability of the family, of whether a rewarding middle-class life is still possible in modern America.

America has always been the most middle-class of nations, the most generous and the most optimistic. But the pressures of the times have produced confused and contradictory impulses among the people. Richard Nixon likes to call "the forgotten Americans."

Color photo by Burk Uzzle

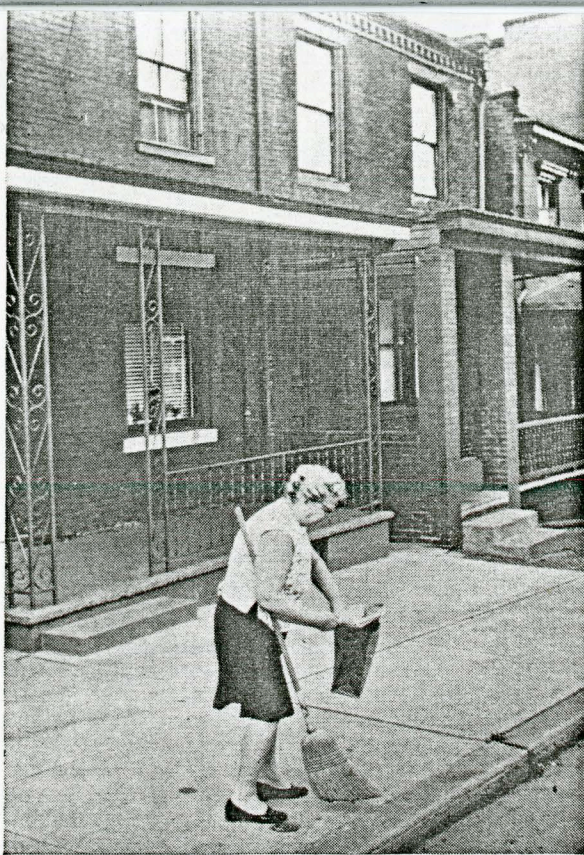
Himself a prototypical expression of the middle-class majority ("These are my people," he says. "We speak the same language"), the President presides over a nation nervously edging rightward in a desperate try to catch its balance after years of upheaval.

The reassertion of traditional values has festooned millions of automobile windows with American-flag decals, generated nationwide crusades to restore prayers to the schoolroom, to ban sex education, to curb pornography. The uneasy new mood has also spawned a coast-to-coast surge to law-and-order politicians—one of them a roly-poly Malaprop named Mario Procaccino, who may oust America's most outspokenly progressive mayor, John V. Lindsay, in New York City, once the Athens of American liberalism.

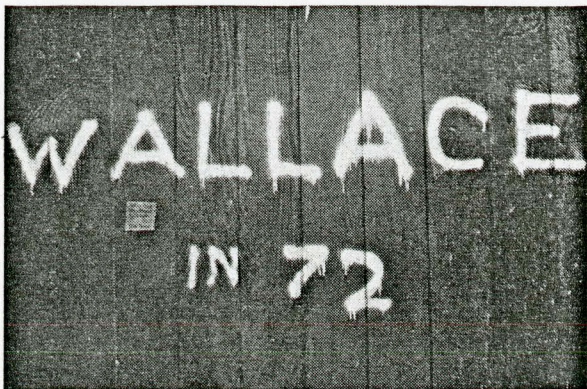
**'You better watch out—the common man is standing up'**

For the Negro, the turn in the tide can have the most momentous consequences. More and more American institutions are opening their doors to Negroes—mostly as a result of the social momentum generated in the Kennedy-Johnson years. Still, with the Nixon Administration setting the tone, the country seems to be retreating from active concern with its black minority—as the nation did nearly a century ago with the demise of Reconstruction. Self-reliant or self-delusive, the trend to separatism among younger blacks only intensifies the withdrawal. More ominous, even well-educated liberal whites have begun once more to speak openly of genetic differences between the races, an intellectual vogue before the turn of the century. "One has to consider the evidence that the Negro may be inherently inferior to the white and incapable of competing with him," says an MIT professor. "Look at the ones who have succeeded—they're almost all light-colored."

Such talk is only the tip of the iceberg. All around the country—especially among blue-collar workers—whites feel increasingly free to voice their prejudices and their hostility. "Everybody wants a gun," reports a community worker in a Slavic neighborhood in Milwaukee. "They think they've heard from black power, wait till they hear from white power—the little slob, GI Joe, the guy who breaks his ass and makes this country go. Boy, he's getting sick and tired of all this mess. One day he'll get fed up and when he does, look out!" A sign of the times: near-violent demonstrations by white construction workers en-



Burk Uzzle—Magnum



Charles Harbutt—Magnum



Jack Hamilton—The New York Times

No hero to millions of Americans in life, John F. Kennedy has been elevated in death to an almost magical place in the hearts of his countrymen. "Kennedy put the spirit back in people," says a factory hand in Tyler, Texas. "He would have done some good if they would of gave him some time and hadn't killed him." And, feeling himself the spokesman of the oppressed majority, a hard-hatted San Francisco construction worker gripes: "The niggers are all organized. So are the Mexicans, even the Indians. But who the hell speaks for me?" Adds Paul Deac, head of the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups: "We spend millions and the Negroes get everything and we get nothing."

Resentment over compensatory programs for blacks feeds the Middle American's sense of himself as the ultimate victim. The experts typically disagree over whether the middle-class white is as victimized by the society as he feels himself to be. Some contend that the white reaction is a rational response to the squeeze of taxes and inflation (despite big wage increases the average factory worker's real income has declined \$1.09 per week in the past year) and the authentic danger of rising crime. Others point out that Middle Americans tend to ignore the large government subsidies they get in such benefits as tax write-offs for mortgage interest payments; still others say unrealistic expectations are bred by the myth of affluence. "Middle-class people," says University of Michigan philosopher Abraham Kaplan, "look around and say, 'We've entered paradise and it looks like the place we just left. And if this is paradise why am I so miserable?'" Then, says Kaplan, they look for scapegoats among those who are attacking middle-class values.

**I**ndeed, the most deeply rooted source of the white American malaise is the plain fact that middle-class values are under more obdurate attack today than ever before. "The values that we held so dear are being shot to hell," says George Culberson of the government's Community Relations Service. "Everything is being attacked—what you believed in, what you learned in school, in church, from your parents. So the middle class is sort of losing heart. They had their eye on where they were going and suddenly it's all shifting sands."

The sands are shifting beneath all the familiar totems—the work ethic, premarital chastity, the notion of postponing gratification, and filial gratitude for parental sacrifice. Middle-class folk, says philosopher Kaplan, are infuriated by college demonstrations because they "upset their image of what college is—a place where there are trees, where the kids drink cocoa, eat marshmallows, read Shakespeare and once in the spring the boys can look at the girls' underthings." Says radical writer Paul Jacobs, once a union organizer: "The notion of work that they had been brought up to deify is being undermined by the young people. The hippies, Woodstock, all those broads walking around with their boobs bouncing. Not only do young people do it, but the media seem to approve it and the upper class does these things, too." Television is the most subversive enemy of the old ways. "Through television," says Anthony Downs, a consultant to LBJ's riot commission, "we are encouraging, on the consumption side, things which are entirely inconsistent with the disciplines necessary for our production side. Look at what television ad-

**'We've entered paradise—and it looks like the place we just left'**

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Elliott Erwitt—Magnum from "America In Crisis"

vertising encourages: immediate gratification, do it now, buy it now, pay later, leisure time, hedonism."

Beyond that, TV enhances the Middle American's feeling that he is enveloped in a chaotic world he never made and cannot control. "You have violence and sex and drugs on television," says Chicago psychiatrist Dr. Jarl Dyrud, whose patients are mostly drawn from the middle class. "You have the news about the Vietnam war, the protests of the kids on campus, the protests of the blacks. It's hard to escape any more." "Every time you turn around, there's a crisis of some sort," says community organizer Saul Alinsky, a brassy anti-Establishmentarian now concentrating his efforts on white communities. "You have the black crisis, the urban crisis—it's just one goddam crisis after another. It's just too much for the average middle-class Joe to take. There's always something else to worry about. But the worst thing about it for the middle class is that they feel powerless to do anything about anything."

**T**he more precarious a family's hold on economic security, the more menaced it feels by the pressures of black militancy and inflation. The government estimates that it costs at least \$10,000 a year for a family of four to maintain a moderate standard of living—yet 26.3 million white families fall below that level. And, despite nine consecutive years of prosperity, many a breadwinner can't forget the specter of the wolf in the carport. "Blue collar and white collar alike still live too near 'layoffs,' 'reductions,' 'strikes,' 'plant relocations' to be personally secure," says former HUD Under Secretary Robert Wood, now head of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies.

With little equity but his mortgaged home and his union card, the white worker is especially resistant to integration efforts that appear to threaten his small stake in the world. "I believe that an apprenticeship in my union is no more a public trust to be shared by all, than a millionaire's money is a public trust," one worker wrote to *The New York Times*. "Why should the government . . . have any more right to decide how I dispose of my heritage than it does how the corner grocer disposes of his?" "Second-generation people inherit from their parents a reverence for their own home," says Rep. Roman Pucinski, a Chicago Democrat who takes the pulse of his district each Saturday. "The Polish have a word, *grunt*—a base, a foundation. They know integration has to come, but their big concern is property values."

**T**he hunt for scapegoats goes beyond the blacks to their allies: the liberal white elite. Many lower-middle-class whites feel that an unholy alliance has grown up between the liberal Establishment and Negro militants to reshape American life at their expense. School busing to achieve integration, for example, is probably the least popular social nostrum of the 1960s. And the Kerner commission's well-publicized conclusion that "white racism" is the basic cause of black riots touched off howls of indignation. "They resent their leaders' hypocrisy," says Paul Jacobs, "—especially the rich liberal politicians who send their own kids to private school."

There has always been a streak of anti-intellectualism in Middle America. It bubbles to the surface when the country feels itself betrayed—as it did in

the days before Joe McCarthy's rampages. All through the late 1960s, liberals and radicals have been predicting a revival of know-nothingism. So far, it has failed to materialize to any great degree—although George Wallace did his best last year with his diatribes against “pointy heads” and such enemies of the common man. Today, a growing sense of betrayal undoubtedly is percolating in many middle-class hearts. The anti-middle-class bias of college radicals contributes to the problem. “Many of the young people see middle-class people as nothing but a bunch of big-bosomed, beer-drinking, drum-and-bugle-corps types,” says Rep. Allard Lowenstein, who tries to keep up his contacts both on the campus and in his middle-class Long Island district.

S.I. Hayakawa, who became something of a Middle American folk hero by suppressing demonstrations at San Francisco State College last year, thinks the educated elite is dangerously out of touch with the middle-class masses. “You and I,” he tells a visitor, “can live in the suburbs and demand integration in the schools downtown. We can make the moral demands and someone else has to live with them. We can say the war in Vietnam is a dirty, immoral act while our children are in college, exempt from the draft. The working people's children are in Vietnam and they're praying for victory. They want to believe America is right.”

More bluntly, Eric Hoffer rages: “We are told we have to feel guilty. We've been poor all our lives and now we're being preached to by every son of a bitch who comes along. The ethnics are discovering that you can't trust those Mayflower boys.”

Hoffer's observation is symptomatic of the new mood of ethnic chauvinism taking hold in Middle America. “The rise of Negro militancy,” says Congressman Pucinski, “has brought a revival of ethnic orientation in all the other groups.” The hard truth is that the celebrated American melting pot has never worked quite so well in life as in nostalgic myth. As Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan pointed out six years ago in “Beyond the Melting Pot,” Americans tend to maintain their sense of ethnic identity far more tenaciously than was once supposed. One re-

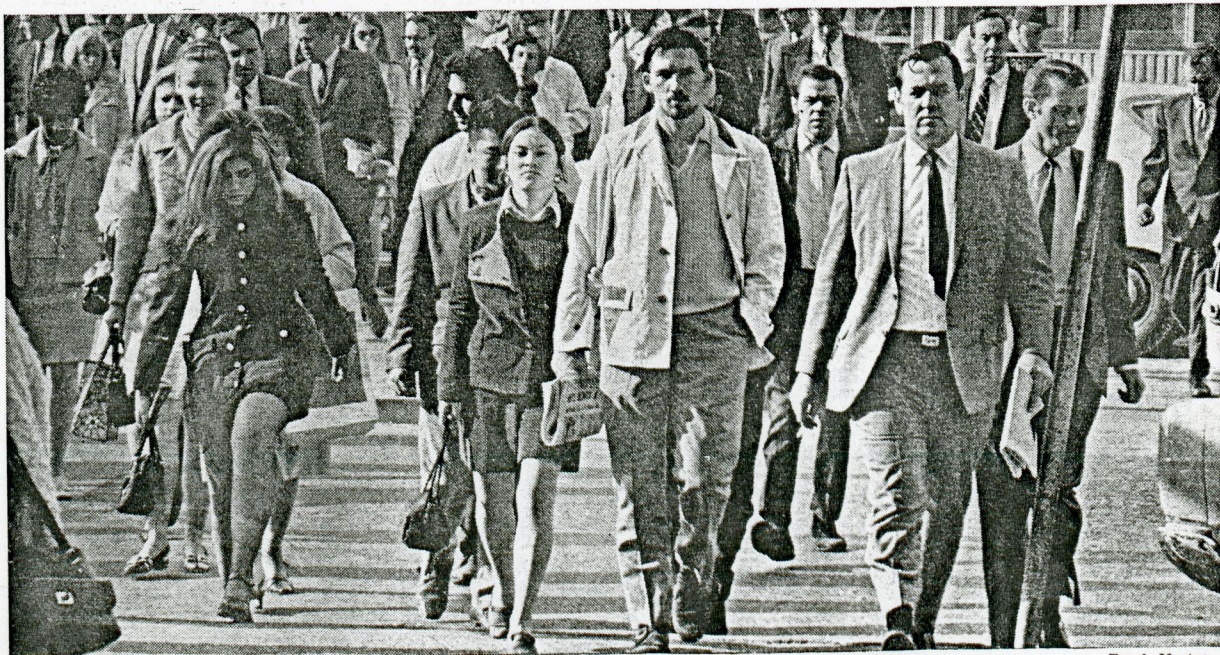
sult of the new white nationalism is a greater willingness to express anti-black feelings—intensified by Negro job competition. “They've always been anti-Negro,” says one old union hand. “But they've never been pressured to say it publicly before.”

In the current atmosphere, liberal groups are devoting new attention to the hyphenated American. The American Jewish Committee has conducted substantial research on the subject, and Americans for Democratic Action is making a major thrust to try to keep ethnic voters in the Democratic coalition. “Any politician who ignores 40 million ethnics is a fool,” says Leon Shull, executive director of the ADA. Paul Deac, of the Washington-based ethnic lobby, is trying to pry anti-poverty money and other considerations for his people from the Administration. “Right now, the ethnic vote is up for grabs,” insists Deac. “Our people are as gun-shy of the Republicans as of the liberal Democrats. If the Republicans grab the opportunity they can forge an alliance with ethnics and remain in power for a long time.”

Except for the Italians, few of the nation's later immigrant groups have had much use for the Republican Party. And no one can say for certain how successful Richard Nixon will be if he tries to entice ethnic voters into his new centrist coalition. The President's strong anti-Communist stand over the years—and his recent trip to Rumania—are likely to enhance Mr. Nixon's appeal. Just such a thrust is at the heart of a GOP battle plan devised by Kevin P. Phillips, a 28-year-old Justice Department aide, in a much-discussed book called “The Emerging Republican Majority.” As Phillips envisages it, the Republicans could cement their hold by building an alliance based on the South and the traditional heartland, and whites disgruntled by Democratic “social engineering.” The President professed last week not to have read the book. And, basically, Mr. Nixon will stand or fall on his over-all ability to convince America that he can end the war, reorder priorities and bring greater stability to the U.S.

On that score, the President seems to have a num-

The melting pot never worked so well in life as in myth



Frank Mastro

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**'We need more programs for Mr. Forgotten American'**

ber of advantages. "Nixon is tremendously reassuring to middle-class Americans," says sociologist Robert Nisbet of the University of California at Riverside. "If you started out to design a human being who would be an answer for this kind of person in this kind of time, you couldn't design a better one than Nixon. His kind of corny, square, ketchup-on-cottage-cheese image is very reassuring to these people." What's more, says Brandeis University historian John Roche, who was once LBJ's intellectual-in-residence, government-Nixon style—has reduced the level of disorder in America. "The edge is already off," says Roche, "because the election of Nixon put into office people who are not going to be responsible for demonstrations. There will be no great riots—you don't riot against your enemies but against your friends, because you know your friends don't shoot. [Attorney General John] Mitchell means business."

Even if he should end the war and further cool the ghettos and campuses, the President faces the more fundamental problem of giving the white majority a greater sense of participation and reward in the life of the society. And he must somehow accomplish this while maintaining the nation's commitments to its non-white minorities, especially the Negroes. "The ethnic groups, the Irish and the Jews don't want to penalize the Negro but they feel strongly that the rules they came up with should apply," says Roche. "To change rules now is basically unfair."

**"W**e need more programs for Mr. Forgotten American," says a Washington liberal. The fact is, however, that very little thought has gone into the problems of the white middle class. Foundations and think tanks have primarily been concerned with the plight of the minorities. A turnabout of sorts is under way. The Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies has made Middle America its target subject for the new year, and the Ford Foundation plans to focus some of its attention on the middle class. Concrete ideas are sparse. Mitchell Sviridoff, Ford's vice president for national affairs, speaks rather vaguely of expanding medicaid programs and of retraining the middle-aged white worker trapped in a dead-end assembly-line job.

But the underlying necessity is to find the national resources to help both the majority white and his non-white counterpart. "We've stimulated the minorities to believe that something is going to happen for them. If we slow down, as we have, their frustrations will be so seriously exacerbated that they will be pushed to more militant behavior," argues Sviridoff. "Then the majority will be pushed to more repressive behavior and we will have an absolutely impossible situation on our hands."

Some think that the problem goes far beyond the reach of even the most imaginative government. "When the hippies go to Woodstock," says Paul Jacobs, "they are building a new community of their own. The worker's community is disintegrating. He doesn't know where to find a new one. So he keeps harking back to the old days and the old values. But it is not possible to go back. And there is no new community to replace the old."

Can Middle America somehow create a new pluralist community to satisfy its new needs? On the answer to that question rests much of the destiny of the nation in the years ahead.



## How It Feels To Be Caught In the Middle

*There's racial problems, money problems, more crime . . . Everything has gone to pieces.*

—A Kalamazoo, Mich., housewife

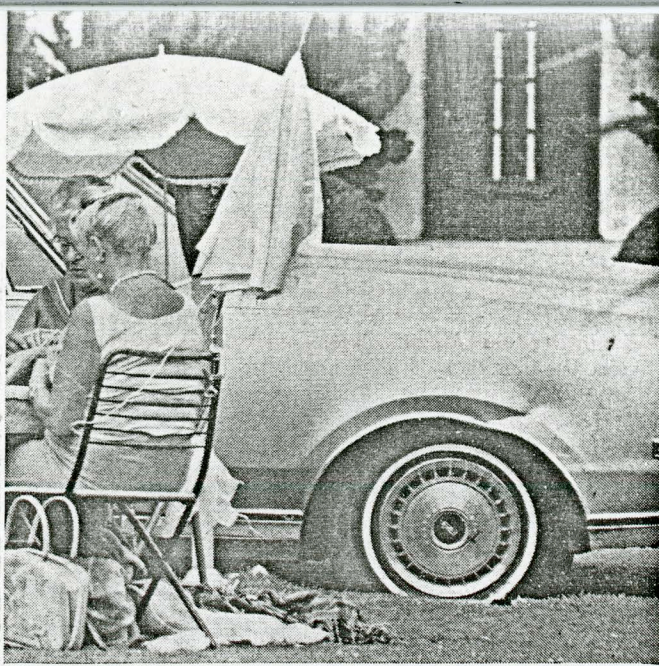
**I**n this harvest season of 1969, that is the voice of Middle America—the white middle class, the backbone of the country, the people who have taken to thinking of themselves as "forgotten."

NEWSWEEK's special poll of white Americans, conducted by The Gallup Organization in an unusually wide sampling of public opinion, found the white majority profoundly troubled—but not, as some have suggested, on the brink of violent rebellion. There is a heavy undertone of resentment—a dark suspicion that the rules are being changed in the middle of the game, that the dice are loaded in somebody else's favor. But at bottom, the mood adds up to a nagging sense that life is going sour—that, whatever is wrong, the whole society somehow has lost its way.

This new pessimism has serious implications for the nation, because Middle America, in a real sense, is America. For the NEWSWEEK survey, Gallup interviewers talked to 2,165 adults comprising a cross-section of the entire white population (which, in turn, is almost 90 per cent of the total population). The sample included a middle-class group large enough for detailed analysis: 1,321 Americans with household incomes ranging from \$5,000 to \$15,000, representing 61 per cent of the white population.

By themselves, the Middle Americans are a majority of the nation—and the strength of their opinions outweighs their numbers. In the NEWSWEEK Poll, the attitudes of the middle-income group showed hardly any significant variation from those of the total white group on any question.

As the Middle American sees it, his country is be-



D. Gorton

set by a sea of troubles. The war in Vietnam oppresses the nation—nearly two out of three of those polled cite it as one of America's top problems. "I don't like a war where there couldn't be a winner," complains an electrician in Mineral Wells, Texas. There is the endless, abrasive racial crisis, mentioned by 41 per cent. "We could have a civil war," warns a county employee in Stanwood, Wash. There are the nagging pocketbook issues: inflation erodes everybody's pay check, and 78 per cent think Federal taxes are just plain too high. There is crime and delinquency and a gnawing feeling of powerlessness. The government, says a Chicago truck driver, "doesn't know I exist—or care." And there is a sense that solid old values are crumbling. "Seems like we have lost respect for ourselves," says a housewife in Bellefontaine Neighbors, Mo.

Save for the war, the nation's brooding is almost exclusively inward. Only 2 per cent of the sampling thought to mention nuclear war as a problem facing the country; fewer than 1 per cent listed Russia or Red China. But the internal discontents are as varied as they are pervasive. "This sex education shouldn't be in the small grades, like I heard they're going to have," said the wife of a laborer in South Bend, Ind.

For all that, most middle-class Americans expect to prosper in coming years. Nearly two-thirds of the sampling feel that five years from now they will be at least as well off as they are today—or better off. But they are afraid they will enjoy it less. Fully 46 per cent agree that the nation has changed for the worse in the past ten years. Opinion splits on whether the United States can solve its problems at all. Fifty-nine per cent believe that the danger of racial conflict is on the rise—and 58 per cent feel that the United States, on the whole, is likely to change for the worse in the years ahead.

**M**iddle America itself is hardly monolithic; its over-all statistical unity conceals many shadings of opinions. The biggest differences match educational levels. Thus, people who went to college tend to have better jobs, earn more money and be more tolerant on racial issues and less disturbed by youth protests. Those whose education ended in grade school tend to hold blue-collar jobs—and to be financially insecure and angry over the accelerating pace of social change (page 46). The educational split was neatly shown by a question asking whether the United States is becoming too materialistic. Some 54 per cent of those who had gone to college agreed—but only 36 per cent of the grade-school group would go along.

Other significant divisions of opinion stem from age, sex and region of the country. Women, for instance, tend to be less hawkish than men on Vietnam. Westerners worry most about drugs and air pollution. And surprisingly, adults under 30 tend to disapprove of modern youth more vehemently than do people aged 30 to 55.

Despite these internal differences, however, Middle America is united in its discontent—and, increasingly, sees itself as an oppressed majority. "I think the middle class is getting the short end of the stick on everything," says a computer technician from Brooklyn. "The welfare people get out of taxes, and so do the rich," says a construction foreman in Baltimore. "The middle-class family is just forgotten."

The worst frustration is the war in Vietnam. It is, by now, a war that has come very close to home; 55

**'I don't like a war where there couldn't be a winner'**

### LOOKING AHEAD: PESSIMISM

	Agree	Disagree	No Change
The U.S. has changed for the worse over the past decade	46%	36%	13%
The danger of racial violence is increasing	59%	26%	12%
The U.S. is likely to change for the worse over the next decade	58%	19%	14%
The U.S. is less able to solve its problems than it was five years ago	40%	40%	16%

Undecided omitted

### WANTED: 'LAW AND ORDER'

	Yes	No
Local police do a good job of preventing crime	78%	16%
Police should have more power	63%	35%
Suspects who might commit another crime before they come to trial should be held without bail	68%	23%
Black militants have been treated too leniently	85%	8%
College demonstrators have been treated too leniently	84%	11%

Undecided omitted

Newsweek

per cent of the NEWSWEEK Middle American sampling said they were personally acquainted with someone who had been killed or wounded in Vietnam. Yet people are frankly and bitterly confused as to the conduct of the war, the reasons for American involvement and what should be done next.

There is general agreement on only one thing: that the war is not going well. Only 8 per cent believe that the U.S. and South Vietnam are winning. One in five said the war was being lost, and two-thirds of the sampling opted for the euphemistic "holding our own." Nearly three in five said the U.S. was justified in intervening in the war—but 70 per cent argued that, justified or not, the nation should have kept its sons at home.

**A**t the extremes, hawks and doves were almost evenly divided. Approximately one in five said that the U.S. had "no right or reason" to fight in Vietnam; one in four said it was "our right and duty." In volunteered opinions, however, the strongest expressions were hawkish, with 21 per cent urging a more aggressive, fight-to-win policy. "I can't figure it out," complained a retired sand-and-gravel dealer in Fort Loramie, Ohio. "If you can't go into North Vietnam, what's the use of fighting? If you hit me and go into the next room and I can't follow, what the hell's the use?" "Don't bomb here, don't bomb there—it's a cuddly war," snapped a nurse who lives in East

Keansburg, N.J. "They should blast them all and come home."

In contrast, the dovish opinions sounded oddly uncertain; opponents of the war cited passionless arguments on the theme that the U.S. should not have been involved in the first place, or that it was time for the war to end. "I can't remember when we started fighting there," said 22-year-old William H. Neumann Jr., manager of a restaurant in Sarasota, Fla., "but I do think we should have been out a long time ago." One of the most curious findings of the survey was the almost total absence of moral arguments against the war. Despite the clamor of the most vocal doves over the past four years, only a handful of the sampling argued that the war was simply wrong. Instead, opinions both pro and con were thoroughly pragmatic; as a New York City housewife phrased her case: "There's nothing to be gained."

On issues closer to home, the Middle American is considerably more emotional. He is in a financial vise, with inflation and rising taxes threatening what precarious security he has—and to make this threat worse, black Americans are demanding an ever-greater economic share.

Resentment of Negroes is at once the most obvious and the most complex note in the new mood of Middle America. It is not outright racism, in the sense that Negroes are hated because they are black. As recently as 1966, a NEWSWEEK survey found

*(Continued on Page 45)*

## At the Crossroads

**P**ittsburgh lies at Middle America's crossroads, where ethnic white meets militant black and there is no right of way. For generations they have lived a world apart. On the South Side, the Polish, German and Croatian housewives swept and scrubbed their front steps each morning, baked their own bread and strolled happily to corner grocery stores. In the Hill District, the Negro population—a fairly stable 19 per cent in recent years—lived out the separate life of the ghetto. But industry was prospering, jobs seemed ample, some of the smoke had been cleaned from the air, and Pittsburgh appeared in the midst of the "renaissance" so enthusiastically proclaimed by Mayor Joseph Barr.

Suddenly last summer, the troubles began. Black demonstrators closed down fifteen major construction sites, demanding an end to the de facto color bar that has kept the city's building-trades unions nearly lily-white. Almost 3,000 white union members, smarting at the loss of pay, marched in a counterdemonstration, and last week intricate negotiations to open up the construction unions to black members were still deadlocked.

The dispute unleashed pent-up racial resentments among whites fiercely protective of their unions' strict apprenticeship rules. "The Negroes want \$200 a week after six to eight months' training when my husband and father had to work six or eight years to get that," groused one white woman hunched over her bingo card at St. Michael's Church. "Why can't they work up to it like anybody else?"

Pittsburgh's whites, fearful that a recession may be on the way and jobs may turn scarce, complain that Negroes are getting a helping hand while they

are on their own. And, indeed, the city poverty office confirms that while 69 per cent of Pittsburgh's poor are white, 79 per cent of its anti-poverty funds go to blacks. "They see everything going to the colored," says Stephen Wajert, who calls himself a "half-breed"—half-German, half-Pole. "All they ask is, 'If there's a break for somebody, give us a break too'."

**T**he National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, a lobby devoted to the cause of continental European nationality groups, hopes to correct this imbalance by applying political pressure for more job training and college scholarships for poor whites and a restoration of ethnic neighborhoods. Its campaign will be launched this fall, and Pittsburgh is the first target city.

It just happens that Pittsburgh is holding a mayoral election in November, and no one doubts that the winner will be the man who can best attract the restive white workers into his camp. Old pro Joe Barr, 63, has chosen to step down, and the two main contenders are cut from very different political cloth: reform Democrat Peter Flaherty, 45, and Rockefeller-style Republican John Tabor, 48. Both are trying to reassure the white majority without further embittering the black minority. It is a delicate mission, and on its success will depend much of Pittsburgh's future, either onward to the renaissance or back to a grimmer age.

*Life in Middle America: A skyscraper crew on the job—beginning an eight-page Pittsburgh portfolio*



Elliott Erwitt

Elliott Erwitt



Reproduced at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum

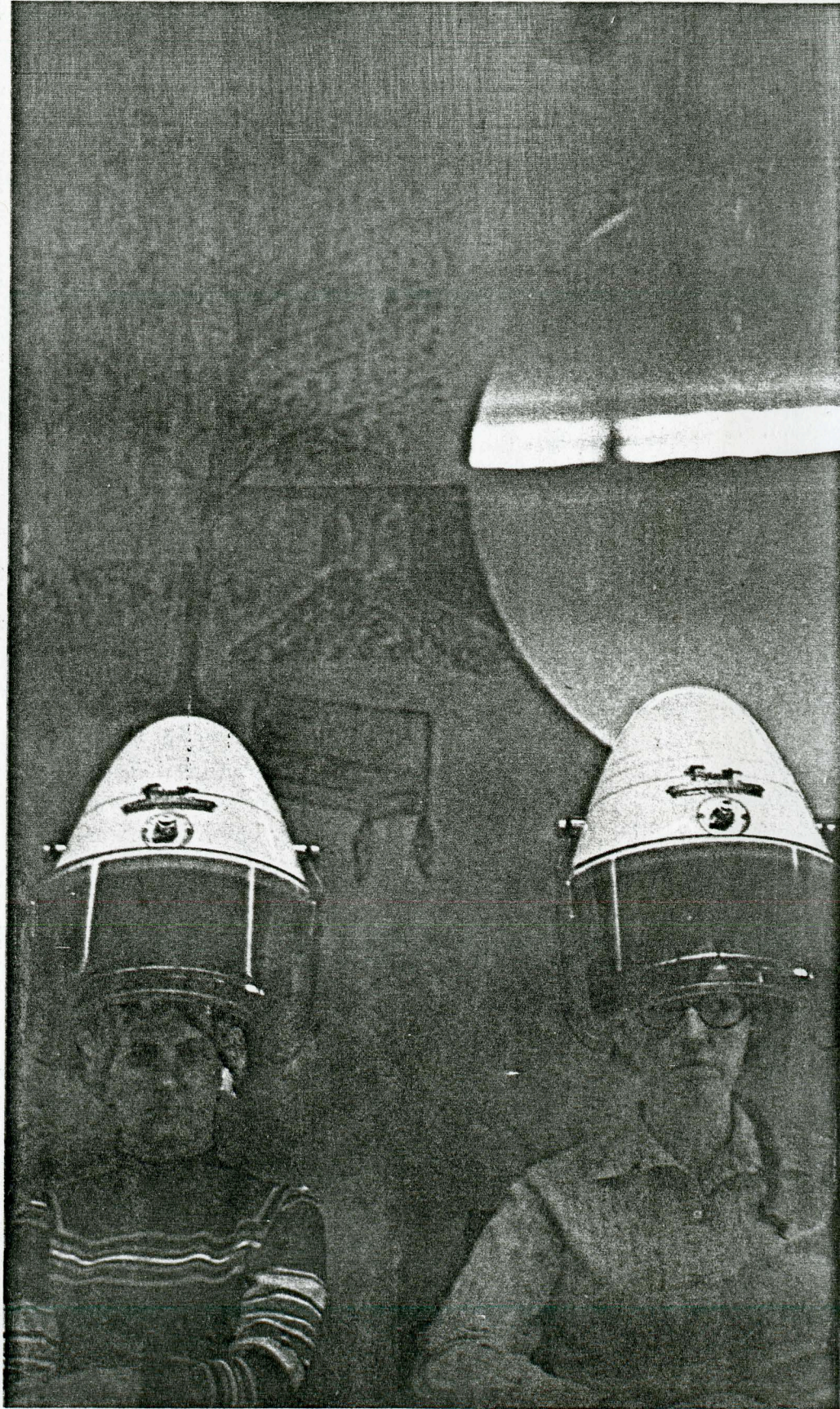
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Elliott Erwitt



*Pittsburgh, 4 p.m. The whistle has just blown at the steel mills, and the day shift sprints to the parking lot to try to beat the traffic jam. For some, there is a quick detour to Carl's Corner Tavern for a boilermaker (shots of whisky chased by beer). At the Heinz plant, an inspector keeps lonely watch over an endless march of vinegar bottles. Across town, the vigil under the hair driers is drawing to a close.*



Photographed for Newsweek by Elliott Erwitt, Charles Harbutt and Burk Uzzle of Magnum

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Charles Harbutt

*A drum majorette flashes a metallic smile in ninth annual Community Day Parade*

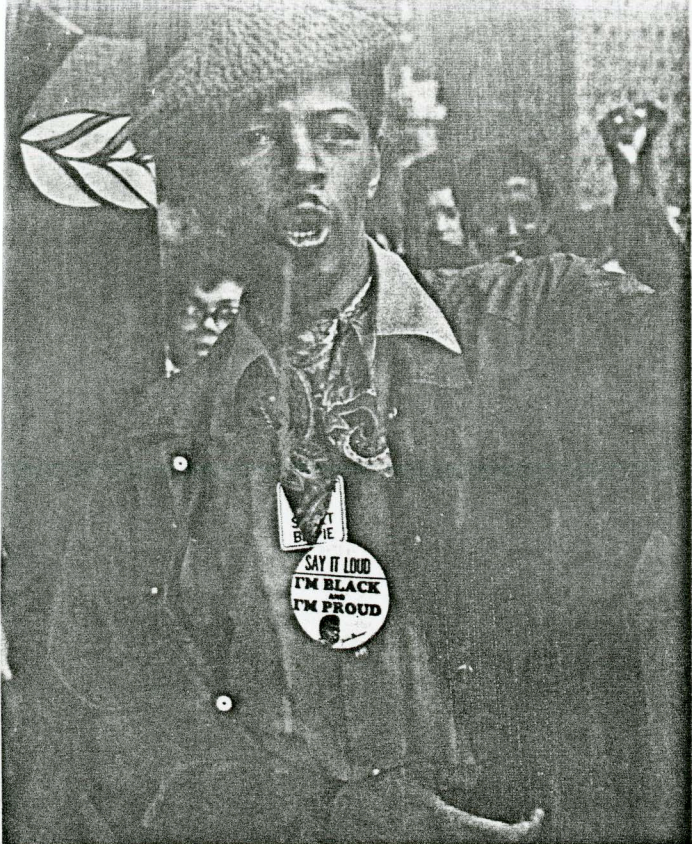
*Pirate fans (top) watch the team lose to Mets in final season at moldering Forbes Field*

*Ersatz mayhem (right) has a living-room following. The arena: a local television studio.*

*Maternal coaching (far right) for Monongahela Valley Royal Ambassadors Drill Team*

Charles Harbutt

PRESERVATION COPY



Charles Harbutt



Middle America feels the pressures of an unsettled society: Above, a demonstration by black militants against job discrimination in the construction industry; an overburdened police force, soaring prices and the continuing agony of Vietnam

PRESERVATION COPY

Burk Uzzle



(Continued from Page 36)

white Americans agreeing, by more than 2 to 1, that Negroes were discriminated against and deserved better. Fully 70 per cent of whites then said that, like it or not, they would probably be living in integrated housing in five years' time—and there was a similarly grudging acceptance of black gains in jobs and education. But with this acceptance went a strong feeling among whites that Negroes were trying to win too much, too fast—and this attitude is as strong as ever.

Recent progress for Negroes—particularly in jobs, education and housing—has come partly at the expense of the middle class. What's worse, some black demands and white-liberal rhetoric have focused on the concept of reparations for years in discrimination—an idea that Middle America sees simply as a new form of reverse discrimination. "I see the Negro stepping on my rights," said a finance manager in Los Angeles. "He is asking for more than is justifiably his."

Whatever the facts of the case, a substantial minority of white America professes to believe that the black man already has the advantage. More than four out of ten in the sampling said Negroes actually have a better chance than whites to get a good job or a good education for their children, and nearly two-thirds said Negroes got preference in unemployment benefits from the government. "The Negroes think they are having a disadvantage, which is not true," said Mrs. John Tiedje, in Clarksville, N.Y. Ludicrous as the idea sounds to Negroes, many Middle Americans are convinced that police and the courts give blacks especially lenient treatment. "It looks," said an oil-refinery worker in Galena Park, Texas, "like whites don't have the rights that Negroes do."

**B**lacks are also perceived by many as morally different from whites: they don't seem to live by the rules of the basically Puritan white middle class. "They are given jobs by good companies and they don't work," says a New York policeman. "The backers of the Negro are making them think that we owe them jobs, and we owe them housing, food, money, for nothing." This attitude is astonishingly widespread; 73 per cent of the NEWSWEEK sampling agreed that blacks "could have done something" about slum conditions, and 55 per cent thought Negroes were similarly to blame for their unemployment rate. What's more, nearly four out of five declared that half or more of the nation's welfare recipients—who tend to be thought of mainly as Negroes—could earn their own way if they tried.

With such basic attitudes, it is hardly surprising that Middle America shows little enthusiasm for what it thinks of as sacrifice to advance the black cause. In education, for instance, only 2 per cent of those polled favored busing to improve racial balance in the schools. In fact, only one out of four favored further integration at all. Given their choice, nearly two-thirds would either improve Negro schools or let blacks run their own schools.

Even this attitude is not unalloyed bigotry. Unfashionable as it is to credit racial rationalizations at face value, much white middle-class opposition to

*The view from the hills: Coming of age in Pittsburgh*

Charles Harbutt

## THE BLACKS: TOO MUCH, TOO SOON?

Do Negroes today have a better chance or worse chance than people like yourself—

	Better	Worse	Same
To get well-paying jobs?	44%	21%	31%
To get a good education for their children?	41%	16%	41%
To get good housing at a reasonable cost?	35%	30%	27%
To get financial help from the government when they're out of work?	65%	4%	22%

Undecided omitted

Newsweek

integration reflects a genuine fear that the quality of education may deteriorate. And for all his resentment at black activism, the Middle American still has a basic sympathy for the Negro's aspirations. Significantly, nearly seven out of ten agreed that at least some of the demands presented by Negro leaders were justified. Equally to the point, the same proportion also agreed that "it will take some time" to meet the demands.

White America's prejudice is most obvious when it comes to the crime problem—which large numbers automatically associate with Negroes. "We are really afraid," said a North Carolina woman, "with the colored right in our backyard." Asked to define "law and order," an investment adviser in King of Prussia, Pa., said, "Get the niggers. Nothing else."

Crime, the survey showed, is considered one of the nation's most serious problems—but oddly enough, it is generally thought to be worst in somebody else's backyard. Only 10 per cent of the sampling volunteered crime in their own listing of the nation's problems, and fewer than half considered it a serious issue in their own communities. Yet nearly two-thirds checked it off as one of the worst problems facing the cities—and suburbanites were more likely to think so than city dwellers themselves.

Despite the furor over crime in recent months,

Many think the blacks live by their own set of rules

## BLACK SCHOOLS—OR MIXED?

What should be done about Negro demands for better education?

Improve schools where Negro children go	40%
Move toward integration	25%
Let Negroes run their own schools	24%
Integrate schools by busing children	2%
Ignore demands because they are not justified	3%

Undecided omitted

Newsweek

**Despite every-  
thing, a vote  
for youth**

only three in ten said they had changed their habits to protect themselves; those few were mainly locking doors and windows formerly left unlatched. And despite widespread reports of an arms buildup, only 4 per cent volunteered that they kept guns to protect themselves, and fewer than 1 per cent said they had installed burglar alarms. Others mentioned tear-gas guns and judo lessons. "We've started feeding an ugly dog," reported David Ingraham, owner of a service station in Clarksville, N.Y.

Nearly four out of five are satisfied with their local police, reporting that the officers do a good job of preventing local crime. Nonetheless, 63 per cent of the sampling said police didn't have enough power in dealing with suspected criminals, and more than two-thirds agreed that judges should have the right to deny pretrial bail to suspects considered likely to commit a crime while on the loose—a crime-fighting step of dubious constitutionality.

A significant minority worried that more police power could bring on a police state—"Hitler had law and order," observed Mrs. Marjorie Runner, a San Francisco housewife. But the majority of those polled were convinced that thugs were getting too many breaks. To most people, the possibility of added police power offers no conceivable threat to anyone but wrongdoers. "Behave yourself and there's no problem," declared a construction worker in Wich-

ita, Kans. "I think of law and order as what I do."

If crime is a threat to the Middle American's safety, the much-publicized youth rebellion is an equally real challenge to his self-esteem. Whether picketing on campus or parading barefoot in hippie regalia, the younger generation seems to be telling him that his way of life is corrupt, his goals worthless and his treasured institutions doomed. Logically enough, a good many middle-class citizens tend to resent the message. "It's horrible. They are going to the dogs," said Mrs. Cecil L. Davis of Wichita Falls, Texas. The overwhelming majority in the poll made it clear that they had little sympathy for the outright rebels among the younger generation; 84 per cent said campus demonstrators had been treated too leniently, and nearly three out of five said the demonstrators had little or no justification for their actions.

Nonetheless, most Middle Americans make a clear distinction between youthful rebels and the greater number of what they think of as normal youngsters. "These college rioters should be put in concentration camps," said Herbert R. Parsons Jr., a furniture store manager of Peru, Ind. "But by and large, the majority are fine young people." Some 59 per cent of those polled agreed that their impression of most young people was favorable.

And in his heart, the Middle American isn't all that sure that even the rebels are altogether wrong. Some 54 per cent of those polled, in fact, agreed that

**U.S. SPENDING:  
NEW PRIORITIES**

On which problems do you think the government should be spending more money — and on which should it be spending less money?

	More Money	Less Money
Job training for the unemployed	56%	7%
Air and water pollution	56%	3%
Fighting organized crime	55%	3%
Medical care for the old and needy	47%	5%
Fighting crime in the streets	44%	4%
Improving schools	44%	7%
Providing better housing for the poor—especially in the ghettos	39%	13%
Building highways	23%	14%
Defense expenditures	16%	26%
Space exploration	10%	56%
Foreign economic aid	6%	57%
Foreign military aid	1%	66%

Newsweek

**Hot Under the  
Blue Collar**

The disgruntlement of Middle America finds its cutting edge in the nation's traditional working class—families whose breadwinners have at most a high-school education, hold blue-collar jobs and bring home incomes of \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year. In this supposed age of affluence and upward mobility, such families feel trapped in a marginal life. But they comprise 23 per cent of the white population, nearly twice the black population, and a fifth of the total country. It is in this group that troubled discontent shades closest to angry violence.

The root of the problem is that the blue-collar worker, much more than the rest of Middle America, is convinced that prosperity is passing him by. Fewer than one in three of the working-class group say they are better off now than five years ago; by contrast, 44 per cent of the white-collar workers polled feel more prosperous. And the blue-collar group is even less confident about the future. Only 28 per cent expect to be better off five years from now. "With the high cost of living and the taxes, we can't survive," said a Brooklyn machinist.

This sense that the economic pie is dwindling makes it even more difficult for the working class to accept Negro gains that may increase the competition. Characteristically, blue-collar workers tend to blame Negroes themselves for any problems blacks may have (79 per cent said Negroes "could have done something" about living conditions in the slums,

young people were not unduly critical of their country, and that criticism was actually needed. But this sentiment reflects not so much tolerance of the young as a deep-seated fear that the whole system is somehow failing, that the quality of life is declining and that the middle-class citizen's own place is no longer secure.

This painful awareness that things just aren't what they used to be is at the bottom of the nation's new discontent. "Conditions are changing for the worse," mused a farmer from Bald Knob, Ark. "Conditions are unstable, and getting worse." Solid old values seem to be deteriorating; seven-tenths of the sampling agreed that people now were less religious than they were five years ago, and 86 per cent said sexual permissiveness was undermining the nation's morals. "I really worry sometimes about this country, if we don't change our ways and return to religion," said another farmer in Timmonsville, S.C.

And this erosion of values extends to the interpersonal links that foster security and stability in any society. Only 39 per cent of those polled feel most people "really care" what happens to strangers. About the same percentage said it wasn't likely that anyone would help them if they were robbed on the street in their own neighborhoods. More than half said they put only "some" trust in the news media and the Federal government to tell the truth about what was going on; some 30 per cent said they had little trust or none at all. But however skeptical, Middle Americans

feel increasingly powerless to shape their own destiny. In the face of the complexity of the modern world, a bare half of the sampling thought they should have any say in their country's defense and foreign policy. "We are not well-informed enough to give solutions," said a Chicago accountant.

What the middle class does want is stability—or at least the illusion of stability. If change is inevitable, in race relations, for example, it should come without upheaval. "I think Negroes have justified reasons," said the wife of a utility serviceman in St. Paul, Minn., "but they are going about it in the wrong way with the wrong leaders."

**I**n such a national dilemma, it would be natural for people to turn on their leaders—and there is, to be sure, no lack of grumbling in Middle America about the government. Only 24 per cent of the sampling said the government was doing a "good" or "excellent" job of dealing with the nation's problems; two-thirds said "fair" or "poor."

The grumbling is loudest, of course, over the pocketbook issues of taxes and inflation. Despite the vaunted prosperity of the nation during the 1960s, one out of every four middle-class Americans said the rising cost of living had forced a cutback on purchases; another 44 per cent said they were just managing to stay even. Nearly eight out of ten said Federal taxes were too steep, and 59 per cent

**'I really worry about this country'**

vs. 63 per cent of the white-collar group). Increasingly, they are convinced that blacks already have whatever improvements they deserve (nearly one-third of the blue-collar group described Negro demands as unjustified, vs. one-fifth of the white-collar sampling). And fully 49 per cent of the blue-collar group said blacks actually have a better chance than they do to get a good job.

Blue-collar workers similarly resent the challenge to their values and aspirations that is posed by sexual permissiveness in the arts and the wave of rebellion among college youth. Nearly seven in ten said the stress on sex and nudity was doing "a great deal" to undermine the nation's morals; 57 per cent of white-collar workers felt that way. And fewer than half said their impression of modern youth was generally favorable, whereas two-thirds of the white-collar sampling approved.

And these frustrations and resentments, in the working-class view of the world, are unlikely to be redressed by the machinery of democracy. Volunteered responses showed a dyed-in-the-blue-collar distrust of politicians. Said the wife of a Navy truck driver in San Diego: "This is the truth—it makes no difference who gets in."

Will there be a working-class rebellion? Prophecies of a rising in the white ghettos are surely exaggerated. The blue-collar worker, indeed, tends a bit to dramatic exaggeration himself; if he thinks there's a problem, he is more apt to see it as "very serious" than "fairly serious." Nonetheless, the potential for trouble is there; as the black militants have amply proved, even a minority of a minority can be more than enough to start serious disruptions—and ultimately swing far more than its political weight.



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

Union carnival in Indiana: 'We can't survive'

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thought local taxes excessive. "We had to sell our home because our taxes were too high," said G.W. Loenstein, a retired grocer in Oakland, Calif.

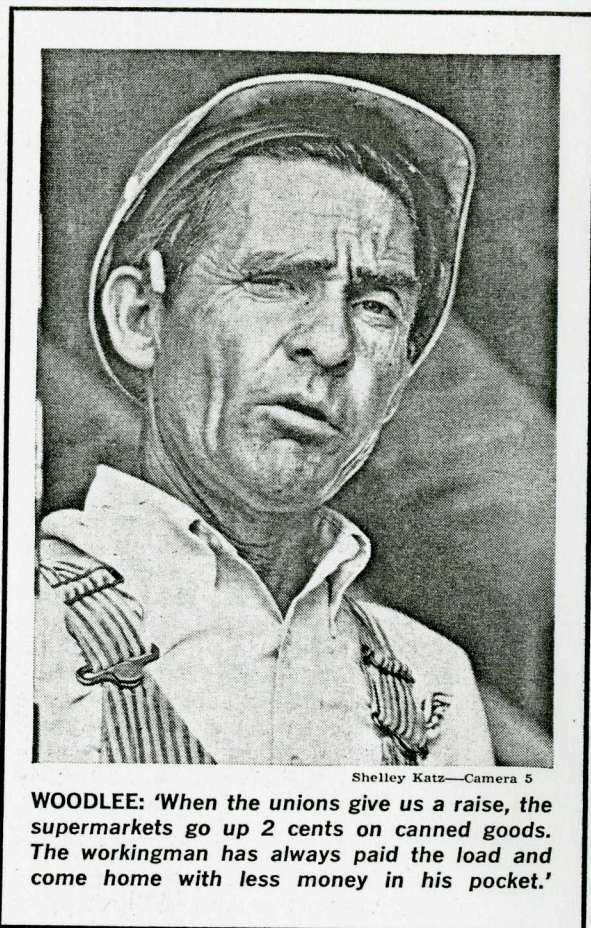
For the most part, however, the middle class has a weary sort of tolerance for their elected representatives. "It's not really the government's fault," said Thomas Silevitch, a Christmas-tree-bulb maker in Dorchester, Mass. "The government can't solve everyone's problems." Asked to rate President Nixon's performance in office, nearly half of the sampling—49 per cent—gave him favorable marks, with 31 per cent less enthusiastic and only 15 per cent downright critical. There was no great yearning for another leader; only 12 per cent thought the country would be better off with George Wallace at the helm, and a bare 10 per cent thought Hubert Humphrey would do better. But there was little enthusiasm for Mr. Nixon. In fact, people had a tendency to praise him with faint damns, explaining their ratings by saying that he had done all right so far, or seemed to be working for peace. "He is doing the best he can with the ability he has, which I don't think is too much," said a housewife in Jacksonville, Fla.

Whatever its resentments and frustrations, then, Middle America is not about to take to the barricades—or even to slump into mulish apathy. Indeed, the most encouraging finding of the NEWSWEEK Poll is the extent to which people are willing to seek fresh solutions; a clear plurality of 48 per cent agreed that "we need to experiment with new ways of dealing with the nation's problems." Even the celebrated tax revolt turns out, on close scrutiny, to be a paper dragon. The chief complaint is not so much the level of taxation but rather that the government has its priorities wrong. "Nobody has the right to take a hard-working man's money and waste it, but they all do," said Mrs. Margaret Donovan, a housewife in Albany, N.Y. "Our money just isn't used right."

By a clear margin, the middle class is more concerned with solving problems than with governmental economies. Asked how the government should use any unexpected surplus in revenues, fully 48 per cent said the money should go to improve conditions in the country; only one in three favored a tax cut, and 16 per cent wanted to reduce the national debt. In specific terms, the sampling favored added spending for such programs as job training, pollution control, medicare, slum housing and crime control. But a good many thought money was being wasted in foreign aid and defense spending—and even in the afterglow of the moon landing, fully 56 per cent thought the government should spend less on space.

In the end, this willingness to tackle the nation's problems tempers Middle America's pessimism. "Change is not bad," said John King, a Mississippi cattle raiser. "But there may be a period of time when things worsen before we settle on a course again." In the long run, said the owner of a printing shop in Cleveland, "I have great confidence in our ability to find the right answers. We're great opportunists and improvisers." A touch of malaise may be fashionable, and all very well for a while, but it goes against the Middle American grain. If something has gone wrong, it will simply have to be fixed; after all, says a San Diego aircraft inspector, "We won't just sit around and let the country go down the drain." And in this troubled harvest season, the hope is that his is the real voice of the country.

### Malaise goes against the Middle American grain



Shelley Katz—Camera 5

**WOODLEE:** 'When the unions give us a raise, the supermarkets go up 2 cents on canned goods. The workingman has always paid the load and come home with less money in his pocket.'

## The Square American Speaks Out

Newsweek's Los Angeles bureau chief crisscrossed the country to sample the feelings of Richard Nixon's "forgotten Americans"—especially working-class whites. His report:

BY KARL FLEMING

**T**ravels with Mister Charlie in white America. Talking to the folks. Not the Athletic Club fat cats, the poor white trash, the intellectual pointy-heads, or the groovy people. Just the square American.

He wears white starched shirts, suits with baggy pants, work shirts with his name in red on the breast, white ankle-high cotton socks. Toothpicks. Lunch in a paper sack. Off-duty, bourbon and 7-up.

She wears wire-stiff bouffants, girdles, at-the-knee print dresses. She saves Green Stamps, is active in

the Girl Scouts and PTA. A Bible adorns her coffee table and there's an American-flag decal on the family car. She lives for "the kids."

They live in a box-like suburban tract house or just ahead of the urban-renewal wreckers in a gritty, decayed inner-city neighborhood.

Vacation is visiting relatives, or staying home and painting the house. "Mother" doesn't play golf or have cocktail parties. A treat is dinner at the Burger King, or a movie. Family fun is a Sunday drive, a backyard hamburger barbecue, or watching TV. Television is more than ever the national narcotic for the financially immobilized. That's one reason the old spirit of neighborliness is dying.

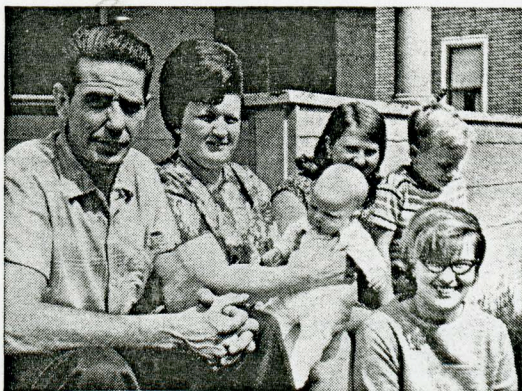
As I rambled 5,000 miles across America, from Portland, Ore., to Springfield, Mass., from Milwaukee to Atlanta, talking to Middle Americans where I chanced upon them, they would say again and again that people just don't care about each other the way they once did.

One reason, they said, is the church. Its influence is rapidly declining and many of the once pious and faithful are now hostile and absent. Said an apostate in Minneapolis: "I used to go to church and the preacher would talk about God, Jesus and the Bible. Now he tells me why I shouldn't buy grapes."

People seemed almost pathetically eager to talk, as if nobody had ever asked before, and almost universally they were in a fretful, fearful, disquieted mood. What people seem to want above all else is order: they want everybody to just quiet down and quit threatening to destroy what they have worked so hard to build and preserve. They are hostile toward poor and rich alike—toward the poor for being on welfare, toward the rich for not paying taxes—and they are increasingly cynical about politicians.

*It is a Saturday afternoon in a post-World War II neighborhood of modest GI homes on mimosa-lined streets in East Dallas, kids wheeling bikes and tricycles on the sidewalk.*

Under the carport are brothers-in-law Eddie Franks and Jack Woodlee. They are pounding nails and sawing used lumber, converting the carport into



Newsweek—Jeff Lowenthal

**THE HUFFS:** 'Life is getting faster and fierouser. Sometimes you feel like throwing up your hands and saying to hell with it and going so far back in the hills they'll have to pipe sunshine in.'

a living room for Franks's three-bedroom home. Woodlee, dressed in overalls and brogans, a chubby carpenter's pencil over his ear, bites a wad out of a plug of Red Man chewing tobacco. "I got cows in the bank and money out West," he says sardonically. "Aw, hell, if the little people would stick together they could make the big boys get off their chairs and do something. But they won't."

"When taxes go up, they put them on us," says maintenance man Franks, wiping a sweaty hand on his T-shirt. "When I got married 22 years ago, I made 60 cents an hour and my wife was jerking sodas. We're not much better off now. I get mad when I see these rich kids tearing up the schools and throwing away that opportunity. I had to work. I would have liked to go to college so I could have a job where I could sit up there all day and be clean."

"Ain't no way," drawls sheet-metal worker Woodlee. "When the unions give us a raise, the supermarkets go up 2 cents on canned goods. And the politician don't help. He's only for himself."

"We shouldn't be spending all this money on foreign countries. All we get back is war," says Franks.

"The rich man ought to have to pay taxes. The country is supposed to be justice for all, not just for one or two, isn't it?" asks Woodlee. "But things ain't gonna get much better. The working man has always paid the load, fought the battles and come home with less money in his pocket."

Still, Woodlee and Franks lead relatively placid and pleasant lives within the bounds of their incomes. They enjoy their families. Most weekends, they load their pickup-truck camper and head for lake or wood to fish and hunt.

*From one side of the little Wolf Lake city park in Hammond, Ind., billows of noxious smoke pour from a row of grim steel mills. From the other, plumes of nauseating fumes spew from a huge oil refinery. Blobs of green slime and yellow foam float along the shore. The narrow beach is crowded with swimmers and picnickers.*

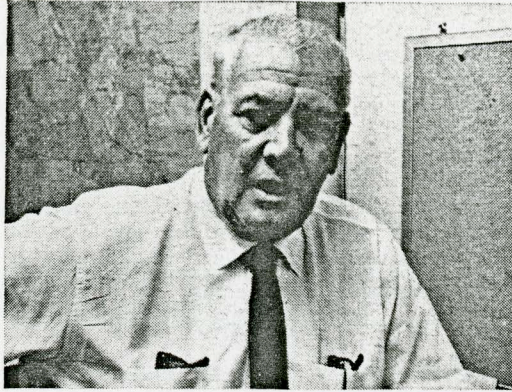
"Daddy, daddy, I went under. I was breathing and I seen bubbles," cries the dripping 5-year-old



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

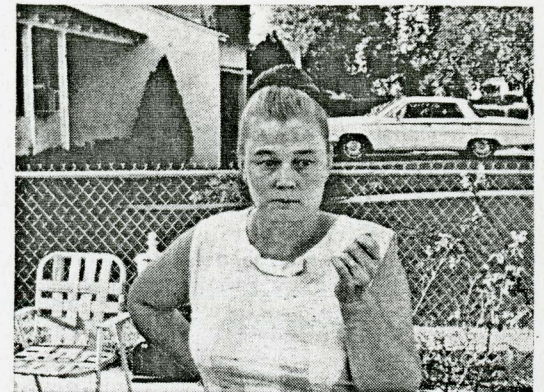
**SEMLER:** 'It galls me. Billions and billions of dollars, and I don't know how many have been killed in Vietnam. To pull their chestnuts out of the fire with the lives of our boys—unh-unh.'

**Mad at the 'rich kids tearing up' the schools**



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**BROOKS:** 'Hell, when I was a kid, I wore bell-bottom pants to school. But I couldn't wait to get out and get a piece of capitalism. But to these kids the future is nothing. It's very sad.'



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**MRS. RIEL:** 'People like us don't count for anything any more. One woman can stop prayer in the schools. And a man with a prison record is patted on the head and told to go do it again.'

boy, rushing into the outstretched arms of truck driver Fred Huff, 41.

"Darlin', I told you to hold your breath," says Huff soothingly. He is there picnicking with his wife and four children. He rents the two-story downstairs half of a paint-peeled old wood house on nearby Carroll Street. There is a framed picture of Jesus on the dining-room wall, a single window air conditioner, under which his infant granddaughter naps on a cot when she visits.

Huff drives 2,000 miles a week through five states. He and his wife, who works as a truck-line dispatcher, earn about \$10,000 a year. His eldest son, 22, lives at home, badly disabled from Vietnam mortar wounds.

"We're luckier than some. At least we got him back alive. I guess I'm more for the war than against it," Huff says uncertainly. "When some country is threatening your way of life, it has to be stopped somewhere. But I don't know. It's bad enough to lose all these boys. But for something that's pointless? No. I'm afraid it's gonna be another Korea."

Huff and his family haven't been away on vacation in ten years. But he watches the Cubs on TV, drinks a little beer and in general enjoys life. He doesn't really like Hammond. "It's just the money place to be," he says. "The steel mills and the refineries make the air so bad it smarts the old eyeballs and makes you nauseated. Everything is getting uglier and uglier. You can go 30 miles into the country and get away from it. But then it costs too much to commute. It's having an effect. People get irritated now over things they would have laughed at years ago. There's a lack of friendliness. No closeness. Half the time you don't even know who your neighbor is, unless there's a fight. Something seems to have gone out of people."

"Life," he sighs, "is getting faster and fierouser. Sometimes you feel like throwing up your hands and saying to hell with it and going so far back in the hills they'll have to pipe sunshine in. We've only got a few more years to contend with it. That's why we rent, so when we're ready, all we have to do is pack and tell the kids good-by. Then mamma and I will bum around out West until we find a place. There's still a lot of beautiful country."

Of the people I talked to, the most frustrated and angry were those trapped in spirit-numbing jobs and in neighborhoods besieged by pollution, noise, traffic, decay and crime. The happiest were those whose jobs gave them some relief from tedium, and a chance to live near open fields and green trees, sunlight, creeks and country roads.

*In the carpeted, brightly lit rear of Weiner's clothing store in sparkling Portland, Ore., jovial Jerry Semler is bantering with a customer.*

"I'm just a shoe dog," he says. "I've been peddling shoes all my life. And in this business, if you're not happy, you're dead. I'd possibly like to do something else, but I don't know what it would be."

"I love my wife. I've got three fine children. I've got a nice house in a middle-class neighborhood. Friends come over and we turn off the boob tube and talk. I get two weeks vacation a year—I go up to Lake Tahoe and booze it up a little. I'm my own man," he says happily.

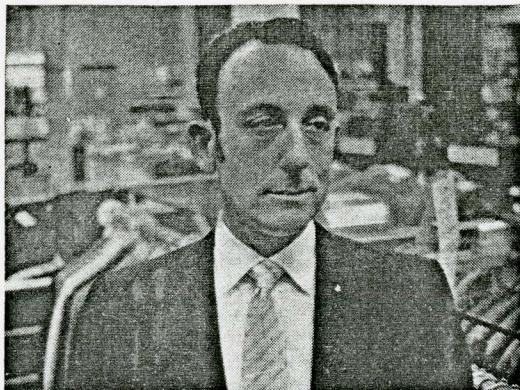
Semler, 54, had a heart attack in 1956—"at 12:10, Sept. 30, sitting in a green chair"—but is as active these days as he ever was. "Whoever pulls the cards out of the rack upstairs wasn't ready to pull mine," he says.

The thing that bothers Semler the most is the war. "It just galls me every time someone is killed," he says. "Billions and billions of dollars, and I don't know how many have been killed in Vietnam. To pull their chestnuts out of the fire with the lives of our boys—unh-unh."

*There is a picture of Custer's last stand on the wall. On the cluttered desk is a small American flag, the pledge inscribed on its base. Ray Brooks, shirt-sleeved editor of Sunland and Tujunga's semiweekly Record Ledger in the smoggy foothills of the Verdugo Mountains near Los Angeles, shakes his bald head sadly.*

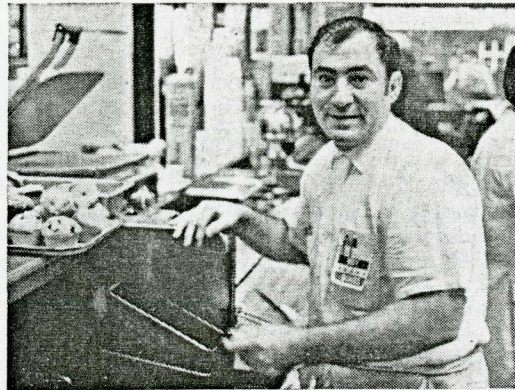
"We just seemed to be headed toward a collapse of everything," he muses. "I'm upset about the kids

**A lot of TV,  
a little beer  
and no real  
vacation  
in ten years**



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**ROTH:** 'People are fed up that 1 per cent of the population is allowed to have legal theft with cops looking the other way. Looters should be shot—if they're 6 foot 9, 2 foot 6, green or yellow.'



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**LAYOS:** 'These black guys think they've got it tough. When my father came to this country from Greece in 1910, he could speak five or six languages. People laughed and called him stupid.'

and the hippies and the absolute disregard for law and order and any kind of convention. It isn't the clothes. Hell, when I was a kid, I wore bell-bottom pants to school with silver bells on the side. But when I was the age of these hippies, I couldn't wait to get out and get a piece of capitalism and become part of the Establishment. But these kids grow up and don't want to be a part of it. That's what makes people mad. To these kids the future is nothing. To us, it was everything. It's sad. It's very sad."

Mrs. Emma Riel lives in a little three-bedroom home not far away from Brooks's newspaper office. To supplement her husband's \$10,000 income as a sewer-equipment salesman, she sews and makes plastic-flower arrangements. Her gray hair is tied in a neat bun on the back of her head. Her pale blue eyes flash angrily. She nods toward the American flag that is mounted on the white picket fence in the front yard.

"Everybody wants the same thing: decency. But people like us don't count for anything any more," she says. "One woman can stop prayer in the schools. And a man with a prison record is patted on the head and told to go do it again. Because Mr. Warren handcuffed our police, our laws are not protecting anyone.

"And the kids—they want it all right now, the things it took us a lifetime to get. A bath, a haircut, and a good old-fashioned strap would get most of them back in line. But their mothers are too busy at cocktail parties and bridge clubs to be mothers."

*Behind the long counter of the Nuttie Goodie Tea Room on Main Street in quiet Springfield, Mass., an aproned, open-faced George Layos, 36, stands frying eggs.*

"I've never collected a day of welfare in my life," he says. "In my family, if you stay home and don't work, you're a bum and a criminal. These black guys think they've got it tough. When my father came to this country from Greece in 1910, he could speak five or six languages. People laughed at him and called him stupid.

"There's plenty of work around. These people just

don't have backbone. They give them welfare just to keep them quiet. The police aren't tough enough. They're scared. I get nervous, too. Ten years ago if somebody came in here and gave me some baloney, I'd throw his ass out. Today, you never know if they're hopped up on dope or something. I see them take candy out of the counter and I just let them go. You never know what they're gonna do. If you and I stole a doughnut, we'd be put in jail. But they walk out with TV sets and the police are afraid to do anything about it."

*The sign on the box office of Springfield's rundown Paramount Theater says, NO ONE WILL BE ALLOWED IN THE THEATER WITHOUT SHOES ON THEIR FEET. Up Main Street, in the city's biggest department store, Forbes & Wallace, dark-haired, sideburned salesman El Roth, 48, is carefully filling out a receipt. Just this morning, over eggs and toast, his daughter Barbara, 14, asked him if he thought 18-year-olds should be allowed to vote.*

"Ordinarily, yes," he told her. "But the way they're acting now, I'd be afraid to let them vote."

"She just looked at me and smiled," he recalls. "But she's a good kid."

Like Layos, Roth frets about looters and law-breakers. "People are fed up with the way 1 per cent of the population is allowed to have legal theft with police looking the other way. Looters should be shot, whether they're 6 foot 9, 2 foot 6, green or yellow. It's all just stealing," he says. "But in this store, if you see a colored person take something, you don't say anything. The store might be hit. It isn't worth a \$25 sweater."

Roth has a little side business—retail clothing—and lives fairly well, although he foresees the need for a government loan to send his two children to college. But he's not happy. "The pressure of wanting material things that I don't have is always there," he says.

*It is a hot, smoggy morning in San Leandro, Calif., a middle-class white enclave on the outskirts of Oakland. On the gravel apron of Dick Linton's body shop,*

**No votes for 18-year-olds 'the way they're acting now'**

**For a few,  
revolution  
is the only  
answer**

*Jacks-of-all-trades Frank Reis, 48, and David Pedroza, 44, partners in a house-repairing business, are waiting for their truck to be fixed.*

They are smoking, occasionally kicking their toes into the gravel, talking to proprietor Linton, a bald, squat man of 39 in a T-shirt.

Pedroza, who wears a toothpick-thin mustache, snarls: "Look at those riots. What the f--- do you think would happen to us if we went over there and started a riot?"

Says Reis with a wry grin: "They'd kill us."

"F----- right they would," says Pedroza.

"Paint your face black and you can get a new Cadillac and the county will come in and feed your family. What do they call it? Prejudice, or something? That's all they've got to holler and they've got it made. Let a f----- patrolman stop me, and I've got to pay," says Reis.

"What do you think would happen to us if we went around calling police 'pigs'? And let me be starving and steal a loaf of bread and they'd throw my ass in jail. There's nobody behind us hollering 'prejudice,'" says Linton.

"There's only one way to solve this, and that's gonna be with a revolution. I'm for fighting it out between us," Pedroza says angrily.

"And I'd go for that. Just give me a machine gun,"

Reis agrees.

"That's why I went out and bought me some guns," says Linton.

"What do you call dragging the American flag on the ground and burning draft cards and all that s---?" asks Reis.

"Treason," says Pedroza.

"We should have a Hitler here to get rid of the troublemakers the way they did with the Jews in Germany," says Reis.

*He has one of those classic Texas faces: tanned leathery cheeks, a finely cut jaw, blue eyes, strong hands with which he rolls a cigarette from a Prince Albert can. Ray Compton, 47, is a farmer who raises 100 acres of okra which he sells to 150 markets and to retail customers at the Dallas municipal market.*

*He works long, eighteen-hour days five months a year. But the rest of the year he fishes and hunts.*

Compton sits with his feet propped up on the back of his red truck, his Texas hat pushed back.

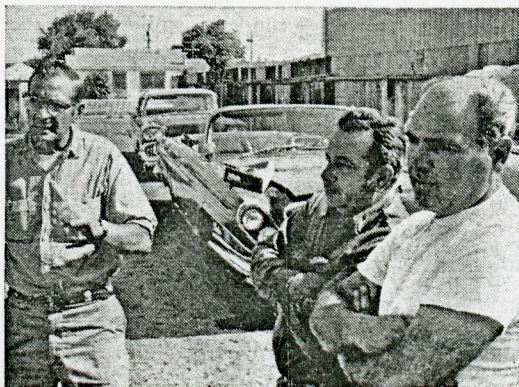
"I'm like that man on the bucking horse: I ain't going anywhere. I just want to stay where I am," he drawls. He is incensed about welfare recipients, college demonstrators, draft dodgers and such. But he doesn't think the country is collapsing.

"The old backbone of America—they're still just as good as they were 100 years ago," he says. "With them it's still the land of the free and the home of the brave. But the United States has opened its doors to so many low-classed people. I tell you what: I could get 40 or 50 of my old South Pacific buddies with grease guns and stop all these damn riots. When ol' Mayor Daley give the police in Chicago the right to shoot to kill, it stopped all of that crap, didn't it? I betcha by God if ol' Wallace runs again he'll give them a run for their money."

*Earnest (Pee Wee) Hayes is 58. For 37 years he has worked the same humdrum but grueling job at the Armco steel plant in Middletown, Ohio. His father migrated north from Kentucky in the Depression. When Pee Wee started work, he earned \$3.85 for an eight-hour day. Now he gets \$3.96 an hour, makes \$10,000-plus a year. He has money stashed in the company credit union. He gets four weeks' vacation a year, and every fifth year he gets thirteen. He has a freezer, a relatively new Buick, all but owns the \$15,000 home he bought twenty years ago for \$5,300. The company pays all his expenses in a gun club. And there is a generous retirement plan.*

For most of his working life, Pee Wee has stood in the same little 12-by-12 area, operating a machine that shears rough edges off long lengths of steel. "The older you get the worse it gets," he says. "The pressure and tension keep building up. More tonnage. You get behind the 8-ball. I've worked hard. I've wore out three machines.

"We do all the work. The niggers have got it made," he says. "They keep closing in and closing in,



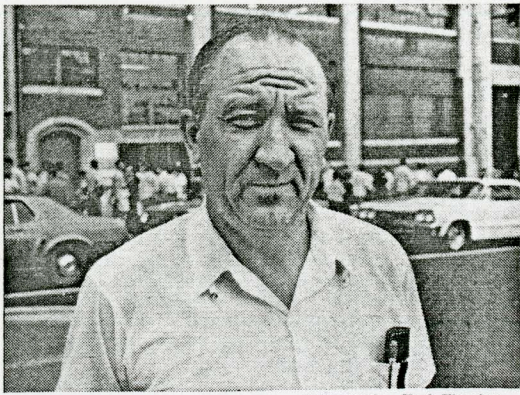
Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**REIS, PEDROZA AND LINTON:** 'Paint your face black and the county will feed your family. We should have a Hitler here to get rid of the troublemakers the way they did with the Jews.'



Shelley Katz—Camera 5

**COMPTON:** 'The U.S. has opened its doors to so many low-classed people. I tell you what: I could get 40 or 50 of my old South Pacific buddies with grease guns and stop all these damn riots.'



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**WALCZAK:** 'I've been in the shops since I was 16. Day after day, year after year, climbing those steps, punching that card. Standing in that same goddam spot grinding those goddam holes.'

working their way into everything. Last three or four months you can't even turn on the damn TV without seeing a nigger. They're even playing cowboys.

"Us briarhoppers [transplanted Southerners] ain't gonna stand for it. And 90 per cent of Middletown is briarhoppers. And those sons of bitches will kill you, know what I mean? If a bunch of good ol' briarhopper Ku Kluxers had got ahold of Martin Luther King, he wouldn't have lived as long as he did."

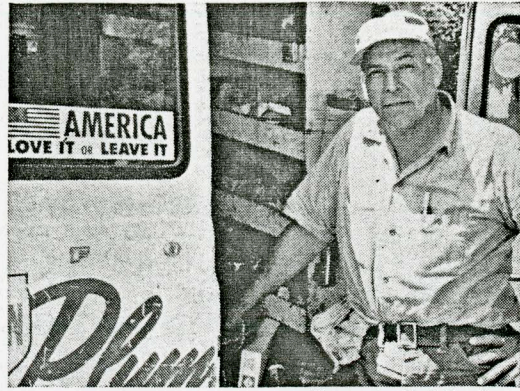
*In Milwaukee, they call the Menomonee valley in midtown "the Mason-Dixon line." On one side live the blacks. On the other live the working-class whites, mainly Poles. Adjacent to the white side is the oppressively Dickensian old Allen-Bradley heavy-machinery factory. Lately, Father James Groppi and some militants have been picketing, demanding more minority jobs.*

Just at 3 p.m., gig grinder Ray Walczak, 44, wearily emerges from his shift and crosses the street to his rusting old '64 Buick. He is going home to pack his modest trailer, and take his son camping. But he can't resist pausing to watch the pickets.

"Look at that," he says. "Bastards don't want jobs. If you offered them jobs now, 90 per cent of them would run like hell. They ought to take machine guns and shoot the bastards. Period. The Polish race years ago didn't go out and riot and ruin people's property. It took a helluva lot of years for us to get in, and when we did, we had to take the s--- jobs. Hell, I don't know how many companies I went to back then and they'd say 'Sorry, we ain't hiring anybody right now.'

"I've been in the shops since I was 16. I worked like a goddam fool," he says bitterly. "I've been here eighteen years and if I live to be 100 I'll probably be doing the same job.

"The only raise I ever got was a union raise. I've begged and argued with the bosses, I'm not asking for a quarter. Just a nickel.' But never a merit raise. They say, 'Be patient, be patient.' They ought to give you a medal for patience. But they don't care. We're just peons. And if you don't like it, there's always somebody waiting for your job.



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**SMITH:** 'When I look at my paycheck and see what they take out, I hate to work. After the Depression, I worked in a CCC camp for \$30 a week. Life is almost as much of a hassle now.'

"Day after day, year after year, climbing those same steps, punching that time card. Standing in that same goddam spot grinding those same goddam holes."

*Beetle-browed Balazar Smith, 53, is a plumber. He lives in the noisy glide path of planes headed for Los Angeles International Airport. But he occasionally manages to escape to the beach and to his sister's ranch in New Mexico.*

Sitting in his panel truck on a quiet Inglewood street, making out a bill for \$33, the charge for un-stopping a residential toilet, Smith says: "When I look at my paycheck and see what they take out, I hate to work. After the Depression, I worked in a CCC camp for \$30 a week. And life is almost as much of a hassle as it was then."

Smith earns about \$200 a week, but he is heavily in debt, mostly because of medical bills. His wife was hospitalized for two weeks with kidney stones. Smith's insurance paid \$12 a day on her room. It cost \$54. "I've got to pony up about \$2,300 somehow," Smith says. "But I've never cried for help. All I need is a little time and I'll pay my bills. Well, anyway, thank God my family and things have turned out all right. We've had no hippie trouble with our three children. None of that pot," he says.

*Near where steelworker Jimmy Slavo, 57, lives in Hammond, Ind., there is a dingy old high school. On its grounds there is a weekend carnival and Slavo, on this late-summer evening, is strolling about holding hands with his wife, Lula Belle, drinking a Budweiser and dipping Copenhagen snuff. Slavo has been working the steel mills since 1928. He earns \$3.67 an hour. His wife has been ill, and he owes \$7,000 in medical bills. So he tries to work a lot of overtime. But Slavo is a steel pourer, and he works in an area where the temperature averages 115 degrees, so he can't work all the hours he'd like.*

"I sweat so much salt that when I undress, my pants stand up by themselves," he says. "The heat

**Those ever-mounting debts: 'I've never cried for help'**



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**THE SLAVOS: 'Guys on relief are a lot happier. They got cars. They got food. I work, and what the hell have I got? I can't ask for charity. I'm too damned proud for that. I'll pay my bills.'**



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

**PATENAUD: 'It's a womb-to-tomb life. They lead you into the bathroom. You piddle, then go back and do your job. It's frustrating. You go home wondering, "What the hell did I do today?"'**

knocks you on your hind end." "The heat seems to give him power," his wife says with great pride.

His gross pay averages \$850 a month, but \$200 automatically comes off for deductions, and the family's regular bills come to about \$450—including \$80 in house payments, \$145 on a bank note, \$40 on medical bills, \$22 life insurance. Not much is left for operating expenses. To help feed and clothe their three children, Mrs. Slavo bakes and sews, and they keep a tiny garden in the summer. They bought a freezer four years ago, hoping they could buy bulk foodstuffs and thus save money, but for lack of cash they have only been able to fill it twice.

Slavo has never been on an airplane or in a nightclub. He and Lula Belle haven't been to a movie in ten years. For vacation, they visit relatives in Minnesota. Mrs. Slavo said the last time she was out to dinner was on her birthday three years ago. She had fried chicken.

"Guys on relief are a lot happier," says her husband. "They got cars. They got food. I work, and what the hell have I got? I can't ask for charity. I'm too damned proud. I'll pay my bills. Anyway, to hell with the money. I've still got my wife," he says, squeezing her hand affectionately. "If sickness would stay away, we'd be happy. All I care about is my family."

*Television cameras eye cars and people approaching the huge, severe-looking Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co. headquarters compound in Springfield. And one has to get past a security gate to enter the building. There are 2,100 employees, 1,500 of them women. There's a company store, a bank, a credit union, umbrellas when it rains, 80-cent lunches and all kinds of recreational facilities.*

"It's a womb-to-tomb life," says black-haired supervisor Mark Patenaud, 26. "They lead you into the bathroom. You piddle. And then you go back and do your job. It becomes frustrating. You go home wondering, 'What the hell did I do today?' Sometimes I'd like to see some good come of what I did in a day. But you're such a small cog in such a big wheel that it all gets lost in the whole mishmash."

"Sure, I wish I was a little different," says one of his colleagues, Steve Guarrera, 33, "but, what the hell, I made this bed, I made the choice, so I have to live with it. I'm just an average slob. They wind us up in the morning and we go all day. But is that so bad? On the whole I'm happy."

"The thing is," says another employee, Roger White, 26, "you could leave here and go to work somewhere else, and how much different would it be? It might be more money, but you wouldn't necessarily be any happier."

"There's you and your family, and that's your world," says Patenaud. "If your neighbor dies tomorrow, just throw a little sand on him and that's about it. People don't want to get involved. Everybody's concern is not to be concerned."

*Blue-eyed senior mechanic Bill Scudder, 33, finishes repairing a leak in the aileron-boost system of a Piedmont Airlines jet at the Atlanta Airport, wipes his hands, returns to the shop to continue his lunch—a tuna sandwich and homemade cookies.*

Scudder has to feed four children on an \$820-a-month salary. But he does it, even tucks away \$80 a month in the company credit union. His wife bakes bread and cakes, cans beans, tomatoes and okra from a summer garden on their 240- by 240-foot lot. They chip in with neighbors to buy potatoes and meat at wholesale prices. One neighbor helped him get some used plumbing and Scudder added a bathroom to the basement of his home—for \$40. For fun, his family camps. And they are deeply involved in the church and scouts.

"I guess I've been too busy to sit down and figure out what my problems are," Scudder says. "I'm happy." The big reason: he lives "in the country," 15 miles from his work. "Cities make me nervous. Country people are outgoing and friendly but city life keeps people so tense they don't want to talk to anybody," he says.

"All I want out of life is for my kids to grow up to be decent citizens. I'm happy with my family, so I'm happy with the world. All I need to do is wake up in the morning and hear the birds. That gives me joy."

**On \$820 a month, happiness is a home in the country**

'We came down  
and kicked  
the crap outa  
22 junkies'



Newsweek—Robert R. McElroy

Newark's Imperiale: 40 guns and a bowie knife

## In Politics, It's the New Populism

**I**n Minneapolis, a policeman named Charles Stenvig becomes mayor by rolling up an astounding 62 per cent of the vote against the experienced president of the City Council. In New York, Mayor John Lindsay and former Mayor Robert Wagner, both liberals of national stature, bow to obscure interlopers in their parties' mayoral primaries. In Boston, grandmotherly Louise Day Hicks, whose crusade for the "forgotten man" and against school busing carried her within an inch of City Hall two years ago, leads a big field in the upcoming City Council elections. And in Newark, a onetime construction worker named Anthony Imperiale, master of karate, the bowie knife and a fleet of 72 radio cars that regularly patrol the city's white neighborhoods, confidently maps his campaign to win next year's race for mayor and "get rid of every quisling" in sight.

This is the year of the New Populism, a far-ranging, fast-spreading revolt of the little man against the Establishment at the nation's polls. Middle America, long counted upon to supply the pluralities on Election Day, is beginning to supply eye-opening victories from coast to coast. The over-all political cast of the country remains mixed, to be sure. The freshman crop of U.S. senators elected just last year,

for example, includes a significant share of conventional liberals and moderates. Only a fortnight ago, a Negro candidate topped the field in the Detroit mayoral primary, and progressive Lindsay may yet eke out a victory in New York next month. But—especially in close-to-home city politics—the frustrated middle-class majority has increasingly been turning to newfound champions drawn from its own ranks.

The seeds of popular rebellion have been long implanted beneath the surface of liberal hegemony. Even as John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson held sway in Washington, Barry Goldwater astounded the political pros with his temporary seizure of the GOP, Ronald Reagan carried the banner of the "citizen politician" from the movie lots to the California Statehouse, and George Wallace and Lester Maddox found that fulminations against "those bureaucrats" was a sure path to popularity both in the South and, to some extent, in the rest of the nation.

But this was the year that the phenomenon finally broke the surface with a series of municipal victories impossible to dismiss as regional aberrations. And this was the year that the New Populism began to be seen more clearly for what it really is.

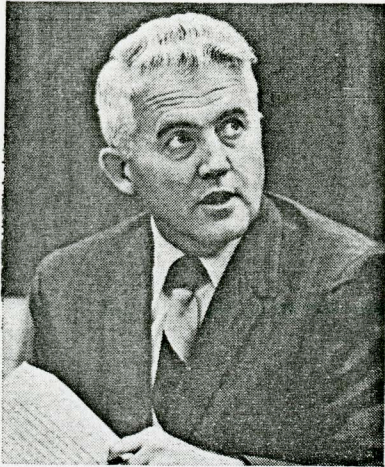
It is not, most politicians now agree, simply a burst of racist backlash. Though sheer bigotry has certainly played a part in fueling the little man's revolt, part of his resentment of the black man is traceable to his sense of desertion by a government that appears preoccupied with Negroes' needs and inattentive to his own. Liberals who have shouted "racism!" at white response to the black revolution are now beginning to realize that this oversimplifies the impulses involved and bolsters Middle America's mounting impression that liberals neither understand nor sympathize with lower-middle-class whites.

And it is not simply a swing to the political right. Though the New Populists have unquestionably turned conservative on law enforcement, they show few signs of wanting to scrap the social reforms—medicare, aid to education, and social security improvements—wrought by the liberal left. "It's a swing against anarchy," says liberal Congressman Allard Lowenstein, and indeed the disgruntlement with the progressives seems to stem far more from their permissiveness than from their programs.

**P**erhaps, most of all, the New Populism is a quest for recognition. "People felt that nobody was representing them and nobody was listening," says Minneapolis's Charlie Stenvig. "They felt alienated from the political system, and they'd had it up to their Adam's apples on just about everything. So they took a guy like me—four kids, an average home, a working man they could associate themselves with. They just said, 'Lookit, we're sick of you politicians'."

Stenvig was, indeed, a paragon of Middle America: the son of a telephone company employee, a Methodist of Norwegian stock, a graduate of a local high school and a local college (Augsburg), and an up-through-the-ranks detective on the police force. His opponent, by contrast, was almost pure Establishment: the son of an investment banker, a graduate of Stanford and Harvard Law, and a resident of the fashionable Kenwood suburb.

In his campaign, Stenvig pounded away at the privileged bastions of suburbia—he pledged to "bring government back to the citizens of Minneapolis and away from the influence of the golden West out



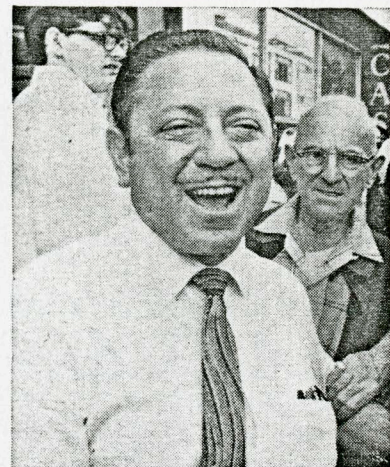
Peter Marcus

Stenvig of Minneapolis



Associated Press

Yorty of Los Angeles



Charles Frattini—New York Daily News

Procaccino of New York

there in Wayzata"—a privileged enclave on the city's fringes. To low-income whites, the suburbs are where the liberals live. "The liberal preaches from his lily-white suburb," explains United Auto Workers official Paul Schrader, "while the worker usually lives on the borderline of the ghetto. The workers are on the front lines of the black-white conflict and resent the advice of rear-echelon generals."

**M**inneapolis's workers relished Stenvig's assault on the suburbs—"He told those rich guys to go suck a lemon," chortles one local auto mechanic—and as mayor he has kept up the attack. He has protested the financing plan for a new hospital on the ground that the suburbs would not pay enough of the tab, and he has staffed city jobs with what he calls "just average working people."

A few of these appointments have aroused the only controversy in what most people in Minneapolis agree has been an extremely hard-working, well-intentioned municipal administration. Antonio G. Felicetta, vice president of the regional joint council of the Teamsters union, created a citywide sensation recently when he delivered some pungent remarks in his new role as a member of the city Commission on Human Relations. "I'm not going to take any bulls---," he announced to a local journalist. "If there are any grievances, I sure as hell would want to see them taken care of. But I sure as hell wouldn't want to give 'em [welfare recipients] half my goddam paycheck when I'm working and they're sitting on their asses." Felicetta was promptly denounced as a "card-carrying bigot" by a group of Minneapolis blacks, but he also received a torrent of phone calls saying "That's the way, Tony, sock it to 'em."

Middle America's radical right has always delighted in such tough words—and deeds. Newark's Tony Imperiale became an instant folk hero in these circles when he organized a band of white vigilantes in the wake of the disastrous summer riots in 1967. And last week, as he looked ahead to the day when he becomes mayor, he made plain that official investiture will not change his tune. "If any militant comes into my office, puts his ass on my desk and tells me what I have to do," he vowed, "I'll throw his ass off the wall and throw him out the door."

There is little question that Tony—38 years old, 5 feet 6½ inches high and 260 pounds thick—is capa-

ble of doing just that. As he drove his volunteer ambulance—part of his vigilante patrol—past the corner of Mt. Prospect Street and Bloomfield Avenue in Newark's rugged North Ward one evening recently, he recalled an example of the sort of direct action he favors: "We came down here one night with eight guys and kicked the crap out of 22 junkies. Each time we came back to slap them around they lessened in ranks and finally took the hint." Imperiale keeps an arsenal of about 40 serviceable guns in his house, including a 14-inch-barrel scatter-gun stowed behind the couch (there have already been two attempts on his life).

Imperiale is a bit too rough-and-ready for the taste of most other politicians of the New Populism. And outside the South, most of them would disclaim any ideological kinship with Dixie's two most prominent contributions to the movement, former Alabama Gov. George Wallace and incumbent Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox. But Wallace, whose Presidential campaigns of 1964 and 1968 featured attacks on "pointy-headed intellectuals" and "briefcase-toting bureaucrats" that gave his appeal a dimension beyond sheer racism, claims paternity for much of the movement. "My vote was only the tip of the iceberg," he says. "There's others I'm responsible for: Stenvig, Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles, two mayoral candidates in New York. They were making Alabama speeches with a Minneapolis, Los Angeles and New York accent. The only thing they omitted was the drawl."

**O**ne of the things that draws the Populists together is their common wistfulness for the "old values," for traditional verities and styles of life that somehow seem to have gone awry. Lester Maddox, for example, likes to think of himself as part of "the mainstream of the thinking of the American people: the achievers, the success-makers, the builders, the individuals who like to set their own goals and accept the challenges." A number of Middle America's politicians also like to brandish the crusader's cross. "God is going to be my principal adviser," declares Charlie Stenvig, and Mary Beck, a 61-year-old Detroit councilwoman who placed a strong third in last month's mayoral primary, dedicated her campaign newspaper "to the laws of God and man."

When Populists brood on the agonies of contem-

'Alabama speeches with a Minneapolis, Los Angeles and New York accent'

porary society, a certain nostalgia for a simpler life is never far from the surface. "I was born in a little town of 6,000 people," recalls Democrat Mario Procaccino, who appears to be leading Lindsay and a conservative Republican in the New York mayor's race. "We respected our parents, our teachers, and our priest or man of the cloth. We had respect for men in public office. We looked up to them . . ."

Procaccino frequently exhibits another characteristic of this new political breed: emotionalism. He wept when he announced his candidacy. Occasionally he takes his wife, Marie, and his daughter, Marierose, for an evening visit to the top of the Empire State Building. "I look out over the city and say to myself, 'What's the matter with these people? Why can't they get together?'" Many middle-class voters seem to warm to these displays of feeling, perhaps because they themselves are so upset, perhaps because they sense that their government has been run recently by soulless technocrats spouting bureaucratic jargon or political cant. "I like him because he's so emotional," beamed one housewife to her neighbor as Procaccino campaigned through Queens last week. "Any tears he sheds, you know he has heart. He doesn't fear to shed them and they bring the people closer to him."

**M**ayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles is another extremely warm-blooded politician, endowed with a coloratura stumping style that ranges between acid vituperation and passionate enthusiasm. Ever since the Watts riots of 1965, he has concentrated the former on militants and the latter on guardians of law and order. This approach proved immensely popular in last spring's mayoral election, when he won an upset victory over Negro challenger Thomas Bradley. "Personally, I like the way Yorty shoots off his mouth too much," said one white-haired old man at Los Angeles's recent 188th birthday party at the Hollywood Bowl. "He'll do a better job for me than the other guy keeping down crime and taxes."

Yorty is an interesting case history in the shifting course of Middle America's mainstream. During the 1930s, he was a New Deal liberal, espousing such progressive programs as a 30-hour workweek. In the '40s, he took up the cause of zealous anti-Communism, and now he is sounding the alarms of law and order. He is no political newcomer—he has been

running for office ever since 1936—but today's disgruntled voters seem willing to reward the old pros provided they step to the new beat.

More often, however, Middle America is turning to new political faces, even when they don't look exactly like the one in the mirror. Its latest champion, S.I. Hayakawa, the feisty little professor of English who is now president of San Francisco State College, is not by nature a man of the people. "I've been, all my life, the kind of intellectual highbrow I disapprove of," he admits. But his uncompromising suppression of radical disruption at San Francisco State last fall suddenly vaulted him into political prominence: he began being mentioned as a possible opponent next year of Republican Sen. George Murphy, he started a statewide round of speechmaking, and a recent Field Poll gave him a higher popularity rating than either San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto or California's former Democratic Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh.

**T**he yawning gap between the intellectual and the common man, between the governors and the governed, lies at the heart of the New Populism, and one of the first to discern it was Louise Day Hicks of Boston. A 50-year-old attorney from the predominantly Irish wards of South Boston, she pitched her 1967 mayoral campaign toward "the forgotten man," stressed the school-busing issue—and very nearly won. "I represented the alienated voter," she said last week in the midst of her new City Council campaign, "and that's who I'm representing now, except that the number has grown." Busing is no longer her main issue—some of her liberal opponents, in fact, now agree with her that the state busing law is unworkable. Now she concentrates her fire on higher taxes, declining municipal services and a government that, she contends, "is only concerned about the rich and the poor" and not about the man in the middle who pays the bills.

"The only thing saving this country," Mrs. Hicks says, "is the affluence that the middle class is feeling. But they don't realize the purchasing power is gone. When they do realize that, we're in for real trouble. There'll be a revolt—not violence, because the American people won't resort to violence, but they are going to speak up in a way to be heard."

In fact, they are already speaking up, and there

**On a campus,  
of all places,  
a folk hero  
is born**



Treadgill—Montgomery Advertiser-Journal



UPI



Associated Press



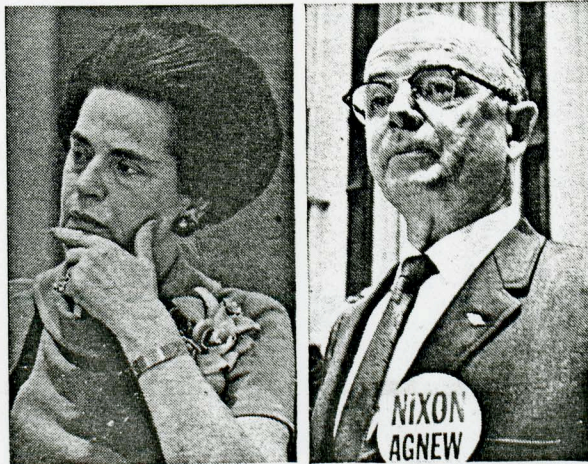
Associated Press

Wallace, Mrs. Hicks, Reagan and Hayakawa: Outspoken champions of the forgotten man

is no reason to believe that November's elections will show a muting of their voices. "These people today are in revolt," warns Chicago Congressman Roman Pucinski. What's more, the middle class has become keenly aware of its political muscle and how to apply it. "The public is so much smarter than when I first started in politics," marvels Ken O'Donnell, JFK's special assistant who is running for the 1970 Democratic nomination for governor of Massachusetts. "Then it was no issues: just vote Democratic, vote Republican, and how to help your friends. What Gene McCarthy did was open the eyes of the people that they are the country. Before, it had been assumed that you couldn't bring a President down, that you couldn't fight the system. The McCarthy movement showed that you could do it after all."

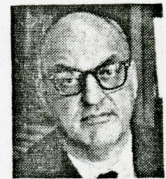
The New Populism, as a matter of fact, seems to some analysts part of the same phenomenon as the New Politics. Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy were trying to achieve on a national scale essentially the same goal that Charlie Stenvig and Louise Day Hicks have set on the municipal level: to bring new faces and new forces into play in the political arena, to mobilize the amateurs against the political pros, to return power to people whose interests and whose voices, they believed, had been too long ignored. Of course, the McCarthy-Kennedy movement was headed in a liberal direction, while the New Populism is exhibiting a rightward bent. And the fact is that several of its new champions seem to be helping to foment, not just reflect, the public's bitterness. Still, the two movements share some common impulses, which may explain the startling number of voters who felt a kinship with both Bobby Kennedy and George Wallace during last year's campaign.

It is still much too soon to say how long the New Populism may last or what direction it may take. It has cast itself loose from the traditional political parties, neither one of which seems to hold its favor, and it has lost faith in the programs and pieties of traditional liberalism. As George Wallace puts it, "The great pointy heads who knew best how to run everybody's life have had their day." Frustrated, fearful and confused, Middle America is stirring itself to seek out new pathways, and the nation has already begun to reverberate with the commotion of its search.



Mrs. Beck and Maddox: Wistful for old verities

## Into the '70s —a GOP Decade?



BY RICHARD M. SCAMMON  
Newsweek Consultant on Elections and Public Opinion

**M**iddle America decides who sits in the White House and it is in the dreams—and nightmares—of the middle class that the Republicans and Democrats will seek the victory formula for 1972 and 1976. Right now neither party is sure just what that formula may be.

The problem for the Republicans is simple enough, even if the answers aren't. For 1972 their hopes rest on the ability of the Nixon Administration to form a new coalition of the center—detaching at least some of those voters who would have been oriented to Roosevelt a generation ago and who supported Humphrey last year. Such a GOP coalition would have its own right wing (mostly in the South) and its own left (the Eastern Seaboard). It would not be a sharp move to the right. A militantly conservative line might attract some of George Wallace's 9.9 million supporters from the last election. But it would alienate other voters—and ignore the many populist characteristics of the Wallace vote. Mr. Nixon is much more likely to seek a new center coalition, and if he can forge such a consensus he will win.

The Nixon people know American political history. They know that outside the old Confederacy their party held general political sway for a long generation before the Great Depression and the success of Roosevelt in 1932. From the vote in 1896, when an earlier Middle America swung away from free silver and Bryan to the hoped-for stability of McKinley, right up to Roosevelt there was a long pattern of Republican rule.

**B**ut under Roosevelt a new coalition came to power in America. Save for the personalist Eisenhower years, that coalition kept power until a year ago. Even the voting in 1968 was in many ways a reaffirmation of the old Roosevelt coalition minus the South. Well-to-do and well-educated voters went Republican, despite rumbles of discontent among their young, while the poor went Democratic. Middle America split. Catholic and Jewish voters remained in the FDR pattern, voting more heavily Democratic than Protestants, while the Northern small towns and the countryside voted Republican, again in the pattern of the later years of the Roosevelt coalition. With the Negro vote going overwhelmingly to Humphrey, white Middle America edged to Mr. Nixon, but not overwhelmingly.

If the GOP is to succeed in making 1972 a triumph of the New Republicanism, it will have to break out of the tight political alignment of postwar America. The Republicans will have to make 1972 another 1896, with Middle America shifting as decisively to the GOP column three years hence as it

A fresh cast  
of spokesmen  
for causes  
long ignored

did when challenged by Bryan nearly 75 years ago.

The attitudes within Middle America are a key to the probable planning of the Republicans in the '70s. These attitudes are not especially "liberal," as that word is used today. Indeed, a recent sounding of opinion in the bellwether state of California indicates that only 24 per cent of its citizens now label themselves "liberal" as against "middle-of-the-road" (27 per cent) or "conservative" (42 per cent). But neither are Middle America's attitudes hidebound, far right or reactionary.

Specifically, then, where might Republicans look to widen their slim half-million plurality of 1968 to 5 million or 8 million or 10 million in 1972? One of the most immediate tests, even with the 1972 voting more than three years away, is how people react to President Nixon. The NEWSWEEK Poll found the great majority positive: 79 per cent of the national total is favorably or moderately disposed to the President, only 16 per cent negative.

Statistically, Mr. Nixon registers a "highly favorable" rating among about one-third of the people of Middle America. Men rate the President a bit higher than women, older people somewhat higher than the young, Southerners higher than the rest of the country. Nowhere does the "highly favorable" rating fall below 30 per cent or rise above 37 per cent. Mr. Nixon's "unfavorable" ratings range from 5 per cent in the South to just over 18 per cent in the big cities. In every category the top of the Nixon scale considerably outweighs the bottom, with the mass remaining in the middle.

**T**he potential political implications of these ratings are clear to me. All these groups did *not* vote Republican in the same proportions in November 1968. If blue-collar workers are not reacting in a markedly different way to President Nixon than are traditionally Republican upper-middle-income business and professional people, then the new GOP target is very obviously the manual worker.

Of course, Presidential ratings three years before the event may not have much to do with voter opinions on Election Day in 1972. Still, the groups who now approve of Mr. Nixon, but who did not support him last November, seem logical recruits for Republicans seeking to win in 1972—and beyond. In the larger sense, though, almost all of Middle America remains a Republican target. Many in Middle America are workers who have "exploded" into the middle class in the economic "great leap forward" since 1945, and many of these are trade-union members. Others are small-business men and salaried people. But, they all share in today's widened concept of the middle class. If the Nixon party can develop meaningful lines of communication to these "forgotten Americans," it may well be able to enlarge its share of Middle American strength to build itself into a virtually unassailable position in the 1970s.

Such lines of communication are not just questions of specific policies such as welfare reform, social-security increases, housing and education. Many of these are areas in which Democrats can be just as convincing as Republicans, perhaps more so. There are also important questions of style, for most of Middle America is not only middle class, it is strongly pro-middle class. Unlike upper-middle-class student rebels, the great majority does not reject middle-class values; it defends those values. The ma-

majority wants to better its situation, not overturn it.

In forming political opinion in these terms the Republicans may be the beneficiaries of Democratic mistakes. If the Democratic image in the 1970s is basically one of a party oriented away from the center, toward beard and sandal rather than toward crew cut and bowling shoe, then it seems very likely that President Nixon and the Republicans will establish a dominant position in American politics—perhaps not for a generation, as the party did after McKinley, but at least for a decade.

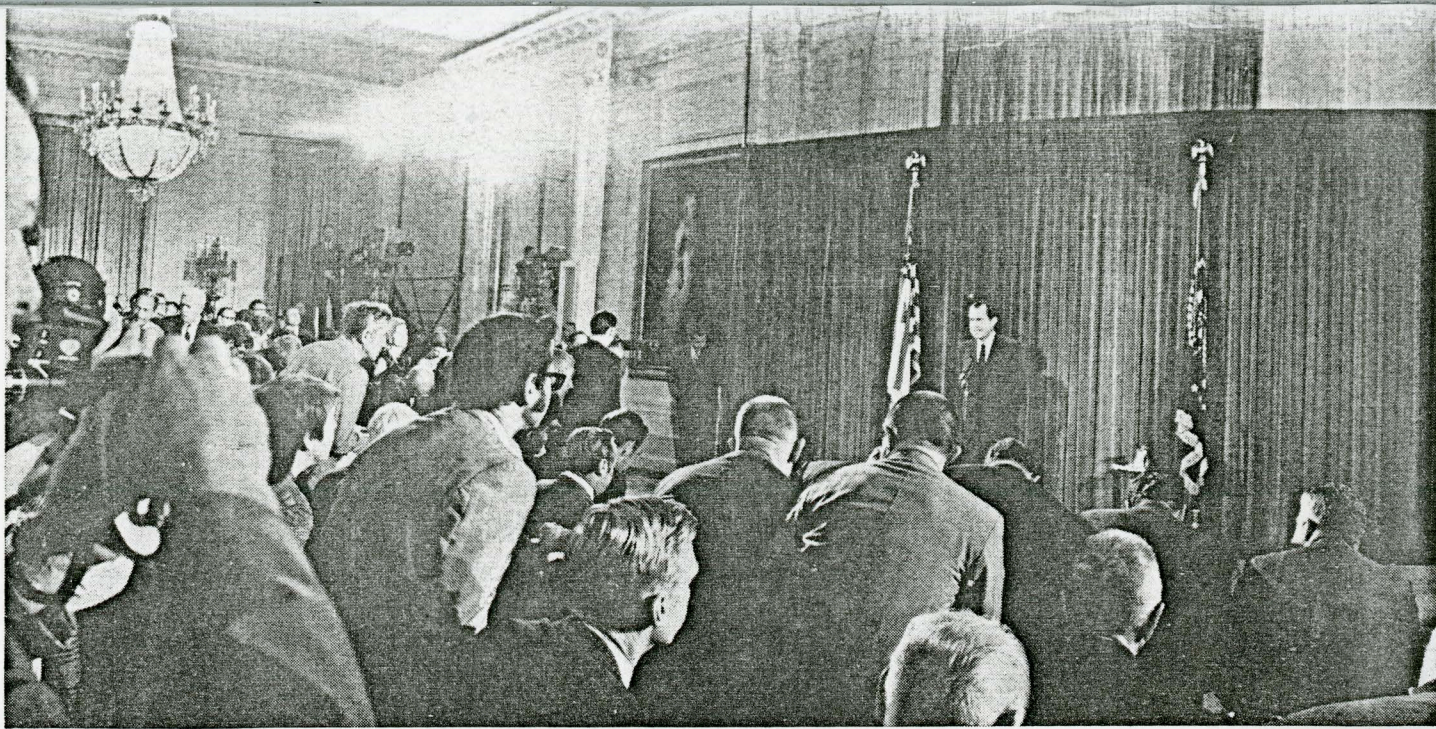
I doubt that the Democrats will make that mistake. Middle America controls our politics—and Middle America basically inclines neither left nor right. A swerve by the Democrats to the far left in the 1970s would end as disastrously as did 1964's right-wing adventure for the Republicans. And the Democrats have one great advantage—they remember the Goldwater experience.

Politicians are not only articulate, they are literate. They can read, and they read election statistics very clearly. While the Nixon Republicans are making every effort to win more of Middle America and to build a long-term base for their party, the Democrats will be trying just as hard to pull together the components of success as they knew them from 1932 through Lyndon Johnson—and, it might be added, almost through Hubert Humphrey's race as well. It seems likely that the real test of the Republicans' effort to move a bit more of Middle America their way will lie as much with the Democrats as with the Republicans themselves. If the Democrats can bridge their internal problems, they may well keep their share of Middle America, perhaps even move on a bit and win in 1972. But if they can't—and especially if they move away from the center—the '70s seem destined to be a Republican decade.

The perils  
of beard  
and sandal



Burt Glinn—Magnum



Newsweek—Wally McNamee

Mr. Nixon meets the press: To a barrage of questions, some tough answers and shades of LBJ

## VIETNAM: THE MORATORIUM ENDS

It was more than three months since Richard M. Nixon had faced the press and the nation in a full-dress, nationally televised news conference, and during that time the problems he confronts had grown steadily more complex and his critics ever more vociferous. Accordingly, his questioners were poised and waiting when the President entered the East Room of the White House, and though Mr. Nixon clung resolutely to the middle ground he likes best on such issues as inflation and civil rights, his responses to a barrage of questions on Vietnam were uncommonly harsh. The upshot was that the President further alienated his growing body of critics on Vietnam. By the end of the week the unofficial Congressional moratorium on criticism of his conduct of the war had clearly run out, and the stage was set for the major confrontation that both the White House and its critics have long known was coming.

First off, Mr. Nixon was asked what he thought about a burgeoning spate of proposals that would have the U.S. impose an arbitrary cutoff point on its military presence in Vietnam. This brought a sharp response from the Chief Executive, one strongly reminiscent of Lyndon B. Johnson's tactic of imputing disloyalty to his critics. Such a move, he said, would "inevitably [lead] to perpetuating and continuing the war . . . I think this is a defeatist attitude—defeatist in terms of what it would accomplish. I do not think it's in the interest of the United States."

Later, asked about his views on nationwide student demonstrations against the war, planned for Oct. 15, Mr. Nixon responded with unusual sternness. "As far

as this kind of activity is concerned," he said, "we expect it. However, under no circumstances will I be affected whatever by it." Toward the end of the conference, the President apparently sought again to place the onus of the continued Vietnamese war on his critics. He did this in a plea for public unity—the kind of unity that, as he sees it, will convince Hanoi that it cannot simply wait out the U.S. and win victory by default. "We're on a course that's going to end this war," the President said. "It will end much sooner if we can have to an extent—the extent possible in this free country—a united front behind very reasonable proposals."

**Challenge:** But by this time it was too late—if such had not been the case from the outset. For in the days preceding his news conference, enormous pressure had been building up as the President's hitherto deliberately patient critics emerged to challenge him on his conduct of the war. Allard Lowenstein, the Democratic congressman from New York who sparked the 1968 "dump Johnson" movement, announced that he was organizing a new nationwide drive—this one designed to force President Nixon to pull all American troops out of Vietnam before the end of the year.

Two young Republican moderates, Representatives Donald W. Riegle Jr. of Michigan and Paul N. McCloskey Jr. of California, added to the pressure, though with a later deadline. They let it be known they would offer a resolution repealing the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution (which, in effect, gave Lyndon Johnson carte blanche to wage the war), effective in December 1970. On top of all

this, Republican Sen. Charles E. Goodell of New York introduced a bill to bring all American troops home from Vietnam by December 1970. Though the Goodell bill stands little chance of gaining Senate approval, it will get a thorough airing in the decidedly dovish Senate Foreign Relations Committee—whose chairman, Sen. William Fulbright, last week signaled an end to the moratorium on criticism of Mr. Nixon's handling of the Vietnam war by announcing: "I am ready to speak out."

On Capitol Hill, meantime, still more dramatic elements of the Vietnam confrontation were in the making. There a secret Democratic caucus called by Democratic National Chairman Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma debated Harris's proposal that the Democrats formally join cause with the nationwide student anti-war protest on Oct. 15. Though Harris kept the full list of those in attendance secret, among them were Senators Edmund Muskie of Maine, George McGovern of South Dakota, Birch Bayh of Indiana, Walter Mondale of Minnesota, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and half a dozen or more members of the House of Representatives, including Lowenstein, Brock Adams of Washington and Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin. At the weekend, the gathering Vietnam critics were handed a fresh supply of ammunition by none other than South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. In an interview on ABC-TV, Thieu blandly suggested that the U.S. should supply his country with atomic weapons.

The implications were clear enough. President Nixon, unlike Lyndon Johnson in his time, was now faced with the prospect that the approaching confrontation

on Vietnam could become a bitterly partisan issue. Fred Harris summed up his view of the matter after the secret caucus when he announced: "I think it's time to take the gloves off on Vietnam. The President has been in office for nine months. It's time to escalate the pressure to end this war."

THE SENATE:

The New GOP Leader

For all the not-so-subtle intrigue and threats of sharp ideological schism that preceded it, the vote to pick a successor to Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen came off in gentlemanly enough fashion, after all. When it was over, Pennsylvania's moderate-liberal Hugh Scott, 68, had defeated Dirksen's son-in-law, conservative-backed Howard Baker of Tennessee, by 24 to 19. Three ballots later the GOP senators chose another moderate, Robert P. Griffin, 45, of Michigan, to succeed Scott as minority whip, and the combined effect of these choices suggested strongly that the heyday of the GOP conservatives in the Senate might be at an end.

This, in any event, was the immediate reaction of enthusiastic GOP liberals, particularly those freshman senators who had long been chafing under Dirksen's essentially conservative leadership and who were seriously concerned that the Administration's emerging "Southern strategy" could mean defeat first in 1970 and then in 1972. "Hugh Scott," said one after the vote, "is going to give us a good, solid progressive image to take to our people in the mid-term elections. Now nobody is going to be impressed by tales of how much influence Strom Thurmond has at the White House."

Time would tell. But in the meantime, it seemed likely that the victory of Scott and Griffin would at least blunt the influence of Southern strategy advocates Attorney General John Mitchell and Strom Thurmond's man in the White House, deputy counsel Harry S. Dent. This point is reinforced by the facts that both Scott and Griffin are from highly industrialized states that Mr. Nixon lost in 1968, and that Scott himself must seek re-election next year.

**Deny:** For his part, old pro Scott studiously avoided any partisan crowing at all. "I seek this position not as spokesman for any particular group or ideology," he had said before the vote. Afterward, describing himself as a "moderate," he added: "I will continue to deny that I am a liberal."

The fact is that affable Hugh Scott has ridden the ups and downs of his party through almost its entire modern history.

National Committee Chairman during Thomas E. Dewey's 1948 Presidential campaign, he was later among the original Eisenhower-for-President boosters, served as general counsel for the Republican National Committee from 1955 to 1960, and was floor manager for William Scranton's attempt to wrest the Presidential nomination away from Barry Goldwater in 1964.

It was this campaign that proved Scott's deftness. Up for re-election himself that year, Scott fence-walked artfully between repeated declarations of support for the entire GOP ticket and steadfast refusal to mention Goldwater by name—thereby becoming one of the very few Pennsylvania Republicans to survive the



Winners Scott, Griffin: A heyday past

Goldwater debacle. Last January, Scott parlayed Mr. Nixon's tacit support with Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke's hard sell of the party's need for new geographical and ideological balance. Scott beat out conservative Nebraskan Roman Hruska for party whip—despite the opposition of Minority Leader Ev Dirksen.

Pragmatist that he is, Scott has not hesitated to place principle above politics when he felt the issues demanded it. A staunch advocate of a strong national defense, Scott earlier this year voted in favor of President Nixon's Safeguard ABM system—in spite of a storm of anti-ABM mail from Pennsylvania constituents. But he also voted for two decidedly anti-Administration amendments to the military-procurement authorization bill. "Scott has no intention of spilling blood or making any abrupt turns," said one close colleague. "He will try delicately to guide the party down the middle."

THE SUPREME COURT:

Haynsworth Under Fire

If it were not for the case of resigned Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, President Nixon's decision to nominate Clement F. Haynsworth to succeed Fortas might have run into only perfunctory opposition before the Senate Judiciary Committee. But the shadow cast by the Fortas case is a long one, and it was beneath it that Haynsworth last week made an unusual second appearance before the committee to explain further the question of conflict of interest that had arisen from some of the stock transactions he made while serving on the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court. In the meantime, labor and civil-rights leaders had mustered their forces, and the result was that Haynsworth found himself under the heaviest fire he has encountered yet.

When he resumed the witness chair, Haynsworth dealt first with the question of his purchase of 1,000 shares of Brunswick Corp. stock after a case involving the firm had come before him. Haynsworth explained that at the time he authorized his broker to make the purchase, the decision in the case (which favored the Brunswick Corp.) had in fact already been made, but had not yet been announced. "I didn't check the cases that had been heard in court and were not disposed of," the judge declared. "I think I should have . . . and of course I'm very sorry I didn't."

**'Jazz':** But there were broader questions than those of ethics. "Conflict of interest is so much jazz," one Republican agreed privately. "We are against him for what he believes. He thinks like a medieval prince." And, indeed, it was on philosophical grounds that Haynsworth was next attacked before the committee by a succession of civil-rights leaders. Joseph L. Rauh Jr., counsel to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, went over Haynsworth's record and concluded he was "a laundered segregationist." A statement from civil-rights leader Roy Wilkins said that Haynsworth's "much-heralded 'strict construction' approach is not new to the Negroes of the United States. [It] means granting their constitutional rights with an eye dropper at a time when they should be flowing like a river in a thirsty land." Then came a petition from eight of the nine Negro members of the House of Representatives. To appoint Haynsworth, they said, would "serve notice that our government intends to block off the few avenues that are now available for legal attack on the bastions of racism in our country."

There was a distinct possibility that Haynsworth would face even stiffer opposition on the Senate floor than in committee. As a result of the Fortas case, some Republicans, such as new minority whip Robert Griffin, are so strongly on record against even the appearance of conflict of interest that they just may feel themselves prisoners of precedent

PRESERVATION COPY

when the vote on Haynsworth comes up.

But in the end there seems little doubt that Haynsworth's appointment will be approved. This was apparent after last week's news conference, when President Nixon, discomfited under heavy questioning, nonetheless spoke out in favor of Haynsworth's integrity and qualifications, and said he had no intention of withdrawing the nomination.

## THE NEW LEFT:

### Back to Chicago

They came promising the biggest, baddest three-ring circus the New Left had ever staged. It would be "a combination of the Scopes trial, revolution in the streets, Woodstock Festival and People's Park all rolled into one," said a spokesman for the eight assorted radical leaders who returned to Chicago last week to be tried on conspiracy charges

ty" will also come in for review.) The defendants saw the whole thing as a test of the limits on dissent in the U.S., and Jay A. Miller, executive director of the Illinois branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, called it "probably the most important political trial in U.S. history."

Whether history accedes to that judgment remains to be seen, but certainly the trial brought before the bench a virtual Who's Who of leaders among radicals and dissidents who have become such a burr to the Establishment in recent years. Besides Abbie Hoffman, 31, the wild-haired ideological stunt man for the hippie movement, and his yippie sidekick Jerry Rubin, 31, formerly long-haired but recently shorn in a California jail, the defendants included:

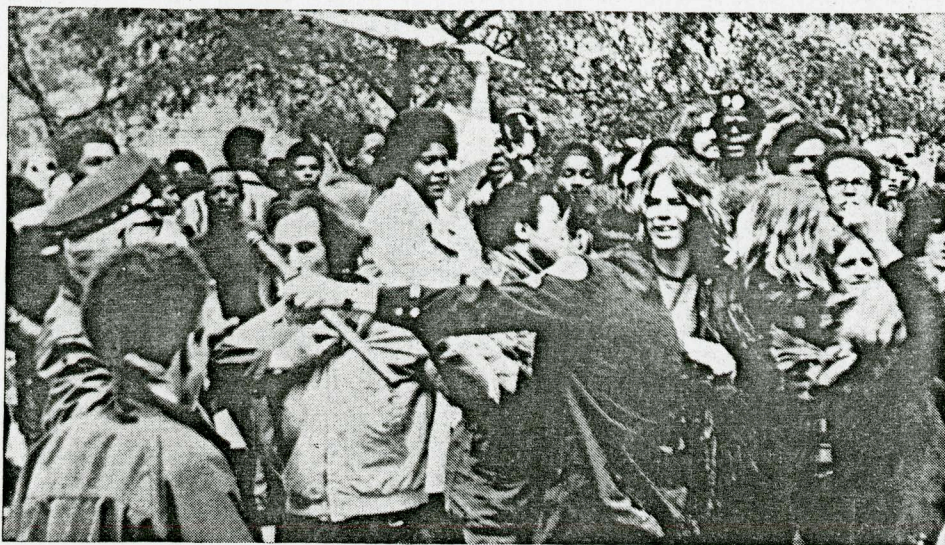
- Longtime pacifist David Dellinger, 53, the only one to wear a suit and tie into court.

- Two 29-year-old co-founders of Students for a Democratic Society, Tom

port the war in Vietnam? Do you know who the Jefferson Airplane are?" Hoffman refused to pass these questions on. On the second day a middle-age Middle America jury of two men and ten women (two of them Negroes) was empaneled.

When the presentation of arguments began next day, there was some cutting up by the defendants and putting down by the tart-tongued judge as Hayden clenched his fist at the jury (a standard greeting, he said) and Abbie Hoffman blew kisses. Assistant U.S. Attorney Richard Schultz promised to prove that the eight were in contact with one another (though not all eight with each other) and had conspired to "use the unpopularity of the war in Vietnam and the people who came to Chicago to protest . . . to create a situation that would bring a physical confrontation between protesters and police." He named Dellinger as "principal architect" of the riots.

Defense counsel William Kunstler, in



Associated Press

Scuffles and flourishes: The Scopes trial plus Woodstock

for their parts in the protests that erupted into bloodshed and brutality during the 1968 Democratic convention.

And, indeed, there was some scuffling next day, despite careful kid-glove treatment by Chicago's cops—nineteen youths were arrested and nine police officers, plus two city prosecutors, were injured. But the crowds never approached the promised 5,000 to 10,000, and it soon became clear that the drama would be largely confined to the somber, oak-paneled courtroom of crusty, no-nonsense Federal Judge Julius Hoffman (no relation to Abbie), 74. For openers, Judge Hoffman ordered the arrest of four attorneys who had attempted to withdraw from the case and he actually had two of the lawyers jailed briefly.

The trial is destined to test for the first time the controversial provision of the 1968 Civil Rights Act that makes "intent" to incite to riot a criminal offense. (The Administration's new policy on domestic wiretapping in cases of "national securi-

Hayden and Rennie Davis (who recently helped arrange the release of U.S. prisoners by Hanoi).

- Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale, 32, who is being held in tight custody during the trial because he is also under indictment for murder in an alleged Panther killing in Connecticut.

- Assistant professor of chemistry John R. Froines, 30, and social-work student Lee Weiner, 30. Froines headed Students for Johnson at Yale in 1964, Weiner worked for Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Commission on Youth Welfare.

From the first, the defense maintained that the radical defendants—who have sarcastically dubbed themselves The Conspiracy—could not receive a fair trial because the 250 prospective jurors were drawn from lists of registered voters. Overruled on that, as on a score of other defense motions, the defense tried to get Judge Hoffman to probe the extent of each venireman's private generation gap with such questions as: "Do you sup-



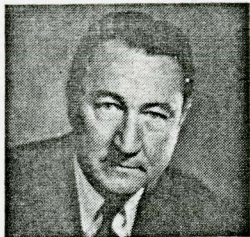
UPI

his opening, declared that his clients went to the convention for purposes of lawful protest, "that police embarked on a conspiracy of berserk, brutal action . . . that the real conspiracy in this case was a conspiracy to curtail and prevent the protest against the war in Vietnam." Even as he began what promises to be a grueling months-long trial, however, Kunstler seemed to anticipate a guilty verdict. "We're already drafting an appeal," said one of Kunstler's aides.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS:

### The Pot Spotters

Tijuana's colossal Avenida Presidente Lopez Mateos spreads out to a width of sixteen lanes as it approaches the U.S.-Mexican border, but last week it looked like the largest parking lot in the world. Thousands of vehicles crammed every lane, creeping forward a few feet at a time. Some drivers ran out of gas



BY STEWART ALSOP

## A LESSON OF THE '60s

WASHINGTON—The faces change, but the scene is familiar. There is the long table in the White House Cabinet Room, strewn with ashtrays, coffee cups and documents presumably stamped Top Secret. And around the table are the solemn, often-photographed faces of the President and his chief policy-makers and crisis-managers.

In the most recent photograph of this familiar scene—the meeting of the Nixon high command on Vietnam policy—there are twelve men around the table, including two generals and an admiral. But the photograph is almost unique in one way, for it includes the unfamiliar face of a Foreign Service officer. The face is that of Philip Habib, who was recalled from the U.S. delegation in Paris to report on the nonprogress of the talks there.

Among dozens of similar photographs from the Kennedy and Johnson eras, you will find plenty of generals and an occasional admiral, but hardly any Foreign Service officers at all. This small fact is worth noting, for it symbolizes a larger fact—that, in the decade now ending, the military professionals have largely usurped the role of the foreign-policy professionals.

The Foreign Service officers—FSO's, for short—are in theory professionals in the conduct of America's foreign policy in the same way that the generals and admirals are professionals in the conduct of America's wars. Yet in most of the great crisis decisions of the 1960s, like the two Cuban crises in the Kennedy regime, or the Vietnam crises in the Johnson regime, the FSO's have played a limited role, or no role at all.

### DISTRUST

This shoving aside of the foreign-policy professionals in an era when foreign policy has dominated and obsessed the whole business of government is a phenomenon that needs explaining. One obvious explanation is that in this unhappy era, most really grave foreign-policy decisions involve vital military considerations. But another less obvious explanation is that most Presidents, for a variety of reasons, dislike and distrust the Foreign Service professionals.

That was true of Franklin Roosevelt, who liked to deride the FSO's as "cooky-pushers." It was true of John F. Kennedy, who tended, in the presence of certain long-winded FSO's, to tap his prominent teeth with his right index

finger, a gesture recognized by those close to him as a danger signal of boredom and displeasure. It was true also of Lyndon Johnson, who had less subtle ways of expressing his boredom and displeasure.

It is now also true, apparently, of Richard Nixon. Nixon was irritated by the lack of enthusiasm in the professional Foreign Service for his expedition to Rumania, and like his predecessors he is given to complaining to White House aides about the "overcaution" and "lack of imagination" of the FSO's.

This Presidential allergy to the Foreign Service is understandable. Most FSO's are intelligent—they have to be, to get into the Foreign Service. But a good many are pretty stodgy. Moreover, many middle-aged FSO's who ought now to be playing decisive roles in the making of foreign policy have been rendered as cautious as singed cats by the traumatic experiences through which they have passed.

### CAUTION

First there was the McCarthy period, when able FSO's like John Paton Davies were offered up as ritual sacrifices to Joe McCarthy. Then there was the period of "Wristonization," when in the name of "democratic reform" the size of the service was tripled overnight, thus destroying *esprit de corps* and saddling the service with an insoluble problem of overstaffing.

Overstaffing has helped to create what is dismally known in the State Department as "the system." The system encourages the cancerous proliferation of make-work committees, which produce mountains of "waffle papers," to borrow a phrase from that peerless phrasemaker, Dean Acheson.

Finally, there is the nature of the job. A career of dealing with the dangerous and unpredictable business of foreign policy, in which nothing is easier than to be wrong, induces a certain caution, a disinclination to take chances. So does the slow, slippery climb up the bureaucratic ladder of the service.

It is no wonder that Presidents, trapped by circumstances, faced with loud demands for a solution of the insoluble, tend to turn to the military. A man who much disliked taking chances would be unlikely to become a professional soldier in the first place, or a general in any case. Thus a military man, asked if Castro can be overthrown,

or if the Cuban missiles should be eliminated by a "surgical" air strike, or if the commitment of American combat power to Vietnam will end the war there, is likely to answer confidently and positively. "Can do, sir," is a favorite military phrase, often accompanied by a snappy salute.

A favorite phrase in the Foreign Service is: "Have you considered all the possible consequences, sir?" That is the sort of question that irritates Presidents, but the evidence suggests that it is not a bad question to ask.

### QUESTION

The question was not seriously asked about the Bay of Pigs adventure, and no FSO was seriously consulted before that disaster, which the military favored. The question was asked, seriously and insistently, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, and partly as a result, President Kennedy vetoed the military proposal for a "surgical" air strike. The chief asker of the question was Llewellyn Thompson, the only FSO to play a major role in the Cuban crisis. Robert Kennedy, asked later whose advice was most valuable to the President, named "Tommy" Thompson.

As for Vietnam, President Johnson, like President Kennedy at the time of the Bay of Pigs, hardly bothered to consult the Foreign Service at all when he made his crucial decisions. There was one rather minor exception. Just before he made his fateful decision to bomb North Vietnam, the President asked for Thompson's opinion. Thompson, who had returned from his first tour as ambassador to Russia, noted that Soviet Premier Kosygin was in Hanoi at the time, and he urgently advised the President at least to delay the bombing. President Johnson brushed aside this advice, and began the process of the commitment of American combat power to Vietnam. His successor and the rest of us are still living with the consequences of that decision.

One lesson of the '60s seems to be that an occasional dose of "overcaution" and "lack of imagination" may not always be a bad thing; that sometimes the best thing to do is nothing. In the '70s, President Nixon and his successors might do well to pay as much attention to that favorite question of the Foreign Service—"Have you considered all the consequences, sir?"—as to the confident "can do" of the military.

Mid Am

## REVIEW OF PHILLIPS' BOOK

This summarizes the attached review of Kevin Phillips' book, "The Emerging Republican Majority," written by Alan Otten for the Wall Street Journal (10/8/69).

### Overall Conclusion

Otten concludes that Phillips offers a reasonable and coherent plan for Republican dominance of national government. Basically, this plan calls for the Party to follow a policy conservative enough to entice the South from George Wallace but liberal enough to attract the nominally Democrat white middle class vote in the swing states of California, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Otten points out that the policy Phillips is advocating is certainly not racist and definitely not ultra-conservative but warns that the Democrat leadership will claim it is in the hope of pinning an ultra-conservative label on the Nixon Administration.

### Key Elements in the Phillips' Analysis

1. A solid Republican heartland comprising 180 electoral votes is emerging in the mid-west and old South. The only fly in the ointment is George Wallace.
2. To dispose of Wallace and clinch all 180 votes, the Party need pursue only moderately conservative policies. According to Phillips, the South will realize Wallace is not a viable alternative and turn to Republicanism in droves.
3. These 180 votes are not enough to win the Presidency. To accomplish this, the Party must win in the "swing" industrial states of California, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.
4. To win the swing states, the Party must attract the

nominally Democrat white middle class vote. According to Phillips, this key group especially the Catholic element is becoming increasingly conservative and can be brought into the Republican camp by a moderately conservative policy.

#### Democrat Reaction

According to Otten, the Democrats will use the Phillips' book to pin an ultra-conservative racist label on the Party.

#### Republican Reaction

Otten urges the Republican party to follow Phillips' plan but to disavow it publicly because (1) no good can come from publicly embracing it and (2) some evil could come from doing so (i.e., we would embarrass our liberal wing, demoralize our Northern party workers, and discourage our liberal contributors).

#### Next Steps

We must develop a response to this book if for no other reason than to boost the morale of our own party workers in the large industrial states.

We should disavow Phillips' book as party policy and assert we are growing in strength nationally because the public is increasingly conscious of the soundness of our philosophy...the sanctity of individual freedom, the evils of centralism, the importance of efficient fiscally sound government..

## "The White Reaction"

This summarizes the attached Washington Star five-article series entitled "The White Reaction." The series was written by five white reporters based on interviews conducted in five cities: Washington, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Wichita, and Los Angeles.

### Overall Conclusion

In response to a decade of extremely rapid social and economic progress by American Negroes, a clearly discernible white reaction has begun to take shape. This white reaction combines fear of the Negroes' progress with disillusionment in the goal of integration. Racial conflict will continue in the foreseeable future especially over those issues where the races are in intimate competition (e.g., housing, schools, blue-collar jobs).

### Principal Findings

1. By every statistical standard, the Negro has made incredibly rapid progress in housing, income, education and job opportunity. Despite this progress, the Negro trails his white fellow-American in each of these areas and is painfully aware of the distance he must travel to obtain "equality."
2. The rapid improvement in the status of Negroes coupled with frequently televised militant violence has caused whites to fear Negroes. This feeling is especially intense among blue-collar workers and lower middle class home owners who see the Negro as an immediate tangible adversary made even more formidable by lenient courts, militant white churchmen and self-seeking politicians.
3. The fears and frustrations of both races seem to be causing a polarization of attitudes that is

undermining amicable race relations. Both races are disillusioned over the attainability and even the desirability of the old goal of racial integration. Bi-racial civic groups are dissolving into acrimony and distrust.

4. Looking to the future, both races see a prolonged period of racial polarization punctuated by conflicts over housing, education, and job discrimination. Both races foresee increased Negro political power especially in urban government where Negroes see their superior numbers a moral justification for a policy of "self-determination."

#### Political Implications

The Administration must proceed carefully through the mine field of contemporary race relations. The slightest misstep can cause an explosion both socially and politically devastating.

On the other hand, we must realize that old political loyalties have been dissolved by the racial situation and that we have an unprecedented opportunity to garner votes in large blocks. To capitalize on this opportunity we need a carefully conceived "master plan" for the Administration to implement.

## UNION ACTIVITY 1970 RACES

This summarizes the attached Wall Street Journal article concerning organized labor's extensive plans for the 1970 Congressional elections.

### Overall Conclusion

Organized labor is gearing up for a massive effort in the 1970 elections to perpetuate the Democrat hold on Congress. This effort which is already underway reflects labor leadership's fear that the Republican party has a real opportunity to control both houses. To counteract Labor's early and aggressive efforts, the Party must develop and implement an effective, well-coordinated plan in the marginal House and Senate races.

### Principal Findings

1. Organized labor has decided to stand and fight in 1970 rather than wait for 1972. Labor believes that the Party can win in 1970 and that, if it does, their interests would be seriously threatened.
2. Labor has already set in motion an aggressive plan concentrating men and money in 78 marginal House Districts and approximately 9 marginal Democrat Senate seats. COPE expects to spend \$500,000 for registration activity, \$250,000 of which has already been apportioned to 17 states. Texas and Ralph Yarborough will definitely be the recipient of substantial help.
3. At this writing, labor believes the big issues in 1970 will be tax reform ("Nixon favors the corporation interests.") and possibly unemployment.
4. Organized labor is experimenting with a number of ways to increase its political impact including assigning full-time co-ordinators to Congressional Districts and assigning specific unions the responsibility for an individual race.

### Recommended Republican Action

The Party must develop a coherent plan for 1970 or face up to 2 more years of Congressional opposition to administration programs. The Party's plan must have a co-ordinated effort by the White House, the Hill Committees and the RNC especially in the critical areas of candidate recruitment, financing and campaign management.

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*Middle Am*

October 5, 1970

Dear Mr. Megown:

Your note of October 2 with enclosures has been received while Mr. Dent is out of the office.

I am taking the liberty of thanking you for this material which will be on Mr. Dent's desk when he returns tomorrow.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

LaRose Smith  
Personal Secretary  
to Harry S. Dent

Mr. John W. Megown  
2190 Northview Drive  
Marion, Iowa 52302

*From the desk of*

October 2, 1970

**JOHN W. MEGOWN**

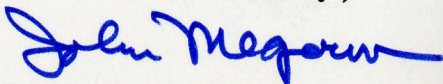
Dear Mr. Dent:

I was glad to hear from my good friend, Bob Spitzer, that The White House recognizes the importance of agriculture and rural and small-town America in the 1970 elections.

In Iowa, we plan to re-elect Robert Ray as Governor and have been working hard to accomplish this.

Having worked in the 1968 Presidential campaign we are glad to again be active in this way.

Sincerely,



The Cedar Rapids

# Agricultural Executives' Forum

... bimonthly agriculture issues discussion group

For further information, contact:

J. Alan Swegle  
500 Third Ave. SE  
Cedar Rapids, Ia.  
52406  
1-319-369-1263

December 31, 1969

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
President of the United States  
The Western White House  
San Clemente, California 92670

Dear President Nixon:

We read and hear a great deal about a "Southern Strategy." Whether, or not, there actually exists such a complex plan is probably somewhat immaterial at this time. Too many factors can alter any precise arrangements relating to the conversion of great numbers of Southern Democrats and independents to march under your banner in 1972.

The answer probably lies in developing a broader plan, a less precise one, but involving a larger segment of our national population - - that part of the population that most closely identifies with you and your goals of keeping America great - - the people of rural and small-town America.

Executive Order 11493 has been studied very carefully. Also, some of Secretary Hardin's statements have been noted with considerable interest. The idea of building up rural America to help relieve pressures on urban areas, while not totally a new concept, seems now to have a good chance of succeeding. The time is right to proceed and the new Rural Affairs Council can be the guiding instrument to launch the multitude of necessary projects.

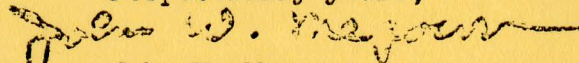
In Executive Order 11493, you state that the Rural Affairs Council will encourage the most effective role possible for voluntary organizations in dealing with rural problems and their solutions. This is excellent and could provide the basis for what might be called a "Rural Strategy."

By now enlisting volunteers from rural and small-town America to help solve existing problems, a nucleus for a rural campaign group for 1972 could be developed. At the same time, many of the existing rural problems could be solved, which might in turn start to allieviate some urban crises.

One of the key factors in enlisting rural volunteers, will be how the story is told to them. Farmers and small-town people are not readily receptive to anything that seems to be phony - - like mass-produced publicity. The answer is to begin to utilize more effectively talents of key agri-business public relations and advertising executives who are familiar with what best motivates farmers and rural businessmen, to tell the story.

2190 Northview Drive  
Marion, Iowa 52302

Respectfully yours,

  
John W. Megown

John W. Megown  
Chairman

Larry L. Statler  
Vice Chairman

J. Alan Swegle  
Secretary

WILLIAM J. SCHERLE  
7TH DISTRICT, IOWA

OFFICE ADDRESS:  
512 CANNON BLDG.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
AC 202, 225-3806

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:  
EDUCATION AND LABOR  
INTERNAL SECURITY

DISTRICT OFFICE:  
257 FEDERAL BUILDING  
COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA 51501  
AC 712, 328-1543, EXT. 65

September 28, 1970

Mr. John W. Megown  
2190 Northview Drive  
Marion  
Iowa 52302

Dear Mr. Megown:

Thank you for forwarding the copy of your  
December 31, 1969, letter to President Nixon.  
Your suggestions and recommendations are very  
timely and appropriate.

Like you, I appreciate the attention which  
the President is giving to rural Iowa. It is  
my sincere hope that some real solid plan or  
program will be instituted to help our people  
before they are all forced to move to the  
city.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Bill Scherle*  
William J. Scherle  
Member of Congress  
7th Iowa District

WJS:ses



John Megown



H. C. Eaton

## ***NFIA Elects Megown, Eaton***

DES MOINES, IOWA—John Megown, Vigortone Products Co., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has been elected president of the National Feed Ingredients Assn. He succeeds Al Zupke, Bonewitz Laboratories, Burlington, Iowa.

Other new officers of NFIA include:

H. C. (Bo) Eaton, Moorman Mfg. Co., first vice president; M. Saul Hoffman, Basic Chemicals-Division of Basic, Inc., second vice president, and Charles A. Swisher, Walnut Grove Products Co., 2nd vice president.

The election was conducted by a mail ballot. The new officers will assume their new duties at the annual convention to be held in Louisville, Ky., Oct. 25-28.

The president-elect, John Megown, was first elected a director in 1966, after being active in NFIA since 1957. He served twice as chairman of the public relations committee and once as vice president of public affairs. During the 1969-70 business year, Megown served as first vice president and general chairman of the public affairs council. Zupke began his term last Sept.

THE WHITE HOUSE

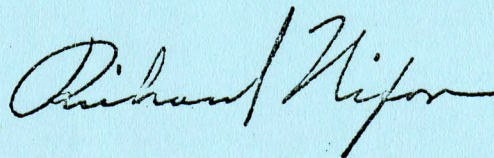
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1970

It is a special pleasure to extend greetings and congratulations to the National Feed Ingredients Association on your Golden Anniversary.

Your Association, through its support of livestock nutrition research and related activities, has helped make possible the great agricultural advance that now assures our nation the finest, most abundant food supply in the world. Beyond this, you have committed your efforts to the development of our total rural resources to provide a better life for rural residents and to build the economic basis for a more rational distribution of our growing population.

Achievement of this goal will require perseverance, imagination and cooperative effort by government at all levels working with organizations such as yours. Your fiftieth anniversary is as significant for what it promises for the future as for its commemoration of past accomplishments in the interest of the American farmer and the nation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

# NFIA Marks 50th Year, Cites Progress

DES MOINES, IOWA—The National Feed Ingredients Assn., which this year observes its golden anniversary, had its origin as the American Stockmen's Supplies Assn. in 1920. Serving as first executive secretary was George Wrightman, an activist who sought to insure fair laws in regard to animal feeding and livestock production. Wrightman served the association for 25 years.

The primary reason for the association's formation in 1920 was that several leading manufacturers of medicated mineral and protein feed concentrates found it necessary to join together to evaluate regulatory legislation being introduced at that time.

Thirteen years after the formation of the association, several mineral feed manufacturers separated from it to form the Mineral Feed Manufacturers Assn. L. F. (Lou) Brown, long-time executive secretary of the American Feed Manufacturers Assn. was named to be executive secretary of the new trade group.

## Activities Expanded

Then in 1939, the directors of the American Stockmen's Supplies Assn. voted to expand the purposes and activities of the trade association and it was incorporated as the Animal and Poultry Foundation of America, Inc. (APFA).

In 1944, the APFA became the National Mineral Feeds Assn., Inc., and in 1945 the members of the Mineral Feed Manufacturers Assn. rejoined the association. That same year, Peter W. Janss, a lawyer from Des Moines, took over the reins from George Wrightman when he retired. Janss led the association through 14 years of progress and during his tenure many of the major developments aimed at making the association an effective modern feed industry trade association came into being.

In line with a growing interest in the area of scientific and nutritional developments, the Scientific Advisory Committee (SAC) was formed in 1949. SAC was, and is, composed of nutritionists and scientists from member companies. Through SAC many research programs have been sponsored, or encouraged, in state experiment stations and in the research laboratories of member companies. Through SAC travel awards program, a number of leading American animal scientists from universities have made tours of research installations and met with scientists in foreign countries, reporting to the association members and the feed industry their findings.

In 1957, during his second term as president, Art Swarzenruber proposed that the name be changed to National Feed Ingredients Assn. (NFIA). The members voted to make the change and to amend and substitute new articles of incorporation. Prior to this time, the membership had been composed largely of manufacturers of mineral feeds. It was predicted at that time that the re-organization would bring about a better understanding between manufacturers and suppliers as well as an advantage from a more correlated research effort.

## Sections Created

In July, 1958, the board of directors voted to create sections. This allowed member companies to join together with others having the same type of business activity and similar interests. For example, the feed manufacturers formed the "feed manufacturers section." Today there are six sections, whose activity allows for maximum

total involvement and benefits for all member firms.

Isadore Levin, former Iowa State chemist in charge of feed control, became executive secretary of the association in 1959. In 1965, he was named executive vice president. He contributed much to the development of the association.



Marvin Vinsand

In 1967, the treasurer of NFIA was named to succeed Isadore Levin as executive vice president. Marvin Vinsand, who also carries the title of chief operations officer, has applied many association management innovations to the operation of NFIA.

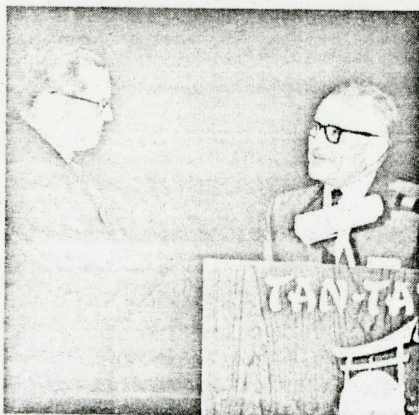
In 1968, the Scientific Advisory Committee (SAC) was given "Council" status and the "Public Affairs Council" (PAC) was created to tie together all public affairs activities for maximum total effectiveness and benefit to the feed industry.

During the last years of the 1960s, the scientific activities of NFIA were constantly expanded and another step forward was made in organizing the public affairs projects and programs into a well-coordinated effort involving NFIA's relations with governmental officials, agricultural colleges, livestock producers and consumers, as well as agri-industry communicators.

## Officers

Presidents of NFIA and their dates of service include:

- 1938-39—Dr. S. D. LeGear, Dr. LeGear Inc., St. Louis.
- 1939-40—Prof. W. J. Kennedy, The Gland-O-Lac Co., Omaha, Neb.
- 1940-41—J. M. Rice, The Gland-O-Lac Co., Omaha, Neb.
- 1941-42—Dr. R. V. Christian, O M. Franklin Serum Co., Wichita, Kan.
- 1942-43—George F. Morse, E. M. Peet Mfg. Co., Council Bluffs, Iowa.
- 1943-45—C. C. Kenworthy, Economy Products Co., Shenandoah, Iowa.
- 1945-46—Lyle B. Palmer, Oelwein Chemical Co., Oelwein, Iowa.
- 1946-47—Arthur D. Swarzenruber, Vigortone Products Co., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- 1947-48—C. S. (Dutch) Langen, Moorman Mfg. Co., Quincy, Ill.
- 1948-49—Edwin L. Fox, Foxbilt Feeds, Des Moines, Iowa.
- 1949-50—Claude G. Butcher, Midwest Mineral, Greenwood, Ind.
- 1950-51—C. D. Bevis, Seaboard Supply Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1951-52—E. A. Kelloway, Walnut Grove Products Co., Atlantic, Iowa.
- 1952-53—James L. Elliott, Oelwein Chemical Co., Oelwein, Iowa.
- 1953-54—Horace S. Hedges, Columbian Hog & Cattle Powder Co., Kansas City.



Two of NFIA's past presidents are Harold Steinman (left) and Burt Onweller.

1954-55—George F. Morse, E. M. Peet Mfg. Co., Council Bluffs, Iowa.

1955-56—Russ Bagnall, Arbie Mineral Feed Co., Marshalltown, Iowa.

1956-57—Arthur Swarzenruber, Vigortone Products Co., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

1957-58—J. J. O'Connor, Walnut Grove Products Co., Atlantic, Iowa.

1958-59—John K. Westberg, International Minerals & Chemical Co., Skokie, Ill.

1959-60—Wm. E. Noble, Oelwein Chemical Co., Oelwein, Iowa.

1960-61—Dean W. Stauffacher, Diamond V Mills Inc., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

1961-62—Paul W. Bonewitz, Bonewitz Laboratories, Inc., Burlington, Iowa.

1962-63—W. P. Mann, W. P. Mann Sales Co., Omaha, Neb.

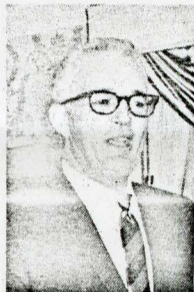
1963-64—Maurice E. Baringer, Oelwein Chemical Co., Oelwein, Iowa.

1964-65—T. Walter Hardy, Jr., Hardy Salt Co., St. Louis.

1965-66—Floyd Huling, Dr. MacDonald's Vitaminized Feed, Ft. Dodge, Iowa.

1966-67—Burt Onweller, Peet's Feeds, Inc., Council Bluffs, Iowa.

1967-68—Harold Steinman, International Mineral & Chemical Co., Skokie, Ill.



Wayne Fox



Al Zupek

1968-69—Wayne Fox, Triple "F" Feeds, Des Moines, Iowa.

1969-70—Al Zupek, Bonewitz Laboratories, Burlington, Iowa.

1970-71—John Megown, Vigortone Products Co., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

## THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

by  
John W. Megown  
Marion, Iowa

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOW OVER 205 MILLION. AT THE END OF 1960 IT WAS ONLY 179 MILLION. BY 1980 THE ESTIMATED FIGURE IS 242 MILLION: WHEN THE YEAR 2000 ROLLS AROUND, THERE WILL BE OVER 300 MILLION PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS COUNTRY. THESE WILL BE A LOT OF EXTRA MOUTHS TO FEED. THIS IS THE IMPORTANT JOB OF THE AMERICAN FARMER AND OF THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY. IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT BY 1980 AGRICULTURE MUST SUPPLY ANNUALLY ABOUT 4.4 BILLION MORE POUNDS OF BEEF; 400 MILLION MORE POUNDS OF PORK; AND 2.4 BILLION MORE POUNDS OF POULTRY MEAT. SOME AGRICULTURAL ECONOMISTS PROJECT EVEN HIGHER FIGURES THAN THESE.

AMERICA IS CONSTANTLY BECOMING MORE URBANIZED AND CITY-ORIENTED. ON JULY 1, 1968, 95.4 PERCENT OF OUR TOTAL POPULATION LIVED IN TOWNS AND CITIES AND ONLY 4.6 PERCENT LIVED ON, AND WORKED THE LAND AS FARMERS. TODAY ONLY 31 OF THE 435 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS HAVE 25 PERCENT, OR MORE, OF THEIR POPULATION MADE UP OF FARMERS.

THERE WILL STILL BE 3.62 MILLION SQUARE MILES OF AMERICA IN THE YEAR 2000, BUT WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT WE WILL HAVE AT LEAST 100 MILLION MORE AMERICANS TO OCCUPY THIS LAND AND TO BE FED. THE BIG PROBLEM IS THAT THE AMOUNT OF LAND IN FARMS SHRINKS BY 4 TO 5 MILLION ACRES EACH YEAR AS CITIES GROW, HIGHWAYS ARE BUILT, INDUSTRIAL PLANTS ARE LOCATED IN THE COUNTRY, AND AREAS ARE SET ASIDE FOR RECREATIONAL PURPOSES.

FAMILY-OPERATED FARMS ARE DISAPPEARING AT THE RATE OF ALMOST 100,000 A YEAR. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF FARMS IS DOWN TO ABOUT 3 MILLION - LOWEST SINCE THE 1870'S. THIS IS MORE THAN 20 PERCENT FEWER THAN IN

(Presented at the Cedar Rapids Kiwanis Club Meeting on July 8, 1970.)

1960, AND 56 PERCENT FEWER THAN THE PEAK FARM NUMBER OF 1935.

SO IT BOILS DOWN TO OUR HAVING LESS LAND AVAILABLE FOR FARMING AND FEWER FARMS TO PRODUCE MORE AND MORE FOOD IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

AS THE POPULATION INCREASES AND THE MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO URBAN AREAS, FARMS WILL CONTINUE TO GROW LARGER, FEWER IN NUMBER AND MORE SPECIALIZED. IN 1967, THE AVERAGE FARM SIZE WAS 25 PERCENT LARGER THAN IN 1959, UP TO 359 ACRES FROM 288 ACRES. FARM SIZE WILL INCREASE ABOUT 75 PERCENT BETWEEN 1960 AND 1980. FARMS MUST CONTINUE TO OPERATE MORE AND MORE EFFICIENTLY.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY FARM IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL FOOD PRODUCING SYSTEM THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. YET, AS WE HAVE POINTED OUT, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF FARMS HAVE DISAPPEARED. ALSO, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY THE YOUNGER ONES, HAVE LEFT THE LAND. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 1960'S, FARM POPULATION HAS DECLINED BY OVER 5 MILLION PERSONS; DOWN TO 10,370,000 PERSONS IN 1969.

ALL OF US THAT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH AGRICULTURE FOR MANY YEARS DO NOT PARTICULARLY RELISH THE IDEA THAT THE NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT FAMILY FARMS IS DECLINING AND THAT MANY OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE FROM RURAL AMERICA ARE MOVING TO URBAN AREAS. FARM PEOPLE ARE ONE OF THE LAST STRONGHOLDS OF TRUE AMERICAN PATRIOTISM AND PRIDE. ALSO, WE FIND THAT YOUNG FARM FOLKS ARE WILLING TO WORK HARD FOR WHAT THEY GET.

A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS TYPE OF YOUNG PERSON FROM RURAL AMERICA IS STEVE ZUMBACH FROM MANCHESTER, IOWA. STEVE IS NATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT FOR THE FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA. THIS OUTSTANDING YOUNG MAN IS CERTAINLY A FUTURE LEADER. HE GAVE A TALK AT THE 1970 ANNUAL FFA LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOR IOWA HELD IN CEDAR RAPIDS, ENTITLED, "YOUTH FOR A POSITIVE ROLE." SOME OF HIS FINAL WORDS TO THE 2,500 CLEAN-CUT, YOUNG MEN PRESENT WERE, "MY FINAL PLEA MIGHT BE THAT, LET

THE QUALITY OF OUR LIVES BE YOUTH IN A POSITIVE ROLE." POSITIVE-THINKING, ACTION-ORIENTED YOUNG PEOPLE FROM RURAL AMERICA, LIKE STEVE, ARE ONE OF OUR NATION'S GREATEST ASSETS.

DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE CAMPUS DISTURBANCES LAST YEAR, I VISITED WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY AND ONE OF THE PROFESSORS MADE A STATEMENT THAT WAS INTERESTING. HERE IT IS, "THE YOUNG FARM BOYS COME TO US WITH ENTHUSIASM AND WITH OPEN MINDS AND READY TO LEARN. THIS IS NOT THE CASE WITH MANY OF OUR STUDENTS FROM THE CITIES." THIS CAMPUS HAS HAD NO MAJOR PROBLEMS OR DISTURBANCES AND IT IS IN A FARMING AREA, WHILE MADISON HAD BEEN HIT BY RIOTS - ENOUGH SAID!

MANY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES ARE QUITE CONCERNED BECAUSE OF AN APPARENT LACK OF INTEREST ON THE PART OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN CAREERS IN AGRICULTURE. STEPS ARE NOW BEING TAKEN TO HELP CORRECT THIS. THERE ARE MANY MORE POSITIONS AVAILABLE THAN PEOPLE TO FILL THEM. THE AGRIBUSINESS CAREERS COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL FEED INGREDIENTS ASSOCIATION IS WORKING TO DO THIS WITH COORDINATED COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM. OTHER GROUPS, LIKE THE AGRICULTURAL RELATIONS COUNCIL AND THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL ADVERTISING AND MARKETING ASSOCIATION ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING AGRICULTURAL CAREER INFORMATION PROGRAMS.

CAREERS IN AGRICULTURE ARE TRULY "CAREERS WITH A MISSION" - A MISSION OF HELPING TO SUPPLY NOURISHING FOOD TO OUR WORLD'S GROWING POPULATION. THIS IS THE STORY THAT SHOULD BE TOLD TO THE URBAN, SUB-URBAN AND RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE.

#### WHAT HAS AGRICULTURE DONE?

WE HAVE ONLY TO LOOK AROUND TO SEE IT AND TO SEE THE MARVELS WROUGHT BY AGRICULTURE. AMERICAN AGRICULTURE IS LITERALLY ONE OF THE GREAT MIRACLES OF OUR TIME. JUST STOP AND THINK ABOUT IT! NEVER

BEFORE IN THE RECORDED HISTORY OF MANKIND, HAS MAN HAD SO MUCH FOR SO LITTLE! AMERICAN AGRICULTURE IS THE ENVY OF THE WORLD. THE RUSSIANS WOULD GIVE THEIR EYE TEETH TO BE ABLE TO PRODUCE FOOD AS EFFICIENTLY AND AS ECONOMICALLY AS WE DO. LET'S REVIEW WHAT AMERICAN AGRICULTURE HAS DONE:

(1) WHEN WE TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT THE FACTS AND FIGURES, WE SEE THAT NO INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY JOB OF STREAMLINING ITSELF AND SERVING THE PUBLIC AS HAS AGRICULTURE. WAGES HAVE RISEN OVER 100 PERCENT IN 20 YEARS; MEDICAL COSTS HAVE GONE UP 109 PERCENT AND RENT COSTS HAVE RISEN 58 PERCENT. DURING THIS SAME PERIOD FOOD COSTS HAVE RISEN ONLY 41 PERCENT. THE HOUSEWIFE OF TODAY SPENDS ONLY 16.2 PERCENT OF HER HUSBAND'S PAYCHECK FOR FOOD COMPARED TO 26 PERCENT IN 1950 AND 20.3 PERCENT IN 1959. IN ENGLAND TODAY, 26 PERCENT OF THE AVERAGE PERSON'S DISPOSABLE INCOME GOES FOR FOOD. IN RUSSIA, THE FIGURE IS 50 PERCENT. IN FRANCE IT IS 31 PERCENT AND IN ASIA, IT IS ABOUT 75 TO 80 PERCENT (BASED ON DISPOSABLE INCOME).

(2) ON THE AVERAGE, ONE PERSON IN UNITED STATES AGRICULTURE TODAY SUPPLIES ABUNDANTLY THE FOOD AND FIBER NEEDS FOR HIMSELF AND 42 OTHER PERSONS, COMPARED WITH 26 IN 1960, AND ONLY 10 PERSONS 30 YEARS AGO. BETWEEN 1950 AND 1965, OUTPUT PER MAN HOUR ROSE NEARLY THREE TIMES AS FAST AS IN NON-FARMING OCCUPATIONS.

(3) TODAY FIVE PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES PRODUCE ENOUGH FOOD AND FIBER FOR THE OTHER 95 PERCENT.

(4) AMERICAN AGRICULTURE HAS PRODUCED AND IS PRODUCING FOOD CHEAPER -- IN TERMS OF AN HOURS'S LABOR -- THAN HAS EVER BEEN DONE BY MAN.

HERE'S WHAT WE MEAN: BACK IN 1920, WHEN A PERSON WENT TO THE GROCERY STORE AND BOUGHT A POUND OF STEAK, A POUND OF PORK, A QUART OF MILK, A DOZEN ORANGES AND A 10-POUND SACK OF POTATOES, IT TOOK THE

PAY FROM FOUR HOURS AND TWENTY-NINE MINUTES OF WORK TO PAY FOR IT. TODAY, TO PURCHASE THE SAME ITEMS IT TAKES ONLY ONE HOUR AND THIRTY MINUTES OF WORK BY THE AVERAGE AMERICAN CONSUMER.

(5) AN HOUR'S WORK TODAY BUYS 25 PERCENT MORE PORK, 20 PERCENT MORE BEEF, 13 PERCENT MORE POTATOES, 20 PERCENT MORE MILK AND 40 PERCENT MORE EGGS THAN IT DID IN THE LATE 1950'S ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL LIVE STOCK AND MEAT BOARD. COMPARED TO INCOME, FOOD IS STILL AMERICA'S BEST VALUE.

(6) AGRICULTURE HAS FURNISHED THE GREAT NUMBERS OF MEN AND WOMEN THAT HAVE SUPPLIED OUR GROWING CITIES, BUILT THE HOMES, FACTORIES AND STORES, FILLED THE NEW HOUSES WITH FAMILIES, MANNED AND DIRECTED THE FACTORIES OF INDUSTRY. IT'S THE SURPLUS OF YOUNG PEOPLE THAT ARE CLOTHED, FED, TRAINED AND EDUCATED BY THE FAMILIES OF RURAL AND SMALL TOWN AMERICA THAT HAS PROVIDED THE NEW SOURCE OF PLENTY FOR OUR CITIES. IT'S BEEN ESTIMATED BY ONE UNIVERSITY THAT IT TAKES A MINIMUM OF \$25,000 TO \$30,000 TO EDUCATE, CLOTHE AND CARE FOR A CHILD UNTIL THE AGE OF 18 YEARS. YOU CAN SEE THAT TO A LARGE MEASURE, IT'S THE RURAL AND SMALL TOWN AREAS THAT HAVE BEEN SUBSIDIZING THE CITIES.

THE BIG PROBLEM IS THAT WE HAVE NOT YET ACTUALLY HIT THE CONSUMERS' "HOT BUTTON," AS RED MOTLEY WOULD SAY, IN TELLING THE TRUE STORY ABOUT AMERICA'S FARMERS AND FOOD PRODUCTION. THE AVERAGE CITY HOUSEWIFE APPARENTLY COULD NOT CARE LESS THAT INFLATION IS HITTING FARMERS HARDER THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER GROUP, EXCEPT THOSE WITH FIXED INCOMES. SHE JUST DOES NOT RESPOND TO OUR CITING FIGURES THAT SHOW IN 20 YEARS PRICES TO FARMERS ACTUALLY HAVE DECLINED WHILE WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS IN THE TRADES HAVE RISEN TREMENDOUSLY.

WE COULD ASK THE URBANITE HOUSEWIFE WHY IT IS THAT A FARMER WITH A \$200,000 INVESTMENT IS LUCKY TO NET \$8,000, WHILE A TRADESMAN WITH NO INVESTMENT USUALLY DOES BETTER. WE COULD EXPLAIN THE FARMERS' LOW RETURN ON INVESTMENT IN DETAIL, BUT VERY LIKELY SHE WOULD NOT BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED, OR WOULD NOT EVEN LISTEN. WE COULD TELL HER THAT THE LOW PRICES RECEIVED BY FARMERS, PLUS THE EVER HIGHER PRICES THEY PAY, ARE DRIVING MANY OF THEM OFF OF THE FARMS AND INTO THE CITIES TO FIND WORK. THESE THINGS ARE NOT OF GREAT INTEREST TO HER BECAUSE SHE, TOO, IS HIT BY THE INFLATION SPIRAL AND HAS HER PROBLEMS. YET, FOR THE SAKE OF THE FARMERS, FARM-RELATED BUSINESSES AND IN THE END, THE CONSUMERS THEMSELVES, WE MUST FIND A WAY TO TELL THIS STORY.

DID YOU KNOW THAT TODAY WE ARE EATING NEARLY TWICE AS MUCH BEEF AND POULTRY AS TWENTY YEARS AGO? WE ARE CONSUMING MORE FRUITS, VEGETABLES, FISH AND CHEESE, PLUS A SMORGASBORD OF INSTANT FOODS, HEAT-AND-SERVE MEALS AND OTHER WORK-SAVING "CONVENIENCE" FOODS. THE PLAIN AND SIMPLE TRUTH IS THAT AMERICANS NOW ENJOY A BIGGER PORTION OF BETTER FOODS FOR A SMALLER PORTION OF THE PAYCHECK THAN EVER BEFORE IN HISTORY. NOWHERE ELSE IS FOOD SO GOOD, SO EASY-TO-PREPARE, SO PLENTIFUL -- AT SO LITTLE COST. OKAY, NOW YOU ALL GO HOME AND TRY TO TELL YOUR WIVES THIS STORY AND THEY'LL PROBABLY SAY "HOGWASH" TO YOU.

BY NOW YOU CAN SEE THE DILEMMA THAT WE IN AGRICULTURE AND AGRI-BUSINESS ARE FACED WITH. WE HAVE AN IMPORTANT STORY THAT SHOULD BE TOLD. WE HAVE INDISPUTABLE FACTS TO PROVE OUR CASE. WE HAVE TALENTED AGRI-CULTURALLY-ORIENTED PEOPLE TO HELP TELL THE STORY. WE HAVE PEOPLE AND COMPANIES TELLING THE STORY NOW. BUT, WE HAVE AN AUDIENCE THAT HAS ITS OWN DESIRES, INTERESTS, MOTIVATIONS AND PROBLEMS THAT SEEM TO

ALWAYS COME FIRST.

THE CONSUMERS OF AMERICA HAVE TAKEN SPECTACULAR RISES IN COSTS OF ALL OTHER FACTORS IN THE COST OF LIVING INDEX WITH VERY LITTLE NOTICE, IF ANY -- BUT A MODEST RISE IN THE COST OF FOOD MAKES BIG HEADLINES. WE HAVE HAD BEEF BOYCOTTS, EGG BOYCOTTS AND ALL SORTS OF MIS-DIRECTED CONSUMER ACTIONS TAKING PLACE DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS.

CONSUMERS ARE VITALLY AWARE OF FOOD. IT IS A PRIME NECESSITY. IT IS CONSUMED EVERY DAY. IN ONE SENSE IT IS A NUISANCE THAT GETS IN THE WAY OF PLANS TO PURCHASE A NEW COLOR TELEVISION SET, A CAR, OR A VACATION. WHAT THE CONSUMER SEEMS TO OVERLOOK IS THAT HIS PERSONAL INCOME IS RISING FASTER THAN THE COST OF FOOD. ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK IN CHICAGO, THE PERSONAL INCOME AFTER TAXES FROM ALL SOURCES ROSE ALMOST 8 PERCENT IN 1968. THIS IS WELL ABOVE THE AVERAGE GAIN FOR THE PAST 20 YEARS. AVERAGE PRICES PAID BY CONSUMERS ROSE 4 PERCENT.

FARMERS ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED AND SOMEWHAT FRUSTRATED OVER THE CURRENT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD AGRICULTURE IN THE U. S. AND THE PUBLIC'S FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THEIR CONTRIBUTION. ALL OF US INVOLVED WITH FARMING AND FARM-RELATED BUSINESSES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE SOME DEEP THOUGHT AND SOME TIME TO TRYING TO OVERCOME THIS COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEM.

EDWIN M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL PLANT FOOD INSTITUTE, TOLD A GROUP OF FARM EDITORS THE FOLLOWING FACTS, "TWENTY YEARS IS TOO LONG FOR AGRIBUSINESS TO SIT ASIDE AND CLUCK ITS TONGUE AT THE FARMERS COST-PRICE STRUGGLE, IN WHICH ITS OWN EXISTENCE IS AT STAKE, WITHOUT WHOLEHEARTEDLY JOINING THE FIGHT." HE WENT ON TO SAY, "MANY BUSINESSES DEPEND ON FARMERS COMPLETELY FOR THEIR PRODUCT SALES, AND YET THE WORKING

FORCE OF THAT BUSINESS AND THEIR FAMILIES RARELY REALIZE HOW CLOSELY THEIR LIVELIHOOD IS TIED TO THE FORTUNES OF AGRICULTURE."

IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT THREE OUT OF EVERY TEN JOBS IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S. ARE RELATED TO AGRICULTURE. EIGHT OUT OF TEN WORKING PEOPLE IN IOWA ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH AGRICULTURE ACCORDING TO GOVERNOR RAY. EIGHT MILLION PEOPLE HAVE JOBS STORING, PROCESSING AND MERCHANDISING THE PRODUCTS OF AGRICULTURE. OVER SIX MILLION PEOPLE HAVE JOBS PROVIDING GOODS, EQUIPMENT AND SERVICES FARMERS USE. FARMING ITSELF EMPLOYS SLIGHTLY OVER FIVE MILLION WORKERS, MORE THAN THE COMBINED EMPLOYMENT IN TRANSPORTATION, PUBLIC UTILITIES, THE STEEL INDUSTRY AND THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

THESE NINETEEN MILLION-PLUS WORKING PEOPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES, WHOSE LIVELIHOODS ARE DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY TIED TO THE FINANCIAL SUCCESS OF AGRICULTURE, CAN FORM A NUCLEUS TO BEGIN TO HELP IMPROVE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL PEOPLE. IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO BETTER MOTIVATE THESE PEOPLE TO START TELLING THE TRUE STORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE. ALL OF THESE PEOPLE ARE CONSUMERS, LIKE EACH OF YOU ARE AND LIKE I AM. SO EACH OF US CAN UNDERSTAND THE CONSUMERS' SITUATION AND THUS SHOULD BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH THEM ABOUT WHAT AGRICULTURE IS DOING FOR AMERICA AND FOR THEM.

THANK YOU.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Speech Introduction Material

John W. Megown  
2190 Northview Drive  
Marion, Iowa

1. Formerly a professional animal nutritionist, he now is Vice President and Director of Communications with Vigortone Products Company, Cedar Rapids. He is a 15-year veteran in the agricultural industries.
2. Holds three degrees:
  - a. A.S., Zoology - Hannibal-LaGrange College.
  - b. A.B., Zoology - University of Missouri.
  - c. M.S., Animal Nutrition - University of Missouri.
3. Other training:
  - a. Studied Marketing at Chicago Grain Exchange Institute.
  - b. Studied Advertising at Northwestern University.
4. Special activities:
  - a. First Vice-President (President-elect) of the National Feed Ingredients Association. Formerly N.F.I.A.'s Vice-President for Public Affairs (also a Director).
  - b. Agri-Business Coordinating Group - U. S. Department of Agriculture.
  - c. National Coordinator - Public Affairs Council for American Agriculture.
  - d. Agriculture Advisory Committee - Iowa Development Commission.
  - e. Iowa Chairman - National FFA Foundation, Inc. Sponsoring Committee.
  - f. Cedar Rapids Agricultural Executives Forum - Served as first Chairman.
  - g. Agricultural Relations Council.
  - h. Agricultural Careers Committee - National Agricultural Advertising and Marketing Association.
  - i. National Association of Farm Broadcasters.
  - j. Executive Committee of Agricultural Bureau - Cedar Rapids Chamber of Commerce.
  - k. Member-at-Large of Hawkeye Area Council - Boy Scouts of America (an Eagle Scout).
  - l. Charter Member of Marion-East Cedar Rapids Rotary Club.
5. Awards:
  - a. Dictionary of International Biography's "Certificate of Merit" - "For Distinguished Service to Animal Science" - 1967.
  - b. N.A.A.M.A. "First Award" - as producer of best agricultural product film strip - 1968.
  - c. "Two Thousand Men of Achievement Award" - 1969.
  - d. "Community Leader of America Award" - 1969.
  - e. "Member of Eminent Distinction" - National Register of Prominent Americans - 1969.
6. Biographical entries:
  - a. WHO'S WHO in the Midwest (1966, 1968).
  - b. American Men of Science (1968).
  - c. Dictionary of International Biography (1967).

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

2190 Northview Drive  
Marion, Iowa 52302

PURPOSES:

- (1) To obtain better publicity for agriculture generally.
- (2) To help restore pride of farmers and ranchers in their Agricultural Heritage.

PROJECTS (Current and Future):

- (1) Develop effective service club speeches - PAC leaders initially give these talks and then copies are circulated to key individuals.
- (2) Develop effective pride-building speeches for farmer groups - PAC leaders give these talks and then copies are circulated to key individuals.
- (3) Communications to legislators - PAC leaders write to thank Federal and State officials and legislators for speaking out on behalf of agriculture and urge them to continue to do so.
- (4) Help to generate more interest in publicity activities with key agri-industry trade associations and general business associations - examples are National Feed Ingredient Association's "Truth About Agriculture" Campaign and National Federation of Independent Business' talks by their Public Relations Director, Ed Wimmer.
- (5) Try to generate more interest on the part of individual farm-related businesses in helping to tell the farmers' story - an example is Vigortone Products Company's broad-scope "FARM PRODUCTS NATIONAL PROMOTION."
- (6) Work closely with several key individual newspaper farm editors and farm broadcasters - the Farm Editor of the Cedar Rapids GAZETTE and the Farm Services Director of WMT Stations test new ideas and publicity material.
- (7) Supply agri-industry trade publication editors with information about farm publicity activities.
- (8) Help to develop activities with key agricultural communications organizations - recently the National Association of Farm Broadcasters endorsed the purposes of PAC.

- (9) Attempt to generate interest with prominent local-level agri-businessmen in forming "Agricultural Executives Forums" in major agri-industry cities across the United States - the Cedar Rapids Agricultural Executives Forum was formed on December 15, 1969. This discussion group is the first of its kind.
- (10) Correspondence with general business publication editors and city newspaper editors urging more stories about rural development, agriculture and agri-business. It has been estimated that 40 percent of the population of the United States now are engaged in producing, packaging and distributing and selling food and fiber. Agri-business is certainly no minority group.
- (11) Other projects in the developmental stages include:
- (a) Working with key agricultural college professors.
  - (b) Developing a liaison with National Future Farmers of America Organization.
  - (c) Working with rural ministers.

John W. Megown  
National Coordinator