

# A PERSONAL NOTE: THINGS OUTRACE IDEAS

Moley, Raymond

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## ABSTRACT

At the end of this year I shall discontinue my contributions in NEWSWEEK. For that reason, I take this occasion to inform those who have read my pieces over the years, especially the considerable number with whom I have had a friendly correspondence, that I shall permanently retain my office and base of operations here at NEWSWEEK, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

## FULL TEXT

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## PERSPECTIVE

### A PERSONAL NOTE

BY RAYMOND MOLEY



**A**t the end of this year I shall discontinue my contributions in *Newsweek*. For that reason, I take this occasion to inform those who have read my pieces over the years, especially the considerable number with whom I have had a friendly correspondence, that I shall permanently retain my office and base of operations here at *Newsweek*, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

This means in no sense that I am retiring from journalism. For I have already agreed to increase my newspaper columns from one to two a week. These are distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

I qualified as a journalist 34 years ago as editor of the new magazine *Today*, which was merged as *Newsweek* in 1937. In 1963 I noted in this space that I had written and that there had been published a column of opinion every week for 30 years—in all, 1,566 pieces—except only in 1957, when Sen. Harry F. Byrd was my guest columnist for four weeks. It was a record of sorts, and since then I have taken occasional vacations. I said in that 1963 article, and repeat now, that never over the years has anyone in the management of this magazine told me what to write or not to write or edited my opinions. This spirit of mutual amity and respect remains and will remain.

**L**ong reflection on the changing styles and moods of public opinion in a larger perspective of decades and periods has suggested a historical cycle which I have called an ideological lag, or carry-over.

In the political ascendancy of 1933, most of those, including Roosevelt, who were creating and implementing national policy had absorbed their political philosophy twenty years before when they were relatively young men. They were the heirs of the Progressivism of TR, Wilson and La Follette. For men's minds are shaped by the climate of their early maturity. Thus the First New Deal was neo-Progressivism.

I should add also that the progressive policies that took shape around 1910 were the realization of the Populism of the early 1890s. Compare, if you will, the platform and objectives of the Populist Party of 1892 with that of the Progressive Party of 1912.

But in the later 1930s a new generation came of age in its political phi-

losophy and plans. John F. Kennedy reached voting age in 1938, and a year earlier Lyndon B. Johnson entered Congress. Roosevelt at that time shifted from 1933 to Keynesianism, massive Federal intervention in business, labor-in-politics, conservation, public ownership and individual welfare from Washington.

When JFK and later LBJ proposed their reforms in the 1960s, they were carrying over, with some semantic changes, the dominant convictions of 1936-1940. And in this, our time, the ideas held by those who create public opinion—in Congress, the press, the universities and the pulpits—are of the generation of those Presidents.

#### THINGS OUTRAGE IDEAS

There is a German saying that "things are faster than ideas." By the time a philosophy is formalized in law and national policy, the reality of its origins has passed away. The public is slow in comprehension. Legends haunt its opinion.

Now, in the late 1960s, a new post-war generation has come of age. Almost a third of those of voting age had not been born in 1933. Confronted by the crises at home and abroad, these young people are confused. But it is from the leaders of this new generation that new policies will come in the 1970s and beyond. They will be writing the books, editing the news, teaching in the schools and colleges, creating our laws and preaching in the pulpits in the future and dominating political life.

It would be fruitless speculation to seek to foretell what will emerge in those future years. For circumstances abroad and at home, now hidden from us, will have their inexorable impact. There will also play a part, in the thrust of these new leaders, something that I learned and profited from in my academic years. That is the instinct of the young to refute and contradict their elders and their teachers. The policies will not be copied from the immediate past, although, as I have shown, older patterns may appear in new dress.

But if I have learned anything from the more distant past, I am convinced that the future may be anticipated without fear. The nation will survive and indeed be enriched by a more mature generation. My perennial optimism comes from my own experience and from what I know of history.

## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	26
<b>Pages:</b>	76
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
<b>Publication date:</b>	Dec 25, 1967
<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
<b>Publisher:</b>	Newsweek Publishing LLC
<b>Place of publication:</b>	New York
<b>Country of publication:</b>	United States, New York
<b>Publication subject:</b>	General Interest Periodicals--United States, Political Science
<b>ISSN:</b>	0028-9604
<b>e-ISSN:</b>	1069-840X
<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1879135429
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/personal-note/docview/1879135429/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/personal-note/docview/1879135429/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
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<b>Last updated:</b>	2017-03-21
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

## LINKS



# ROMNEY THE INCREDIBLE: AN UNCERTAIN TRUMPET

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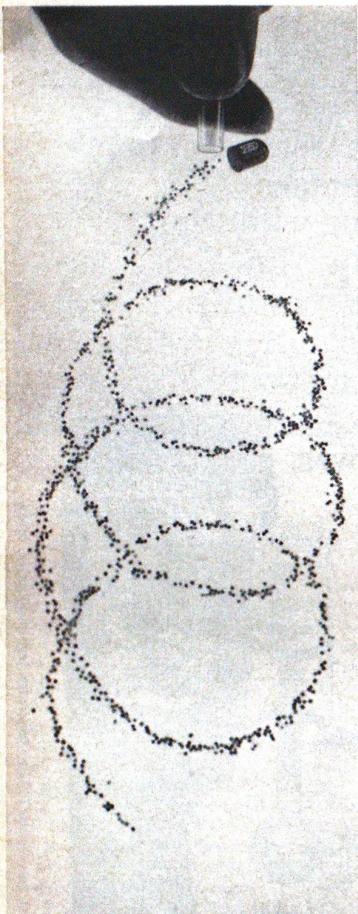
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## ABSTRACT

If there were not a George Romney, Nelson Rockefeller would have to invent one. I am still willing to be convinced that the New York governor would reject a nomination if it sought him after the bloody field was strewn with the remains of the present aspirants. But even if Rockefeller does not want to be nominated, he is the authentic champion of the Eastern Establishment which cannot endure the prospect of a Republican convention without a candidate for the nomination who reflects the interests and views of that corner of the nation.

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116

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## PERSPECTIVE

### ROMNEY THE INCREDIBLE

BY RAYMOND MOLEY



If there were not a George Romney, Nelson Rockefeller would have to invent one. I am still willing to be convinced that the New York governor would reject a nomination if it sought him after the bloody field was strewn with the remains of the present aspirants. But even if Rockefeller does not want to be nominated, he is the authentic champion of the Eastern Establishment which cannot endure the prospect of a Republican convention without a candidate for the nomination who reflects the interests and views of that corner of the nation. It has had such a candidate ever since the days of Roscoe Conkling and the time when Thomas B. Reed unsuccessfully challenged McKinley and Hanna in 1896.

In 1964, after the California primary virtually eliminated Rockefeller, the E.E. projected Governor Scranton as a somewhat singed and reluctant offering. And now, with somewhat similar blindness to the dominance in the GOP of the West, the Midwest and the South, the Michigan governor has been built up as a contender.

But now, as Romney stands naked in his inadequacy, there are voices not far from New York City and Albany supporting Governor Reagan. Not because they admire him and his views, but because he might be used to frustrate Nixon in New Hampshire and Wisconsin.

#### AN UNCERTAIN TRUMPET

Since Romney is now a professed candidate, however, and his supporters must still find reasons for his nomination, it is pertinent to consider how he would fare in a campaign against Lyndon Johnson. Without reviving the oft-reported account of Romney's fumbling with the issues, I select for illustration his performance on the CBS "Face the Nation" program on Nov. 19. He met on that occasion three competent inquisitors who pried him with highly pertinent questions about Vietnam. One concerned Romney's idea that a solution lies in neutralizing the whole area (presumably North and South Vietnam), "taking that area out of the cold war." That, incidentally, would be like a suggestion to Lincoln in 1862 that Virginia and Washington be neutralized.

Q. Is there a specific program? You say neutralization—

A. I am in the process of studying it and developing it.

Romney then made the point that the South Vietnamese should be made to fight more.

Q. Suppose you were President and they didn't?

A. We should cross that bridge when we come to it.

Those answers characterize Romney's answers when he faces hard realities for decision. Either he says he must study some more or the problem can wait for decision. He is really not sure, clear and articulate about any of the grim issues that are disturbing Americans. How can Republicans expect a victory in 1968 when the tune is called by this uncertain trumpet?

#### A SITTING DUCK FOR LBJ

For the next Presidential campaign will not, like the last one, be a conflict of ideologies. It will be a hard-hitting debate over the tools essential to meet American commitments abroad and at home. The words "liberal," "conservative" or the blurred something called "moderate" will have little relevance. The Johnson cards are on the table. And whoever challenges him must match him point by point with viable alternatives.

No Polonius can do that with a routine of homey platitudes. Nor can a GOP candidate rely upon set speeches prepared for him by an aggregation of ghosts. It is incredible that Romney is prepared to face such veteran campaigners as LBJ and Humphrey and also to meet, day after day, the merciless inquisition of the most numerous and in part the most sophisticated group of press representatives in the world. The half-hour "Face the Nation" performance shows how ill-prepared he is for such a test.

It is equally incredible that Romney's lack of preparation is so glaring after he has had more than two years to inform himself on the vital issues upon which the 1968 campaign will be decided.

He should know, as he was reminded, that neutralization means surrender to Communism on the installment plan. And when he says, taking a cue from Robert Kennedy, that the South Vietnamese military forces are not bearing their share of the burden, that charge is shattered by General Westmoreland and Ambassador Bunker.

Indeed, Romney himself is incredible, considering how badly his scanty knowledge and foggy faculties fail to meet the range of his pretensions.

Newsweek, December 11, 1967

## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	24
<b>Pages:</b>	116
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
<b>Publication date:</b>	Dec 11, 1967
<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
<b>Publisher:</b>	Newsweek Publishing LLC
<b>Place of publication:</b>	New York
<b>Country of publication:</b>	United States, New York
<b>Publication subject:</b>	General Interest Periodicals--United States, Political Science
<b>ISSN:</b>	0028-9604
<b>e-ISSN:</b>	1069-840X
<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1866739513
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/romney-incredible/docview/1866739513/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/romney-incredible/docview/1866739513/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
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<b>Last updated:</b>	2017-02-10
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

## LINKS



# A LOOK BEYOND THE WAR: NIXON'S EXPERIENCE

Moley, Raymond

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## ABSTRACT

Richard Nixon's contribution to the multilogue on Vietnam looks beyond enlisting support for his nomination, for he is giving his party a foreign policy fit for all seasons, an asset the GOP needs as it looks toward 1968. For this, Republicans should consider themselves deeply in his debt.

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108

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## PERSPECTIVE

### A LOOK BEYOND THE WAR

BY RAYMOND MOLEY



Richard Nixon's contribution to the multilogue on Vietnam looks beyond enlisting support for his nomination, for he is giving his party a foreign policy fit for all seasons, an asset the GOP needs as it looks toward 1968. For this, Republicans should consider themselves deeply in his debt.

The President will be very hard to beat in 1968 if the limited objectives of our military effort are achieved in the next ten months. In that case LBJ will emerge as something of a hero and something of a seer. Pollsters will revise their popularity ratings, party critics will subside, Democrats will unite and loud hosannas will rise from the populace.

The Republican Party will need a spokesman who not only is broadly experienced in foreign affairs but who has a viable set of views about the Far Pacific and Asia. This must not only encompass support for a war which has cost the United States so much but look beyond the war to the responsibilities of the United States.

Any Republican possibility who favors either our isolation from the perimeter of China or the obliteration of North Vietnam could not possibly prevail against the President, whatever may happen during the next year.

Among the GOP aspirants, Richard Nixon is unique in his firsthand, long-term study of Asia and the Pacific, in his comprehension of the objectives of the Communist system and the fears and hopes and interests of the still non-Communist countries on the periphery of eastern Asia.

#### NIXON'S EXPERIENCE

Fourteen years ago, after a mission in which he visited those places, including Hanoi and Saigon, he warned Americans of the plight of Southeast Asia and favored some help to the beleaguered French. Secretary Dulles and Joint Chiefs chairman Radford agreed with him. Radford, except for MacArthur, was our most experienced military leader in Asiatic and Pacific affairs. But the President hesitated, France withdrew and there emerged the succession of events which ended in our armed intervention.

Nixon's position then and now has been that with the Communist system—either Russia or China or both—dominant in Southeast Asia, the gateway to the Indian Ocean would be exposed and all the countries on the perimeter, from Japan to Australia and

India, would be menaced by Communist military aggression and economic exploitation. That would be the prelude to World War III.

Nixon's judgment of our present military effort is that never has so much power been so ineffectively used. But if we prevail despite our mistakes, any settlement must avoid two extremes. One is a phony neutralization of South Vietnam. The other is the creation of a vacuum in North Vietnam, into which Red China would certainly move. And Russia would demand compensation for its present involvement, which has contributed 100 per cent of Hanoi's oil and 80 per cent of its sophisticated weapons.

#### CANNOT ACCEPT ISOLATION

But, Nixon says, the foreign policy of a great power like ours must look beyond the war to its aftermath. For war in this instance, as always, is a temporary crisis in the long processes of diplomatic policy. Most of our wars have created problems greater than those for which we took up arms.

Our sea, air and economic power impose responsibilities in the long future in non-Communist Asia. We cannot escape this. And safety for the non-Communist world in the Pacific will demand new efforts to create mutual interests and mutual aid among those countries. This would be a substitute for SEATO, which was virtually imposed from Europe (which has now just about abandoned the Far East) and the United States. In that postwar era the United States must provide encouragement, economic aid and military protection. While our stand in Vietnam has done much to convince those countries that Communism is not necessarily the wave of the future, they will need help for a considerable time. We cannot accept isolation when our interests and those of the countries of the free world are involved.

It is not Communist China alone that is the great future threat. Russia, with the mobility of its vast new maritime strength and its designs for economic and ideological penetration, will be a permanent power in the Pacific. This must be balanced by our own presence and our own concern for the protection of the independence of the countries involved.

Nixon's view of the future should also be the policy of his party.

Newsweek, November 27, 1967

## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	22
<b>Pages:</b>	108
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
<b>Publication date:</b>	Nov 27, 1967
<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
<b>Publisher:</b>	Newsweek Publishing LLC
<b>Place of publication:</b>	New York
<b>Country of publication:</b>	United States, New York
<b>Publication subject:</b>	General Interest Periodicals--United States, Political Science
<b>ISSN:</b>	0028-9604
<b>e-ISSN:</b>	1069-840X
<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1883532825
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/look-beyond-war/docview/1883532825/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/look-beyond-war/docview/1883532825/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
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<b>Last updated:</b>	2017-04-04
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

## LINKS



# THE GOP MAINSTREAM: OBJECTIVES IN PACIFIC

Moley, Raymond

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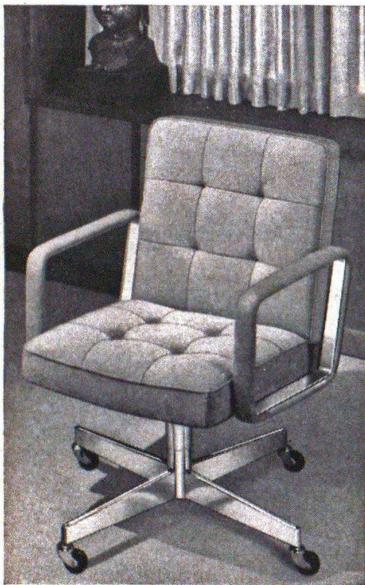
## ABSTRACT

The word "mainstream" was vaguely and inaccurately used by Governor Rockefeller and others to belabor Barry Goldwater in 1964. But at this moment, when rivals for the Republican Presidential nomination are expressing their views about Vietnam, it has a special relevance.

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126

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## PERSPECTIVE

### THE GOP MAINSTREAM

BY RAYMOND MOLEY



The word "mainstream" was vaguely and inaccurately used by Governor Rockefeller and others to belabor Barry Goldwater in 1964. But at this moment, when rivals for the Republican Presidential nomination are expressing their views about Vietnam, it has a special relevance. Many years ago, Republican Presidents and Secretaries of State clearly defined American interests in the Pacific and the East Asian perimeter. Their policies not only are still valid, but they have in the past 34 years been accepted by Democratic and Republican Presidents alike. In the light of these policies it may be quite appropriate to measure the views of various Republican leaders on Vietnam.

This year we should celebrate the centennial of a great period in the career of William H. Seward and in the history of the GOP. For within twelve months in 1867 that Secretary of State made four important decisions about American interests in the Pacific. At the instance of Russia, he achieved the purchase of Alaska and the islands which reach almost to Japan and the Asian mainland. He proposed the annexation of Hawaii. He brought about the American occupation of the Midway Islands. And he negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua which looked toward the construction by the United States of an isthmian canal.

#### OBJECTIVES IN PACIFIC

The vision of Seward saw two objectives in this extension of American interests. One was the defense of the United States, which had already reached the shores of the Pacific. The other was to provide access for our trade with Asia and the islands of the Western Pacific. The latter had been a concern of American policy well before Seward. For while European powers had their colonies and ports over there, we had to depend upon diplomatic negotiations to keep open those areas for our growing commerce. In 1852 and after, we had opened Japan and had gained a foothold on adjacent islands. Our interest was not exclusive. We wanted to assure access to all trading nations.

Hawaii remained a primary objective of successors of Seward. In the last months of the Harrison Administration, Secretary of State John W. Foster negotiated annexation and introduced it in the Senate. But Cleveland withdrew the treaty. It was re-

vived when McKinley took office and was finally confirmed in 1898.

The superficial reason for American intervention in Cuba in 1898 was humanitarian, but members of the Senate and Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had in mind the assurance of our right to build an isthmian canal as a gateway to the Pacific. But TR looked beyond that and secured the appointment of Commodore Dewey as commander of our Pacific fleet. And so the treaty with Spain found us in the Philippines. The urgency of this move was to frustrate the plans of Imperial Germany to acquire the archipelago.

#### TOO LATE FOR ISOLATION

Thus the outpost of our defense became the perimeter of Asia. We craved no territory, but we needed Luzon and the harbor of Manila to serve our interests in the Far Pacific. Then John Hay, Secretary of State under McKinley and TR, achieved the Open Door in China.

Seapower, as Roosevelt saw it, was the key to our Pacific policy. Hence he envisioned a great navy. But Wilson, preoccupied by Europe, permitted Japan to begin its imperial expansion through mandated Pacific islands.

By 1933 our posture in the Pacific and in the periphery of Asia became national policy. In truth no political Administration ever really ends, and none ever begins anew. And so FDR adopted the Stimson policy of checkmating Japanese expansion. FDR, who was Navy-minded and who had hereditary concerns in the China trade, accepted the Japanese challenge. By the end of World War II, we had not only vast interests in the Asiatic area but vast commitments there.

Presidents Truman and Johnson inherited this policy, and that is why we were in Korea and are now in Vietnam. It is far, far too late to ignore what happens in the non-Communist countries of the Far East. Our responsibility lies in our geographical position, our vast economic resources and an unquiet world.

Thus the ambivalence of Romney, Percy, Morton and other isolationist Republicans places them far outside the mainstream of Republican policy. It is fortunate that a majority of Republican leaders support our posture in Vietnam, although they may differ in details of strategy. We are a world power, and we must behave like one.

Newsweek, November 13, 1964

## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	20
<b>Pages:</b>	126
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
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<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
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<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1883531846
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/gop-mainstream/docview/1883531846/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/gop-mainstream/docview/1883531846/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
<b>Copyright:</b>	© IBT Media, Inc
<b>Last updated:</b>	2017-04-04
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

## LINKS



# PORTRAIT OF THE GOP: ACCENT ON ORGANIZATION

Moley, Raymond

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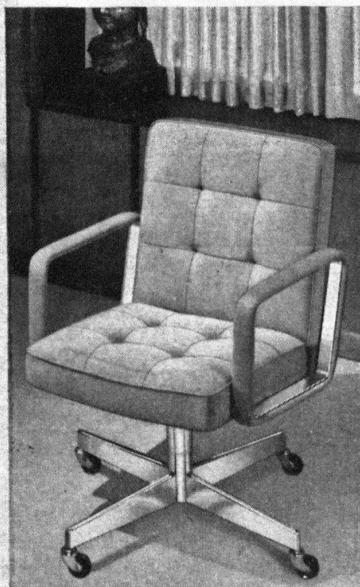
## ABSTRACT

Thirty-seven years have passed since the electorate in the Congressional elections of 1930 handed a vote of no confidence to the Republican Party. When we realize that a new generation has come of age since then, it is obvious why those people who shape public opinion have portrayed the GOP as an object of pity, scorn, contempt and ridicule.

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## PERSPECTIVE

### PORTRAIT OF THE GOP

BY RAYMOND MOLEY



Thirty-seven years have passed since the electorate in the Congressional elections of 1930 handed a vote of no confidence to the Republican Party. When we realize that a new generation has come of age since then, it is obvious why those people who shape public opinion have portrayed the GOP as an object of pity, scorn, contempt and ridicule. Most of the active articulate people in the communications media, in college classrooms, in the pulpit, in Congress and in the studies where political books are written are within the age span of 25 to 55. Thus, political evaluations are pregnant with the prejudices and preconceptions of the period when those people came of age. A great proportion were either unborn or in grammar school when FDR was elected.

In writing of the Republican Party they conveniently ignore the years when the GOP was shaping national policy, mostly for the better. For as we review the years when these people knew public affairs at firsthand, the record of the GOP was that of defeat, internal conflict and sectionalism. Because of the party's minority status, it lacked any lasting legislative or executive achievement.

It is refreshing, even inspiring, to find two writers of the post-New-Deal era who, breaking away from the prejudices of their contemporaries, portray the Republican Party as a vital institution quite worthy of offering itself as an alternative in a political system in which liberty, progress and national health and security can be guaranteed only by a strong two-party system.

#### ACCENT ON ORGANIZATION

These writers are Stephen Hess and David S. Broder. Their book is "The Republican Establishment: The Present and Future of the G.O.P."\* The authors are neither ideologues nor apologists. The book is written to inform and guide an electorate that faces a year in which it must make great decisions.

These authors are distinctive among political writers who prefer to deal only with candidates and issues. They begin with an appraisal of the GOP as an organization or, rather, a number of organizations: the Congressional leadership, the National Committee, the state governors and the splinter groups on the periphery. They show

\*440 pages. Harper & Row. \$7.95.

in a vividly interesting way how chairman Ray Bliss uses the machinery of the National Committee to build a firm grass-roots base for party success.

Then, since politics is people and leaders of people, there are lengthy profiles of the Presidential aspirants—Romney, Nixon, Percy, Reagan—and other figures in Congress and in the Statehouses. Here the portraiture is full, perceptive and scrupulously fair. In delineating these figures in the news, nothing is extenuated, or is aught "set down in malice."

#### DECLINE OF THE EAST

Finally, the great regions are examined—East, South, Middle West and West. There was a time in Republican history when only the Eastern Establishment, with its great financial and political base, and the Middle West, rooted in industry, counted in choosing candidates and shaping party policy. But now, as the authors show, the South and West must be reckoned with. For political influence has followed the drift of the population and economic power. The political dominance of the East exists no longer, despite its importance as the center of the communications media and its considerable community of "intellectuals" and writers.

The decline of the East, the authors say, is dramatic. In fifteen years its share of Republican governors has dropped from eight to five; in House seats, from 74 to 48. Maine, Vermont and Connecticut have Democratic governors. The East cannot recapture its past.

The brighter outlook for the GOP as 1968 approaches is in the results of the 1966 recovery. Nothing contributed so much to that recovery as the sane policies of leadership in Congress, the quiet labors of Ray Bliss with the "nuts and bolts" of party organization, the indefatigable campaigning of Richard Nixon and the dawning reality that the Great Society as envisioned by President Johnson only proves that this country is too big to be governed completely from Washington.

But opposition parties never win. The incumbents fail. And therein lies the speculation that shrouds the outcome in 1968. For if the President succeeds in repelling the Communist thrust into Southeast Asia, it will be difficult for even a revitalized GOP to dislodge him.

Newsweek, October 30, 1967

## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	18
<b>Pages:</b>	108
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
<b>Publication date:</b>	Oct 30, 1967
<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
<b>Publisher:</b>	Newsweek Publishing LLC
<b>Place of publication:</b>	New York
<b>Country of publication:</b>	United States, New York
<b>Publication subject:</b>	General Interest Periodicals--United States, Political Science
<b>ISSN:</b>	0028-9604
<b>e-ISSN:</b>	1069-840X
<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1850824992
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/portrait-gop/docview/1850824992/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/portrait-gop/docview/1850824992/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
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<b>Last updated:</b>	2016-12-21
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

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# THOSE ALLEGED POSTAL SUBSIDIES: THE BURDEN UPON USERS

Moley, Raymond

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## ABSTRACT

A House bill to raise postal rates and increase the pay of postal employees (H.R. 7977) has been passed by the Post Office Committee and cleared for floor action by the Rules Committee. This bill is a hybrid. Originally there were two bills—one to comply with the President's demand for higher postal rates and the other to raise the pay of postal employees.

## FULL TEXT

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## PERSPECTIVE

# THOSE ALLEGED POSTAL SUBSIDIES

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

A House bill to raise postal rates and increase the pay of postal employees (H.R. 7977) has been passed by the Post Office Committee and cleared for floor action by the Rules Committee. This bill is a hybrid. Originally there were two bills—one to comply with the President's demand for higher postal rates and the other to raise the pay of postal employees. The latter, however, gave employees a raise higher than the President's guidelines for Federal employees. And so, to avoid a veto of the pay bill, the House committee combined the two into one piece of legislation. Thus, the present bill is a product of a political maneuver, a practice which from time immemorial has characterized almost everything related to the postal service.

Moreover, this bill is being rushed through despite the fact that a commission of distinguished people was appointed by the President to study the postal service and will not report until next year. The chairman of that commission is Frederick R. Kappel, former chairman of AT&T. The commission was no doubt appointed at the instance of Postmaster General O'Brien, who declared that the "archaic" postal service is "ponderous, creaking, erratic, costly."

### THE BURDEN UPON USERS

Instead of waiting for the Kappel commission's report, which may well show how the Post Office can be reformed to the extent that most of the postal deficit can be eliminated, the House Post Office Committee chose to increase the present scale of rates and thus throw the burden upon the users of the mail service.

My argument here deals with what is called a "subsidy" for users of second- and third-class mail. According to the figures in the House committee report, first-class mail in 1966 showed a surplus of \$67.7 million. But second- and third-class mail provided deficits of \$416.2 million and \$401.2 million respectively. For a long time figures like these have been used to claim that users of second- and third-class mail have enjoyed a huge Federal subsidy.

I have had reason to feel the effect of this claim, for whenever over the past twenty years I have in my pieces in this magazine commented upon subsidies in government agencies and

programs, I have received letters taunting me about the "subsidy" enjoyed by periodicals. Until now, I have not replied to those charges in print. But since responsible journalists have now accepted the Post Office figures and have joined the chorus, I choose to show how deceptive those figures are. For I have always believed that these claimed subsidies have been based upon a wholly unsound system of allocating costs in the postal system.

### BAD ACCOUNTING

The report of the House committee itself in its labored explanation of what are called "cost ascertainment" figures comes close to admitting their unreliability. The cost system does not, it admits, take account of the importance of the priority given to first-class mail as compared with the deferment imposed upon other classes of mail. Delivery of first-class mail is intended to be prompt and almost immediate. Second class should take two or three days, and third class about eight days. Calculations based on the sale of stamps or use of meters cannot be segregated by classes. They are used for all kinds of mail. And the whole basis of assigning costs to the three classes is based upon random samples. The minority report on the bill said: "The full committee had no opportunity whatever to study the cost ascertainment figures on which the rate increases are based . . . all rate adjustments are suspect because they are based on questionable and dubious statistics."

I have become so accustomed to government accounting in other fields that I have grown even more suspicious of the Post Office figures. In the benefit-cost ratio in some big water projects such as dams and water supply, the assumptions are ludicrous. In the Department of HEW there are twelve accounting systems, and none of these has been approved by the Comptroller General's office.

Common sense should tell anyone that since the same men and women, the same buildings, mail trucks, trains, boats and even in some cases horses and mules are used for all classes of mail in varying volume, an allocation of respective class costs is substantially impossible.

In the postal service, 80 per cent of the costs are for labor, and labor is largely used in handling, carrying and sorting mail. Under the ZIP Code sys-

tem, magazines must do much of this handling at their own expense. A first-class item is handled on the average fifteen times by postal employees. Magazines do nine of those handlings at their own expense.

Despite this continual pushing of rising labor costs upon the users of second- and third-class mail, the rate increases on second-class (122 per cent) and third-class (188 per cent) over fifteen years have been far more than for first-class mail (67 per cent).

Finally, it should be noted that the rate increases in the present bill fall relatively most heavily upon periodicals of small circulation. To the bigs, the increases are an unjustified burden, but to the smalls the proposed rates are a tragic blow. And these smalls include hundreds of special periodicals—cultural, religious, scientific, professional and fraternal.

Here is the example of *The Atlantic*. Its publisher, Frank M. Herbert Jr., told the Post Office Committee that the present bill would add to his costs \$8,800 for first-class mail, \$26,250 for second-class mail and \$52,800 for third-class mail. In all, this is \$87,850. His average profits over five years have been \$22,795. Thus, at one blow *The Atlantic* would either be destroyed or go deeply into debt. And this situation might well apply to hundreds of lesser-known periodicals.

### THE BILL SHOULD WAIT

The reason why *The Atlantic* as well as many other magazines of small circulation use third-class mail is that their prospects are in limited categories and they cannot afford to solicit subscriptions in media with mass coverage. Mr. Herbert said that a one-page ad in the *Reader's Digest*, with a general circulation of millions, would cost \$50,000, but if he used that \$50,000 he could appeal through third-class mail to 800,000 selected individuals who would be suitable prospects for *The Atlantic*.

For these reasons, Congress should defer this bill until the Kappel commission reports on postal operations generally and recommends reforms such as are suggested by the Postmaster General. The billion-dollar postal deficit may be due to inefficiency and waste in the Post Office system itself. Certainly if the system is modernized and if it is possible to have an accurate accounting system, the stigma of "subsidies" should be removed from users of second- and third-class mail.



## DETAILS

<b>Publication title:</b>	Newsweek; New York
<b>Volume:</b>	70
<b>Issue:</b>	16
<b>Pages:</b>	112
<b>Number of pages:</b>	1
<b>Publication year:</b>	1967
<b>Publication date:</b>	Oct 16, 1967
<b>Section:</b>	PERSPECTIVE
<b>Publisher:</b>	Newsweek Publishing LLC
<b>Place of publication:</b>	New York
<b>Country of publication:</b>	United States, New York
<b>Publication subject:</b>	General Interest Periodicals--United States, Political Science
<b>ISSN:</b>	0028-9604
<b>e-ISSN:</b>	1069-840X
<b>Source type:</b>	Magazine
<b>Language of publication:</b>	English
<b>Document type:</b>	Article
<b>Document feature:</b>	Photographs
<b>ProQuest document ID:</b>	1882538102
<b>Document URL:</b>	<a href="https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/those-alleged-postal-subsidies/docview/1882538102/se-m-2?accountid=14696">https://www.proquest.com/newsweek/magazines/those-alleged-postal-subsidies/docview/1882538102/se-m-2?accountid=14696</a>
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<b>Last updated:</b>	2017-03-31
<b>Database:</b>	The Newsweek Archive

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