

Tulsa Tribune 12/5/86

# League tough on husbands

Editor, The Tribune:

I applaud the courage and good common sense that Charles A. Burris displayed in his Dec. 1 Point of View column, "The plague of women voters." I am glad that, finally, someone without an ax to grind and fearless of retribution has come forward to tell the truth about that sexist elitist bunch of meddling old busybodies with nothing better to do than call themselves The League of Women Voters. I speak from experience. I've been there. And, believe me, it has been no picnic.

It all started back in '71, when we were in Las Cruces. My wife was the main breadwinner then, working as a regional planner for the Southern Rio Grande Council of Governments. A friend cajoled her into attending a unit meeting of the league, and, shortly afterward, she signed up. This led to more meetings and trips to God-knows-where, and less time for proper housewifely chores. These get-togethers got her all fired up about everything from energy resources to toxic waste disposal to voting records of

candidates nobody was interested in.

Well, you might guess what this led to. That's right. Nobody washed the windows or vacuum-cleaned the house. Stacks of documents, feasibility studies, workshop reports, etc., cluttered every shelf, table and corner of the house. Peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches (which I hate) became a regular diet. And, worst of all, she started discussing some of these issues with me.

My house was trashed, my body was getting trashed, and now she wanted to clutter up my mind, too. I started to worry about all these things that I'm sure nobody cares about and that would have worked out just fine if left alone.

When we moved to Long Island a few years later, I figured, finally, I would have some peace. But it was not to be. She joined the LWV right away, even becoming president of the local chapter. And then she made her last-straw move. "Honey," she whispered demurely, "the league is now accepting males as members.

Would you like a spouse-membership? I think it would be a nice gesture." Well, I figured if I refused, I would have to start doing my own laundry.

Once upon a time, I was a happy-go-lucky guy. Very little concerned me, and I was contented. Now I'm informed about a variety of issues of local, national and international interest, I critically listen to and watch our representatives in government, and I do a few chores around the house. That doesn't sound so bad. But wait!

I get upset when people don't vote and when they do vote without being informed about the candidates and the issues. I get upset when our statesmen make foolish decisions based on no information, wrong or incomplete data or provincial attitudes. I get upset when people are apathetic about political and social issues that they think don't concern them or that they feel are beyond their power to influence. So you see, if it weren't for the League of Women Voters, I'd be just fine.

Broken Arrow

FRED GROWCOCK



P.R.  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1973

## Sound-Off

### • A little lobbying on behalf of LWV

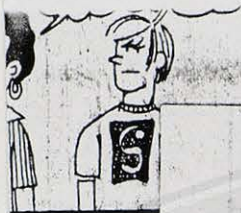
We read with interest the May 17 story that the League of Women Voters of Texas had the greatest number of lobbyists registered in Austin for that reporting period.

You might be interested to know that while the League lobbyists are the largest in number, they are also the lowest in pay: All are volunteers — many even travel to Austin at their own expense.

**Kathy Leabo**

Vice president for public relations, League of Women Voters of Texas, Dickinson Plaza Center, Dickinson





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# Let's Go

## Politics and women

Continued from page 1

how to get recognition from the chair and how to resist masculine efforts to frighten them off.

Of the eight states where delegates have already been chosen, only Wisconsin meets the spirit of the Democratic reform mandate with 48.3 per cent women. One member of the Wisconsin delegation, Josephine McGowan, assistant dean at the University of Wisconsin at Superior, recalled a caucus to select seven delegates. The men present assumed that four would be male and three women, she explained. The voting produced four women and three men.

Other Wisconsin delegates include the Podells, Penny and Richard, who campaigned as a team. After Richard was elected, he went around giving his friends a good-natured ultimatum: "Vote for my wife or else . . ." His wife, Penny, was elected alternate.

Two under-21-year-old women who volunteered to help at the mimeograph machine at Humphrey headquarters are also on the delegation.

Meanwhile, old hands at Democratic headquarters are hedging their bets. They have set their unofficial goal at 35

per cent women. In some states, they say, "It may be 50 per cent or even more." They point out that in the past women delegate spots went largely to national committeewomen and vice-chairmen, the titleholders of the party. This year state officeholders are running scared.

Although Republican reforms may be muted in the renomination of their President, party officials seem confident that there will be more women participating than before. In Massachusetts delegates chosen at large include four women out of ten spots which have in the past all gone to men.

Such an influx of women, however, poses questions. Will they caucus on women's issues? Politicians of both sexes agree that "issues" abridging women's rights must be defended, but that war and peace, jobs and taxes, are equally women's concern.

Pat Harris, chairman of the Democrats' all-important Committee on Credentials, insists, "Women are interested in politics for the same reason men are: They want to decide who gets what, when and how. Men have knocked themselves out in the past to keep women from doing just that."

good cause. For many a quadrennial circus women have been delegates, but few have been articulate leaders. Most were handpicked followers.

Both established and new women's groups are now in the act. The National Women's Political Caucus, founded



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Carleen Waller, president of Women United and chief architect in the newly formed Democratic Women's Roundtable in Tennessee, "It's the first time in history we have opened the door to the room and let some fresh air in. Politics will never be the same again." The Washington political observer remarked: "Women are more likely to do a decent job of getting the party shape. Just men together gives the

appearance of a deal."

"Their language is pretty strong," says another male observer of women's liberationists. "When men use expletives, they apologize to the ladies present. This year, women may end up shocking the men." He finds the feminist style persuasive, however. "I'll bet Tom Paine in his day was a lot wilder and more of an attention-getter than Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Bella Abzug rolled into one."

In Tennessee women of all ages, black and white, attend mini-roundtables all over the state. They learn

## Woman's world

Houston Post

Sunday, May 21, 1972

Please see Politics/page 4BB





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# The year of the woman

*Her token voice is rising to a political roar*

By KATIE LOUCHHEIM  
 Christian Science Monitor

Over the crowd gathered in Phoenix, Ariz., to pick delegates for the Democratic National Convention rose a voice to protest the all-male slate: "I nominate Betty Patrick."

When the votes were counted Mrs. Patrick, a mother of four who is studying for her MA in political science, had defeated a well-known male attorney. She'll be going to her first convention.

Seven more women found themselves on the 25-seat Arizona delegation—bringing the total up to 32 per cent women. Not up to one-half, but a long way from the 13 per cent women who participated in the 1968 Democratic convention.

This is the year of the woman. In the political past, tokenism has been their fate. But this year there are ~~humbly~~ changes in the parties.

Chairman Robert Dole of the Republican hierarchy has sent word: "After all, women do 90 per cent of the work. They should get 50 per cent of the delegates." (In 1968 Republicans topped the Democrats only slightly with 17 per cent women at the convention.)

Democrats have put reforms on the books: "Elect at least 50 per cent women or run the risk of challenge to your delegation."

Feminists are riding high—and for good cause. For many a quadrennial circus women have been delegates, but few have been articulate leaders. Most were handpicked followers.

Both established and new women's groups are now in the act. The National Women's Political Caucus, founded

by feminists, claims representatives in 46 states. The venerable League of Women Voters is reminding its 13,000 local leagues that "Women, like Avis, have to try harder." Say the league officials: "Any woman, to get the same hearing a man would, has to talk less and know more."

The idea of radical reform, however, offends some bigwigs who have asked, "What's wrong with the parties as they were? Didn't they elect Eisenhower and Nixon, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson?"

Even some women professionals are anti-reform, but for different reasons. They oppose quotas: "It's no longer a question of color, age, and sex." (Democratic reformers shy away from the word "quota" and refer to their reforms as guidelines.)

But Carleen Waller, president of Churchwomen United and chief activist in the newly formed Democratic Women's Roundtable in Tennessee, says: "It's the first time in history women have opened the door to the back room and let some fresh air in. Politics will never be the same again."

One Washington political observer remarked: "Women are more likely to do a decent job of getting the party into shape. Just men together gives the appearance of a deal."

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Please see Politics/page 1BR



*Water problem? Ratty streets? Poor city financing?*

*Then look for action from the vigilant League of Women Voters.*

# These Women Get Things Done!

By MURRAY TEIGH BLOOM

ALL OVER AMERICA today some 125,000 citizens make up the largest and most effective force of civic watchdogs this country has ever had.

Most of them are housewives and mothers without much spare time, but they manage to find time to keep a sharp, discerning eye exclusively on government. They are the only nationally organized non-partisan group to do so in every state. And because they carefully avoid taking bows, few know of the remarkable achievements of the 1,000 local groups of the League of Women Voters.

These civic-minded women sparked and led the fight to obtain modern sewage-treatment plants for St. Louis, pure drinking water for Salt Lake City, and major slum clearance for Wilmington, Del. They won a primary-election system for Connecticut, cleared the way for obtaining voting machines for Mississippi, and permanent personal registration for millions of voters in New York State. And they have effectively exposed corrupt city budgets in Illinois. They have obtained a fairer deal for the harassed taxpayer by fighting for equitable tax-assessing systems. And in some cities they have saved taxpayers large amounts by voluntarily undertaking badly needed jobs the city could not afford, such as conducting a school census in Greencastle, Ind., and carrying out a

long-overdue weeding out of outmoded local ordinances in Muskogee, Okla., and Verona, N.J.

In Georgia since 1954, league women have compiled a record of how each of the legislators voted on key issues. In this way the league graphically illustrates for the voters exactly where every state representative and senator stands.

The league's first national president, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, helped set this policy. "The league keeps records of the way in which every legislator keeps his promises," she explained. "They are our simple housekeeper's way of finding out whether their merchandise wears well enough to buy more of it."

The league was founded in 1920 at the Victory Convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, which had just concluded its 50-year fight to get the vote for women. Carrie Chapman Catt, their indomitable leader, suggested that the fight should be finished "by teaching women to wield ballots wisely."

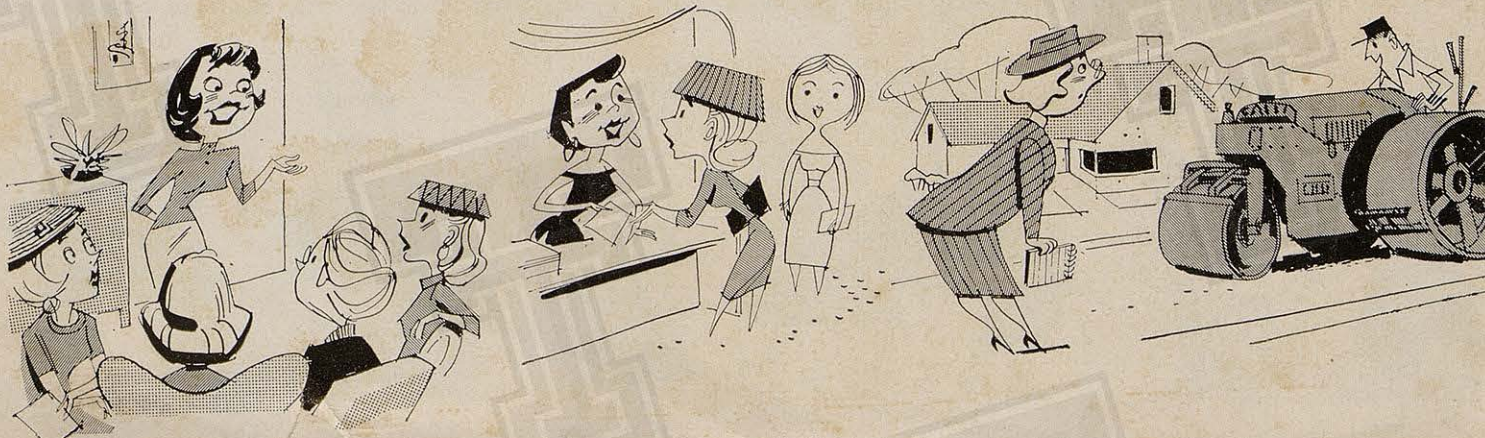
Politicians greeted the new group with a little scorn and much indifference. But the women quickly built up a remarkable volunteer organization along local, state, and national lines. They led and won fights for stronger pure food and drug laws, the abolition of child labor in many states, taking civil-service jobs out of politics, and the

modernization of antiquated state constitutions. Their continuous support of the U.S. Children's Bureau helped it to become one of the greatest social agencies any government ever created.

At the league's biennial convention in 1944 the delegates elected Anna Lord Strauss, an attractive brown-eyed, gray-haired Quaker, as their president. Miss Strauss, an expert skipper of racing boats and a veteran worker for international understanding, invigorated the league's work in the postwar period and helped make it one of the strongest advocates of the United Nations and of reciprocal-trade agreements by the United States.

Today from its modest national headquarters in Washington the league operates on a remarkably small budget of \$190,000, which goes mainly for printing of study materials and some paid workers. The national officers serve without pay. Just about the only source of income the league's national and state headquarters have is the \$3 dues of each member.

At their conventions the women delegates who represent local leagues in the 48 states, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, vote on a national program of issues which their local leagues will study and act upon. In the 1956-58 period, for example, the national agenda calls for an evaluation of federal loyalty-security programs and the conserva-





▶ THEY GET THINGS DONE!

*Are not (women) free agents, as well as men? Are they not members of the state? . . .*

tion of our water resources. When the women finish their two-year survey they will undoubtedly be among the best informed American citizens in those two fields.

"First these women educate themselves on an issue," an admiring male legislator remarked recently. "Then they educate the voters. Then they end up educating the legislators."

The ability to keep the respect and good will of officials has been one of the league's enduring and endearing qualities. Its members quickly realized that knowing *all* the facts was one of the best ways not to look foolish. They also learned that all the facts are not in textbooks; that it was a good idea to see and ask and think for themselves.

Even today one of the first tasks of a new league group is to gather the necessary information for a detailed *Know Your Town Government* booklet. In hundreds of communities today these are the best single compendiums of all pertinent civic, judicial, tax, police, fire, and school information.

Just in the gathering of the information for these booklets the women become remarkably well informed about the functioning of their local governments, sometimes to the embarrassment of the town fathers. We had an example of this recently in my own town, Great Neck, N.Y. In order to compile a comparative-tax chart for the area, Mrs. Louis Reibstein, a comely young mother of three who happens to have a degree in public administration, began going through more than 1,000 tax sheets for the villages that make up the Great Neck peninsula. She made a surprising discovery: 155 homeown-

ers were paying twice as much as they should on their fire and water taxes. And some had been paying this double tax for 20 years! In all, she estimated, more than \$12,000 had been overpaid.

When Mrs. Reibstein took her information to the county Board of Assessors, the chairman of the board checked and rechecked her figures, paled slightly, and agreed that she was right.

Instead of announcing the discovery to the local newspapers and getting plaudits for the fledgling leaguers, they decided to inform the affected homeowners individually.

"We didn't want to antagonize any of the village officials," Mrs. Ellen Hirschland, chairman of the Great Neck league, told me. "After all, it was just a clerical error which had been made 20 years ago. We expect to be in Great Neck a long time and we will want the co-operation of our village officials on many projects."

A few years ago in an Illinois township the local league made an item-by-item study of its municipal government and discovered that a \$300 increase in the health officer's salary had been voted by the town electors. The league knew that there was no health officer. When they persisted in their determined inquiries, the town electors rescinded the \$300 "increase," apparently scheduled to line a politician's pocket.

Good housekeeping practices also mean clean water and Grade A milk, two liquids that are still missing in a surprising number of American communities.

In Salt Lake City in 1951 the newly organized group made a study of the city's most pressing prob-

lems and agreed that the need for a water-purification program was high on the list. The U.S. Public Health Service had already declared the city's water was "substandard." Enlisting the support of the Utah State Medical Association and the Utah Engineering Council, the women decided to take the matter to the public.

Medical, engineering, and financial experts were interviewed on the league's weekly radio program. Newspaper stories appeared regularly on the findings of the experts.

The opposition, fearing that it would bear the brunt of the increased taxation, closed ranks and the battle was joined. The league sent speakers to address local organizations all over the city. Others attended every meeting of the city commissioners. Some worked with a citizens' committee that drew up a state anti-pollution bill. "In short," as a league member told me, "wherever and whenever dirty water was mentioned the league was sure to be on hand."

The state legislature passed the anti-pollution bill and an act that permitted Salt Lake City to levy a small additional property tax to pay for the water-purification plant. Since then two large water-purification plants have been completed, and two reservoirs have been covered.

In Chester, Vt., a small town of 2,000, the local health officer found that the drinking water was polluted but every recommendation for chlorination was defeated in a village vote. Then the local League of Women Voters got into the picture and made sure that water samples were sent to the state Board of Health twice





*Be useful in your generation. Seize opportunities of speaking a word to your neighbors*

—JOHN WESLEY, *Founder of Methodism*

a month as required. Half the samples were found to be unsafe for drinking. The women wrote to other towns that had chlorination and got letters attesting that the water didn't taste or look any different as a result. They staged a contest offering a prize for the person who could tell by taste the difference between chlorinated and unchlorinated water. There were no winners. Chester finally voted for chlorination.

In 1951 many of the local leagues in the St. Louis area decided that existing sewage-disposal methods were causing a bad case of municipal halitosis. With other civic groups they organized bus trips to see raw sewage pouring into open streams—streams in which children played and waded. The league women and other citizens called for a sewer-district charter. To win support for the move, the women spoke before more than 100 organizations and made more than 30,000 persuasive phone calls. The campaign was a success and St. Louis today is well on the way to smelling nicely—as a modern city should.

In Wilmington, Del., the local league women also smelled something wrong with their city. The bad smell came from 6,000 slum dwellings in a district which, investigators learned, accounted for the deaths of nearly two thirds of all children under six in the city, and for nearly three fourths of the city's juvenile delinquency.

Teams of league women went out into the slums and found 100 building violations in a short time. The Wilmington City Council took heed

and added two more building inspectors. The state legislature voted to enable the city to raise the money for a master housing-authority plan, and Washington agreed to finance part of the city's program for slum clearance and redevelopment.

One of the hardest assignments local leagues take on themselves is to find more money for local government. In one hard-pressed suburban community, Oak Lawn, Ill., sleuthing league women found more than \$1 million. Found it by putting on their low-heeled shoes and covering the town, foot by foot.

In 15 years Oak Lawn had grown from 3,500 people to 15,000. New schools were needed, but tax assessments were at least two years behind. And the community's power to issue bonds depended mainly on its assessed valuation. The local league women, in co-operation with the overworked local assessor, literally covered every house and lot in Oak Lawn.

Every piece of property was checked for size and type of construction and for any recently added improvements such as porches or patios. Then the league women compared properties against their listed valuations. With the help of the assessor they were able to add nearly \$1.2 millions in additional assessed valuation to the city tax rolls—at a total cost of 7,000 league women-hours.

Recently I asked Mrs. John Lee, present national president of the league, how local leagues manage to be so effective as local civic watchdogs. Mrs. Lee smiled.

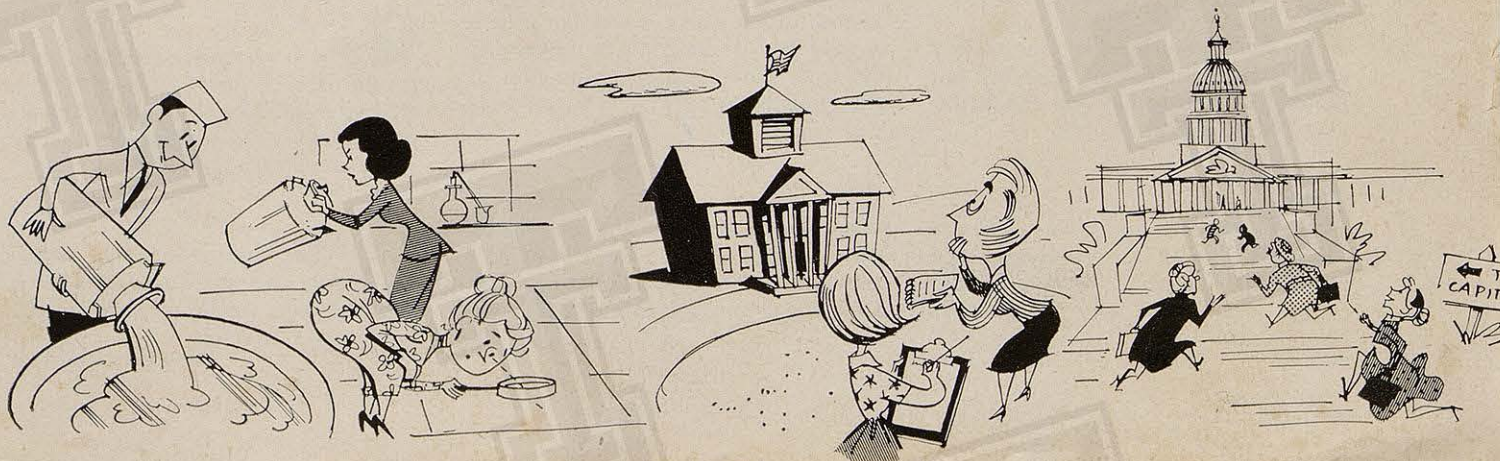
"We prod and probe and keep our eye on the main objective, which is not publicity for the league, but results," she said. "Most legislative bodies are composed almost exclusively of men and consequently it is necessary to persuade great numbers of men to change their points of view before the desired legislative end is accomplished. Quite often in the process of being wooed and won, the men have convinced themselves that the legislation was their idea in the first place. And when the dust of battle has cleared away, and reporters and photographers are called in to memorialize the occasion, the women are left out of the picture. And that's all right. As long as the objective is gained it doesn't matter who gets the credit."

Most league women have a delicate man-handling problem right at home. At the 1956 convention of the league in Chicago the delegates in attendance were asked to fill out a questionnaire.

One of the questions concerned the reactions of their husbands to their league work. Some wrote: "He is resigned but patient," or "amused but suffering." But a more typical reply was this one from an Illinois woman:

"He's tolerant on the face of it but I really think he's quite proud of the work I've done."

He is not the only one. All Americans can take pride in the amazing way in which these housewives and mothers have been able to make government more effective, more responsible, and more democratic in their communities.







"Dick" Richmond Barbour, Ph.D.

## Teens Together

with an ex-teen-ager



**Q** *My folks want me to be a popular girl. I'm 15, used to go steady, but my father insisted I go out with different boys. I obeyed. Now kids say I'll go out with anyone. My friends tell me I should go steady again if I want to improve my standing. What should I do?—S.A.*

**A** Attitudes change. When your folks were teen-agers they believed there was something wrong with a girl of 15 who went steady. In some neighborhoods now it is the other way around. Explain to your folks how things stand. Have them talk with your favorite teacher. Don't disobey them; give them a chance to understand you; see that standards have been reversed.

**Q** *I ran away seven weeks ago because my dad used a horsewhip on me once too often. I am almost 18 and a Christian. Dad sneers at God. I live at the Y now, have a job, but miss my mother. I am thinking of going back home. But I have an older brother who ran away, too. When he came back my dad had him arrested. I don't want that to happen to me. Do you think I should go home?—L.F.*

**A** Get in touch with your mother and listen to her advice. Probably you should not return, but you should reassure her as to your safety.

**Q** *I have become friendly with another girl in my seventh grade. My problem is that she is so much better than I am. I fight with my mother;*

*she hardly ever fights. My folks are poor; hers are rich. She is a better Christian than I am. Should I keep on seeing her?—A.Y.*

**A** Almost all your friends feel inferior, too. They see their own shortcomings, not their pals'. Your friend probably finds good qualities in you which she thinks she doesn't have. What really matters is your desire to be the right sort of person. Be friendly, generous, helpful, happy. Continue to make Christian goals your goals. Keep right on being friends with the girl.

**Q** *At 14, I've secretly been going steady with a nice boy. He is almost 17. My folks say he is too old. My conscience hurts because I don't usually deceive my parents. Doesn't a girl my age have the right to go steady with a boy his age?—L.M.*

**A** What you are doing is not unusual; many teen-agers deceive their parents. However, your deceit is wrong. Christians have a moral obligation to be honest. Aside from the ethics, deceit is unwise. When hoodwinked parents learn the facts they crack down and are suspicious.

Tell your parents about your friend. It is normal for a girl to go with a boy a year or two older. The larger difference in your case is a bit unusual, but if he is a good boy it shouldn't be important. Get your parents to check on him. If they find he is reliable, they probably will relent.

**Q** *I'm a boy of 16. I was in an auto accident. It was not my fault. I was driving fast, but all kids go fast. Suddenly a lady cut out of the right-*

*hand lane squarely in front of me. I had a choice: cause a head-on collision or hit the other car. I hit it. The cops gave me a ticket. My family may be sued. Dad says I can't drive again until I'm 21. How can I convince the judge I'm innocent?—N.M.*

**A** Your speeding caused the accident. In driving, you must be ready for unexpected things—the sudden turn of the car ahead, for example. Fast driving by teen-agers is causing serious trouble. There's a nation-wide movement to raise the age for drivers' licenses. I'm afraid a judge won't agree with you.

**Q** *I am a lad of 15. I'm a cat. I dig that Presley man. He's most. My girl friend thinks so, too. But her dad says Elvis is a bad lad and we should be ashamed. We trust you, Doc. Do you dig Elvis, too?—B.D.*

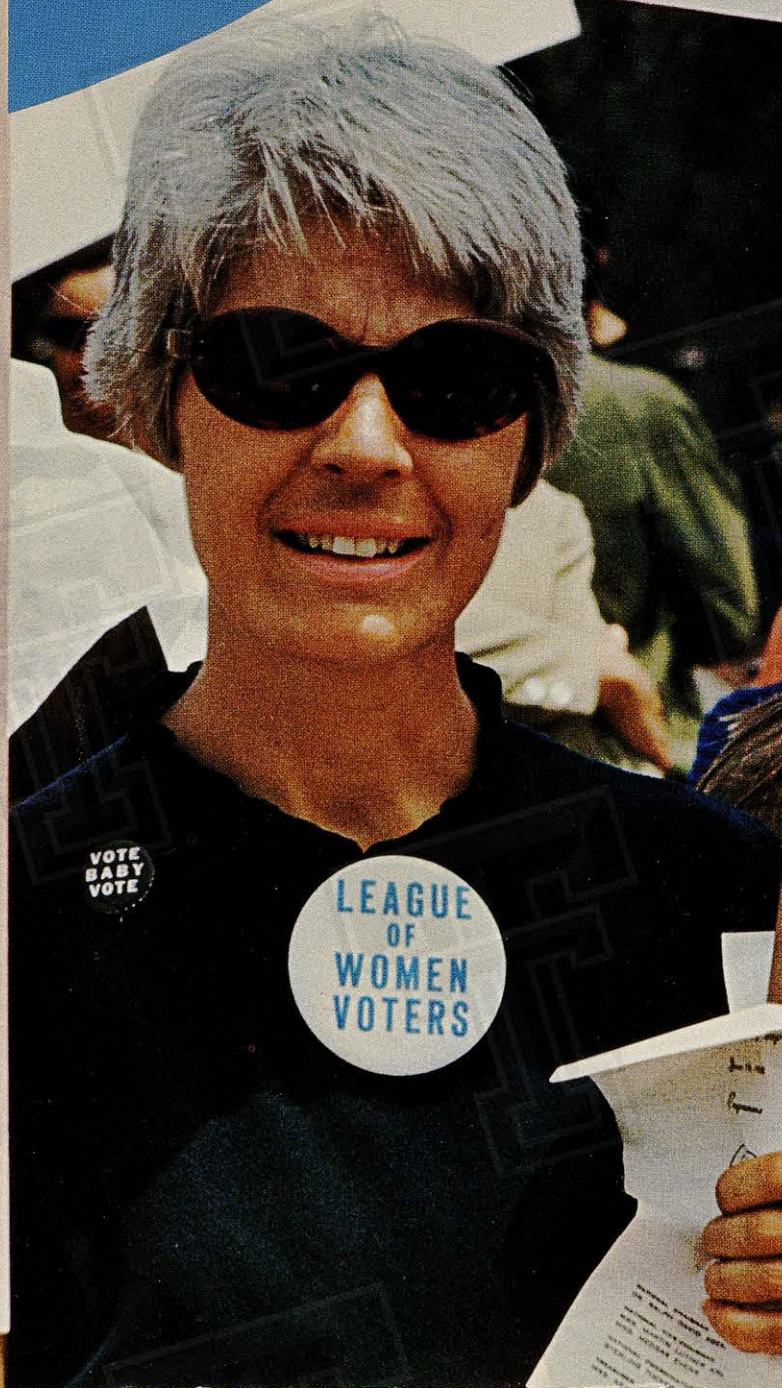
**A** I don't dig Elvis Presley. I avoid his recordings and pictures. But I know teen-agers always will have their musical heroes—I once had mine, too! However, I have watched several of these heroes run their course. My conclusion is that they do not have much real influence. Presley isn't important enough to justify the controversy over him.

**Q** *I'm a preacher's kid. My family is not rich. I have been offered an athletic scholarship by a university, but am not sure it would be right to accept. What would you do?—J.A.*

**A** When you receive an athletic scholarship you agree to take part in athletics. You would want to do that



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Where Crawfish is King, page 8



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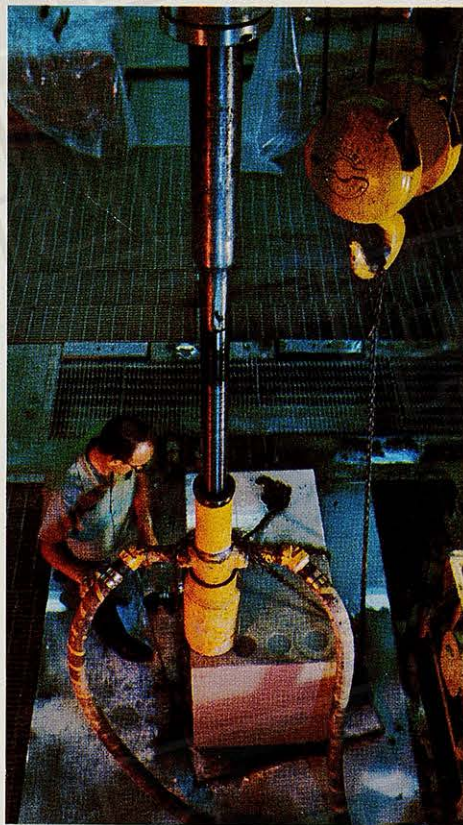
# More Oil at Lower Cost

Like a boy in need of a spring tonic, Humble's McBride No. 3 was getting sluggish. Located in the Charlotte Field, south of San Antonio, Texas, the well was drilled in 1946 into oil-rich sandstone lying 5,000 feet underground. For years, it maintained a fruitful 125-barrel-per-day production rate, but in the 1960s it began to decline. By 1965, its daily rate was down to a modest twenty-two barrels.

McBride No. 3's problem was tired passageways. The permeable sandstone around the well bore had become clogged with particles of silt, blocking the flow of oil to the well. It needed a "frac job," oilfield terminology for a technique of well stimulation known as hydraulic fracturing. This method involves forcing great quantities of water and sand into a well under such tremendous pressure that the surrounding formation is fractured, or broken open, to form new passageways for the oil.

In March, 1965, McBride No. 3 received its tonic. A mixture of 13,000 gallons of water and seven tons of sand was pumped into the well under a pressure of 1,500 pounds per square inch. The treatment took twenty minutes. When the pressure was released, crude oil began flowing toward the bore and No. 3's production jumped to eighty-eight barrels per day—four times its former rate.

This story is a familiar one in the oil industry. Hydraulic fracturing was developed and perfected in the years following World War II, and since



New techniques for cutting through rock are studied at a Humble drilling laboratory.

then it has been applied to more than 400,000 oil wells in the United States. Through this one technique alone, says the National Petroleum Council in a recent report on oil-industry technology, an estimated 7.3 billion barrels of otherwise unrecoverable oil have been added to the nation's reserves. This amount of oil, if it were all refined into gasoline, would run every passenger car in the United States for more than five years.

The NPC report, entitled "Impact of New Technology on the U.S. Petroleum Industry, 1946-1965," was undertaken at the request of the Department of the Interior. Two years in preparation, it covers the exploring, producing, transporting, and refining branches of the oil industry. And the message that leaps from the 350-page document can be summed up in five words: *more oil at lower cost.*

*The National Petroleum Council, in a study of oil industry technology, reports that improved methods of exploration, production, refining, and transportation have increased available energy and saved consumer dollars*

The report makes it clear that petroleum technology has matched the pace of this age of miracles in which we live. Science has produced the nuclear reactor and the instant replay. A stained sugar cube prevents polio. Men orbit the earth in spacecraft while electronic computers control complex manufacturing processes. In such a stimulating environment, oil scientists too have been busy.

To supply this country's enormous demand for energy, they have found oil under 300 feet of water in the Gulf of Mexico and beneath the frozen slopes of Alaska. They have developed electronic instruments that accurately report the type of geological formation miles down in a well bore. They have devised ways to combat corrosion, to drill deeper and faster, to automate pipelines. They have learned how to make better gasoline and aviation fuel, extract more products from a barrel of crude, and convert low-value products into a broad array of synthetics.

The petroleum industry employs scientists and engineers of every discipline. At Humble, for example, chemical engineers join with mechanical and electrical engineers to design new refining processes. Research chemists seek new products. Petroleum engineers study drilling methods in the field and in the laboratory. Oceanographers and paleontologists delve deeper into the unknown sea. The goal is energy, and the quest is filled with the excitement of discovery.

Since World War II, 70 billion bar-



rels of oil have been added to United States reserves. Only half of this huge supply came from new deposits. The other half came from advances in recovery methods—of which hydraulic fracturing is only one.

According to the NPC report, the effort to wring more oil from existing reservoirs has boosted the average recovery rate from 26 to 36 per cent since 1945. By 1965, some 350 billion barrels of oil had been discovered in the United States. With present technology, the NPC estimates, some 128 billion barrels of this oil—or more than 36 per cent—will be recovered. But as recovery methods are constantly being improved, it is estimated that 50 to 60 per cent of these reserves will eventually be brought to the surface.

The oil industry's cost reduction programs have saved consumers billions of dollars by getting more oil from the ground at less cost. Improved oil field technology has reduced the cost of producing crude oil by a dollar a barrel, thus providing continued capital to support increasingly risky and expensive exploration programs. (The study takes into account the reduced purchasing power of the dollar over the twenty-year period.) In addition, technological advances in transportation and refining have

helped to reduce the industry's cost of operation. As a result, the prices of petroleum products (not counting taxes) have remained nearly constant in spite of the steadily rising price level for most consumer goods and for materials and labor.

Humble Oil & Refining Company has made important contributions to these advances. In offshore exploration, for example, geophysicists of Esso Production Research Company, a Humble subsidiary, developed a new instrument that replaces dynamite in generating seismic signals. Known as Aquapulse (Trademark owned by Western Geophysical Co.), it is lowered into the water, and a spark plug detonates a mixture of propane and oxygen inside a rubber sleeve. The reflected shock waves are recorded as seismograms, which provide important geologic information. The device is far less expensive to operate than dynamite, and is harmless to fish.

Directional drilling has long been practiced by Humble, both in exploring for oil and in developing known reservoirs. It is in the busy offshore fields of Louisiana, however, that the art has been perfected. The high cost of building and maintaining drilling platforms in deep water prompted Humble to drill as many wells as possible from each platform. With special

instruments that guide the drill bit on a curving course, engineers can hit a target sometimes more than a mile from the platform.

By using twin drilling rigs that share the same platform, they can drill twenty-four directional wells from a single platform, two wells at a time.

In petroleum transportation, larger facilities and automatic equipment have cut the cost of moving crude oil and refined products in half since 1946, according to the NPC. In 1944, the largest vessel in the Humble fleet carried 146,000 barrels. In 1952, the *Esso Newark* was commissioned, with a capacity of 229,000 barrels.

Today Humble has two vessels, the *Esso Houston* and the *Esso New Orleans*, which ply the Gulf-East Coast waterways with 580,000-barrel loads. And three great ships are now being built to carry some 620,000 barrels.

Pipelines, too, are growing in size and are largely automatic in operation. Humble Pipe Line Company, for example, moves oil throughout Texas and Louisiana with pumps that are electronically programmed and controlled from a central point at Houston, Texas. Only ten of the company's 195 trunkline installations are manned. Careful maintenance and electronic monitoring have improved the safety of the system.

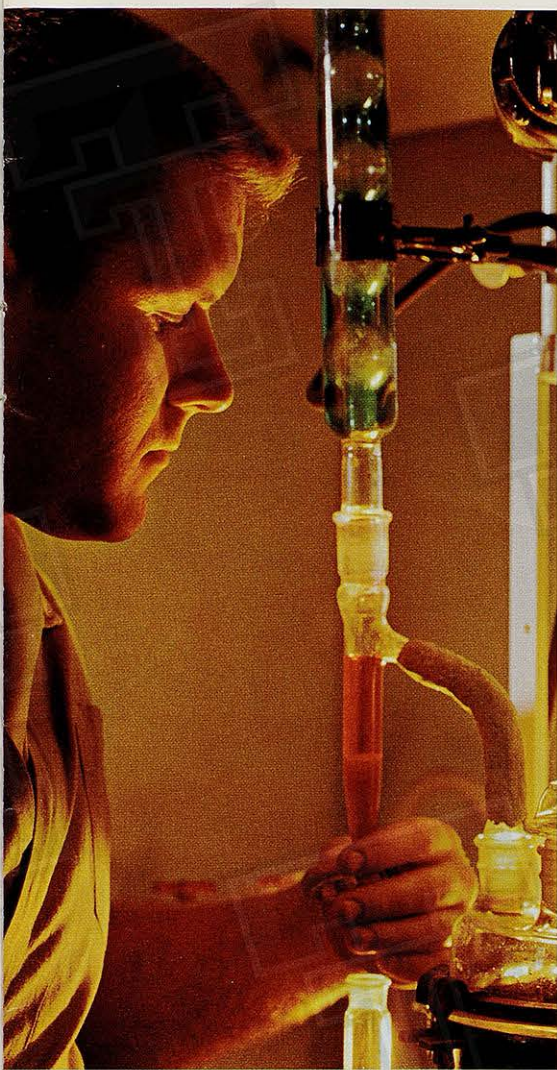
Increased efficiency in refining has been a key factor in reducing oil industry costs, says the NPC report. At Humble's Baytown, Texas, refinery for example, a large catalytic cracking unit recently was switched from a pneumatic to an electronic control system. This complex unit, commonly called a cat cracker, converts heavy feed stocks into high octane motor gasoline, heating oil, and raw materials for chemical products. The new electronic instruments, some 300 of them, are more sensitive than the pneumatic system to changes that occur within the unit. They require less day-to-day attention. And they are supervised by a computer which also controls other refinery installations.

Post World War II technical advances have transformed the refining of the industry's chief product, motor gasoline. Prewar gasoline was mainly a simple mixture of petroleum fractions with additives that improved octane rating and storage stability. Today a number of sophisticated processes make special hydrocarbon stocks for blending into motor gasoline. One



Increased efficiency in refining has reduced oil industry costs, extracted more and better products from a barrel of crude oil, and kept price levels of petroleum products from rising.





Petroleum technology has matched the pace of progress in this age of discovery.

of these is hydrocracking, which employs high pressures to break down the molecular structure of heavy, lower-value oil and convert it into lighter, high-quality gasoline fractions. The process has the happy faculty of increasing volume. For every 100 barrels of heavy oil run through a hydrocracker, refiners get back 125 barrels of lighter liquid product, the increase coming from molecular rearrangement and addition of hydrogen to the fuel.

The hydrocracking process was originated in Germany in the 1920s to convert brown coal into gasoline. However, it required extremely high pressures that were then very costly to operate. Hydrogen-rich gas used in the process was also expensive.

In recent years, with gasoline demand soaring, research chemists and engineers once again began experimenting with the process, and succeeded in making it economically attractive. And, by this time, relatively cheap hydrogen-rich gases were available as by-products of other modern refinery processes.

Humble's first hydrocracker went on stream at its Billings, Montana, refinery in July, 1965. Since then, two more units have been installed, one at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the other at Baytown, Texas. A fourth unit, the largest Humble hydrocracker to date,

will be in the refinery that is now under construction at Benicia, California.

While they have been controlling costs in all phases of their operations, refiners have also directed much effort toward air and water conservation. Research in this field is carried on by individual companies, by industry-sponsored teams, and in cooperation with other groups, including automobile manufacturers.

The results are encouraging, as the NPC report makes clear. Rapid strides are being made toward removing any threat to water cleanliness in manufacturing and refining operations. Efforts to control atmospheric emissions from plants are being intensified, and industry investment in control facilities and research has passed the \$200 million mark. Another \$600 million has been invested in facilities to remove sulfur from fuel oil. And there is reason to expect, according to the NPC, that the performance of the gasoline engine can be controlled to meet necessary standards of air cleanliness. The coordinator for conservation technology of a Humble research affiliate recently stated that evolutionary changes in engines are already bringing about substantial reductions in unwanted emissions. For example, he said, within a decade or so the total emissions of unburned hydrocarbons from cars will be no more than they were forty years ago, although there will be nine times as many vehicles.

The United States economy continues to expand, with three-fourths of its energy provided by oil and natural gas. In 1965, total demand for petroleum was 11.3 million barrels a day. The U.S. Bureau of Mines predicts that by 1980 daily demand will rise to 18 million barrels. "Meeting these estimated future requirements," says the NPC, "will require an increasingly aggressive program of exploration and development."

Exploration efforts now under way are expected to open new reserves in such areas as Alaska and the continental shelves of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Continuing advances in production, refining, and transportation will produce more and better products from every barrel of oil discovered. Ultimately, the controlling factors in meeting future demands, as in the past, will be the technical skill and innovative ability of oil industry scientists, engineers, and managers.

LEE CORKILL



Larger tankers and automatic equipment have helped to cut the cost of moving crude oil and refined products. One of the biggest ships in the Humble fleet is shown above.





# They Chose Business

By Hayes B. Jacobs

Six young men in widely different areas of private enterprise discuss their work and the satisfaction they find in their jobs

Ed. note: *The author is a freelance writer for numerous magazines, and has worked in corporate public relations.*

For the last two decades, American college students have been widely publicized as having negative and occasionally hostile attitudes toward business, particularly big business. Even businessmen have been persuaded that it was true. Scrambling for highly trained manpower in an unusually tight labor market, some of them came to regard campuses as enemy territory.

Today the truth has begun to emerge. Much of the picture seems to have been distorted. What appeared to be disrespect and hostility were only, for the most part, the complaints of a disenchanted but vocal minority. What seemed to be rejection was actually, in many cases, redirection. Many college graduates have been drawn toward government, social service, science, or education—fields that have been changing rapidly, offering many of the same inducements, including good salaries, that business offers.

There are facts which underscore the truth and make it plain:

> Since 1960, enrollment in graduate schools of business and commerce has more than doubled.

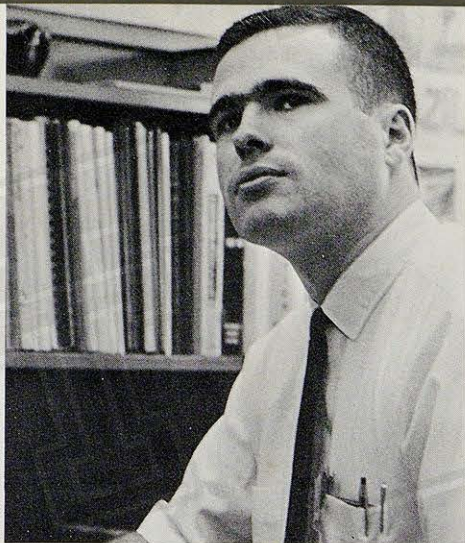
> A survey of more than 19,000 college graduates led the College Placement Service to report: "There is much less antibusiness attitude than recent controversy has suggested."

> This spring, *U.S. News & World Report* conducted a nationwide investigation among businessmen, educators, and students. The resulting article included a statement by Neil H. Jacoby, Dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of California in Los Angeles: "The idea that students aren't interested in business is an illusion. Disenchantment with business is found among the freshmen and sophomores, who really don't know anything about the subject."

These findings bear out the views expressed last year by Russell H. Venn, vice president of Humble Oil & Refining Company, who told the National Conference on Campus-Industry Relations that an antibusiness attitude among students "is not so widespread as it may appear to be." Talented people

Garrett Bouton, of First National City Bank, says young people today are "not just trying to succeed," but to contribute to society.





Donald F. Calhoun, of Hughes Aircraft, finds that it's possible to work independently in a large company and follow his own interests.

ple, Venn declared, realize that "business is where the action is." He went on, however, to encourage businessmen "to work harder at spreading knowledge about the business world."

Another source of facts about business careers is of course the people who have embarked on them. They have had actual experience "where the action is." What do *they* think? Do they *like* the action they see? Are they satisfied, as businessmen and as individuals in a swiftly changing and often confusing society? Six young men, in widely differing areas of U.S. business, offer some illuminating insights as they discuss their work and their reasons for choosing it . . .

GARRETT BOUTON, *Personnel Administrator, First National City Bank, New York City:*

"Young people today are different. They're not just trying to succeed in business, or the professions, or in whatever their occupation might be. They're trying to make a worthwhile contribution to society."

Bouton recently started a career with one of the world's largest banks, First National City. His eye is on the bank's international operations, which are vast. Its 26,000 employees work in branches in sixty-three countries.

For a remarkably long while—considering he is only twenty-three—Bouton has thought deeply about how people choose their careers, or fail to choose, and just drift into something. In high school he found most of his classmates giving little or no thought to the matter. A top-ranking student, he was chosen to give the commencement address, and he spoke on "Complacency in American Youth." He urged his listeners to fight complacency; to do something worthwhile; to choose careers carefully.



Robert F. Jackson, of Humble Oil & Refining Company says that "by helping to direct people into useful occupations, my duty to the company and to society coincide."

Bouton was born in Denver and graduated from Colorado College, where he majored in political science and economics. In the summer of 1965 he worked with the Peace Corps in Washington, D.C., interviewing volunteers returning from overseas. An increasingly strong interest in international affairs led him to enroll in the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford, Massachusetts. Last year he received his master's degree, and after numerous interviews he accepted an offer from "City Bank."

He approached the bank's offer with caution. "I was very apprehensive at first," he says. "But I've been quite impressed. For one thing, I find that young men have a lot of direct contact with senior officers. You have a feeling that your work counts for something and that *you* count, as a person." Another thing that pleases him is the prospect of working on an international level. "I want to do all I can to represent the United States in a constructive way and to see what I can contribute to international understanding."

Bouton's temporary assignment has been in personnel, where he has been recruiting men for summer employment. "I have a lot of independence in making selections, setting salaries, and so on," he says. "They let you alone here, and you don't have someone second guessing you all the time."

Soon he will be transferred to a small branch in Brazil, where he will spend two years learning the business. He studies Portuguese two hours a day, at the bank's expense. He is trying to absorb as much of New York's cultural offerings as possible. His life in Manhattan is a full one and, he feels, just right for this point in his career.

DONALD F. CALHOUN, *Systems Design Engineer, Hughes Aircraft Company, Culver City, California:*

In his teens, Calhoun developed a consuming interest in science and math. "I could hardly leave either sub-

ject alone," he recalls. At twenty-five he is still indulging that interest—working as a design engineer and studying part time for a Ph.D. Both his work and his doctoral studies are focused on advanced computer technology, "a fascinating, very creative world," he says, in which he feels "free and independent" even though, as one of the 30,000 employees of Hughes Aircraft Company, he is very much a part of big business.

Calhoun is a native of Camas, Washington. He acquired a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering at Stanford in 1964, and in the same month joined Hughes. Part-time study at U.C.L.A. brought him an M.S. degree and he is now completing work for his doctorate. His dissertation is on reliability in large-scale integrated computer systems. He has applications pending on two patents for electronic devices. There is a sales aspect of his present work—helping to interest users in the electronic equipment designed and manufactured by Hughes.

Through his continuing link with a college campus, he is able to observe the attitudes of today's students toward careers in business. "There's been quite a change," he says. "When I was an undergraduate, students were pretty cautious. A fair number felt they wouldn't find what they wanted working for a large company. Now, I think, they've begun to see that it's possible, in a large company, to work quite independently, following your own interests." On his job, he says, he is given only "general assignments;" he carries them out almost as if he were working for himself. "And I don't feel that I'm a conformist."

ROBERT F. JACKSON, *Employment Coordinator, Humble Oil & Refining Company, Houston, Texas:*

"When I was in high school I didn't know many successful people who had made a career in business," Bob Jackson says. "There just weren't any 'living



witnesses' to business success among my acquaintances, so I decided to become a teacher."

He carried out his plan. Yet as he grew up his ideas changed, and today—married, a father, and twenty-six—he has his feet firmly on the career ladder in big business.

Jackson was born in Houston and was graduated from Prairie View A&M College, where he majored in social science and took the advanced ROTC program. He won scholarships and worked summers. Then he taught in a high school near Houston. After a year, he says, "I decided to try my second career option—my reserve officer's commission."

He entered the Army in 1965 as a second lieutenant and was assigned to the Adjutant General Corps, the administrative branch of the service. He was stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco, where he was the administrative officer in charge of a special processing detachment. "I learned to evaluate men," he explains. "It was a tremendous experience. I liked the Army, and I took pride in leadership."

But he also felt that the world around him was changing, that new opportunities were opening up for Negroes. The Army offered him a chance to continue his education, and he earned a master's degree in public administration at Golden Gate College. Graduate courses in business management convinced him that the rigorous pace, the challenge, and the rewards of private industry were what he wanted.

Before his release from active duty last year with the rank of captain, Jackson wrote letters to ten of the country's largest companies. He received encouraging replies from nearly all of them, and about eight months ago he joined Humble.

In his present assignment Jackson evaluates job applicants at Humble headquarters and works in other aspects of employee relations. He also works directly with organizations in the community to find trainees among minority groups and the disadvantaged. He is coordinator of HELP, the Humble Earn and Learn Program that offers business college scholarships to



Dixon Merkt, of J. C. Penney, says of his employers: "They give you responsibility, and let you know they have confidence in you."

high school graduates. He visits high schools and colleges to speak on opportunities in business.

"When I took this job," he says, "I thought I could do something for my fellow man as well as for myself. By helping to direct people into useful occupations, my duty to the company and to society coincide."

*DIXON MERKT, Assistant Buyer, J. C. Penney Company, New York City:*

Although he chose history as his college major and fine arts as his minor, Dixon Merkt knew even when he was in high school that he would probably enter the world of business. He wasn't sure just what kind of business. "All I was certain of," he says, "was that I wanted to prove I could support myself and make some kind of contribution to society."

Merkt, who is twenty-five, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and is a graduate of Colgate. In college he heard some of his fellow students declare that big business made men into total conformists, and he had a doubt or two himself. But he kept an open mind, and when company recruiters visited the campus, he showed up for many interviews. Meanwhile, during a Christmas vacation, he worked as a salesman in a ski shop and decided he could do well in sales, or some form of retailing. After an interview at Penney's he decided to join the giant retail chain. "It looked like a terrific training ground," he says, "and that's just what it's turned out to be."

He started with Penney's in 1965 as a buyer-trainee, working in the company's handsome new skyscraper near Rockefeller Center. Now, as an assistant buyer in the children's shoe department, he helps to provide an assortment of shoes that will be ac-



Robert H. Schwartz, of Humble, enjoys responsibility and pressure: "If you're making important decisions, you are your own man."

ceptable to the 1,700 Penney stores.

"We become involved with production and quality standards, and we place large wholesale contracts," he says. He visits stores and discusses shoes and shoe sales with store managers. "It's never dull," he says. He likes the company's friendly, informal atmosphere; nobody is stuffy or standoffish in the building, which houses 2,500 employees.

Does he feel he made the right decision, joining such a large company? "I certainly do," he says. "They give you responsibility and let you know they have confidence in you. I suppose anyone might question his relationship to a huge organization now and then, but I feel that things are getting bigger and more complex all the time, and I have to keep up with the pace."

To help keep up, Merkt attends the Bernard Baruch School of Business one night a week, taking two courses for which Penney's pays the tuition. He plans to accelerate this study and eventually receive a master's degree in business administration. His life in New York moves at a rapid pace. "It's not like my background of small towns and small schools," he says, "but I'm more than satisfied."

*ROBERT H. SCHWARTZ, Assistant District Manager, Marketing Department, Humble Oil & Refining Company, Houston, Texas:*

From his office in the towering Humble Building, Schwartz looks out over the sprawling city, points out the





Steven M. Fulda, A.T.&T. physicist and mathematician: "I wanted to be out in the world, where I could make a real contribution."

Astrodome and other Houston landmarks to his visitor, and talks animatedly about his career, his family, his feelings about Texas.

"I've been down here since '61," he says, "and I'm still satisfied with the choice—both the job and location."

Tall, trim, with penetrating, gray-green eyes, Schwartz at thirty-two has the energetic bounce of an athlete. In his student years he played basketball and baseball. Now he spends a lot of his free time playing bridge. Yet he likes to be on the move—away from his desk, out talking with people. He is out of his office 60 per cent of the time. "I'm not a great lover of paperwork," he says. "Two or three times a week I have to take some home, but usually I try to come in early and take care of it."

Schwartz was born in Blue Island, Illinois, and in high school he wanted to be a geologist or an engineer. At the University of Oklahoma he first studied geology, but switched and took his B.S. in chemical engineering. He married a girl he had met in college, and they moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he entered Harvard's Graduate School of Business Administration to study marketing and finance. When he graduated in 1961 he had his choice of many job offers. An interview with a Humble representative led him to Texas, where he first worked in process design. In 1966 he headed a group in the marketing and planning department. In January of this year he became assistant district manager in the marketing department with 200 people—a third of them professionals—under his supervision. His job is demanding; there is a lot of pressure, but he enjoys pressure.

Schwartz doesn't have any feeling of being swallowed up by a giant cor-

poration. At Humble, where he is one of 30,000, he feels very much like a man, not a number. "I've been blessed with supervisors," he says, "who have said, in effect, 'There are the goals; you figure out how to accomplish them'." It is important, he feels, for young people on any job to be offered decision-making responsibilities early. "Everyone wants to be his own man, and if you're making important decisions, you are your own man."

Schwartz is sometimes out on the job at 6:30 a.m., meeting sales supervisors. After a breakfast conference, he may go on to spend the morning visiting the managers of service stations, discussing sales, advertising, and promotion. Or he may spend a day with a real estate supervisor scouting new locations for stations.

Schwartz refutes the notion that men employed by big business spend most of their social hours with "company people." He and his wife have many friends outside as well as within the company—"people we happen to like and have fun with."

STEVEN M. FULDA, *Manager, Analytical Support, Management Sciences Division, American Telephone & Telegraph Company, New York City:*

After more than a decade of work with the world's largest corporate enterprise, Steven Fulda says he has "the feeling of being in a small business." A physicist and mathematician whose training and experience are in wide demand, he has had many opportunities to change jobs but has never considered leaving the Bell system.

"The corporate structure makes me more efficient," he says. It has enabled him to do the kind of work he wants to do, among the kind of people he likes, without sacrificing his individuality and independence.

Fulda, thirty-five, a husky man with alert blue eyes, graying hair, and a quick smile, was born in Kassel, in West Germany. The family left Germany when Steven was six and settled in Dallas, where he majored in math and physics at Southern Methodist University. "I started in engineering, but I found the curriculum too narrow," says Fulda. "I wanted more lib-

eral arts. I wasn't sure what I wanted to do, but I knew I was not headed for an ivory tower. I wanted to be out in the world, where I could make a real contribution."

He joined Bell Telephone Laboratories in 1954. After a stint with the Air Force, he returned in 1957 as a systems engineer and teacher in the training program. He studied evenings at N.Y.U. and received an M.S. degree in math in 1963. In 1966 he transferred to A.T.&T. He became part of a task force created to analyze the company's economic policies and suggest new ways in which analytic methods could be applied by a public utility. He works in a small group of sixteen specialists in an office building a few blocks from A.T.&T. headquarters in Manhattan's financial district.

What does he actually do on the job? "Frequently I'm a liaison man," says Fulda, "bringing together various people for conference and study. We try to help solve business problems with the most modern, sophisticated, quantitative methods." His work might sound esoteric and far out; actually it's often been quite down-to-earth. "I once spent three months sitting in manholes," he says, "measuring cross-talk on telephone circuits."

Six young men do not represent a statistically significant sample. Yet their attitudes clearly mirror those revealed by the broad surveys. Carefully, methodically, sometimes tentatively, they chose to join some of the world's largest business firms. They thought deeply about what they wanted to do and how to do it. None just "drifted into something."

In talking about themselves they reveal their basic goals and values. Several recall early desires to make worthwhile contributions to society—in other words, to do useful, productive work. One hopes to "contribute to international understanding and harmony." They are not frightened by the speed of change in the world today, but appear to welcome it.

They chose business. And for many reasons, it seems unlikely that they'll regret it.





For three days the citizens of Breaux Bridge, Louisiana, cele

Joe Amy's grocery store is a few miles east of Breaux Bridge near the edge of Bayou Teche. Inside there's relief from the glaring sun and a perfume of coffee, spices, vanilla beans, sausage, and cheese — a delight to anyone old enough to remember how a country store is supposed to smell. From a shed in the rear comes another aroma that belongs especially to this deep Cajun country of southwestern Louisiana. At a long table, ladies in print dresses and aprons are peeling and packing the small rosy red crustaceans for which the region is famous. The rich smell of boiling crawfish fills the air.

Gourmets as far away as Stockholm and Paris maintain that crawfish is a delicacy rivaling lobster, its larger salt water cousin. No one in the Louisiana bayou country — where every man considers himself a gourmet — would disagree. Many visitors come to the region lured by the romantic legend of the French Acadians exiled from

## Where Crawfish is King

Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century. But they go home remembering the wonderful flavor of crawfish.

"A man who has not eaten crawfish has not lived," says Andrew Thevenet, whose speech is spiced with the regional accent. Monsieur Thevenet is sixty-five and has eaten his share. In the crawfish eating contest of 1967 he consumed thirty-three pounds at a sitting, defeating many younger rivals.

In the bayous and swamps of the Atchafalaya River basin west of New

Orleans, men in pirogues hollowed from cypress trunks have trapped and netted crawfish for many generations. Called crayfish in the King's English and *écrevisses* in French, these pincer-clawed shellfish come in many sizes and colors. The red swamp species of Louisiana are four or five inches long and a pinkish gray color until they meet their fate in boiling water, when they turn lobster red.

Older citizens of Breaux Bridge, whose main street parallels Bayou Teche, remember when a bucket full of crawfish cost ten cents. Today, fine restaurants feature crawfish on their menus, and they are cultivated to meet the growing demand. Thousands of acres of swampland and rice fields have been turned into crawfish farms. For rice farmers they are a rotational crop and proliferate in the flooded fields between rice harvests. Female crawfish lay their eggs in the fall, and the crawfish eating season begins





## Louisiana, celebrate crawfish season with feasts, dances, and parades

around Christmas and runs through the first six months of the year. In the 1964-65 season, when rain was plentiful and the weather mild, more than 10 million pounds of crawfish were harvested in Louisiana — the largest crop crawfishermen can remember.

Both the prosperity and the fame of Breau Bridge rest in large part on crawfish. This peaceful town of 4,000, whose finest homes line the wooded banks of the bayou, has been proclaimed Crawfish Capital of the World — or *La Capitale Mondiale de l'Ecrevisse* — by the Louisiana Legislature. Its Acadian heritage is apparent in the names of its citizens and their businesses: Broussard Hardware, Hebert's Creamery, Frank J. Guidry, Humble dealer, Evangeline Auto Company, C'est la Vie Billiard Room.

During most of the year, the town is a quiet place resting in the shade of its live oaks. But when Crawfish Festival season arrives in late April or

early May there is a sudden change in tempo. Birdsongs are drowned out by accordians playing old-time French songs. Main and Bridge streets are closed to traffic for three days while Cajun bands alternate with rock groups for the college students who come from Louisiana State University and the University of Southwestern Louisiana. The festivities begin with a Mass on Friday morning at the red brick Church of St. Bernard and continue non-stop until the Grand Crawfish Queen Parade on Sunday afternoon.

The fun and dancing are sustained entirely on a feast of crawfish. Nothing else is served at restaurants and cafes in Breau Bridge during the festival, and crawfish is the staple of hospitality at every open house. Fortunately, there are many ways to cook the crustacean. The bisque is a savory, nourishing soup of crawfish, onions, and green pepper. Crawfish heads are stuffed to make a succulent hors

d'oeuvre. Crawfish *étouffée*, a stew seasoned with onions, garlic, and red pepper and served over rice, is a main dish that has traveled to restaurants in the South and Southwest. For festival visitors there are crawfish dogs on rolls, crawfish pies, and the basic boiled crawfish, which provides one tasty bite apiece, stripped from the tail and dipped in sauce.

Today the crawfish is king of foods in the Cajun country; tomorrow it may conquer a larger world. Studies of crawfish farming methods and experiments in crawfish processing are being carried out by state agencies and universities in Louisiana, and production is increasing. Frozen crawfish are being shipped to distant parts of the country — often to customers who tasted the noble *écrevisse* for the first time on Main Street, Breau Bridge, at festival time.

As Andrew Thevenet says, "They always come back for more."



# Afro-American Artists: yesterday and now

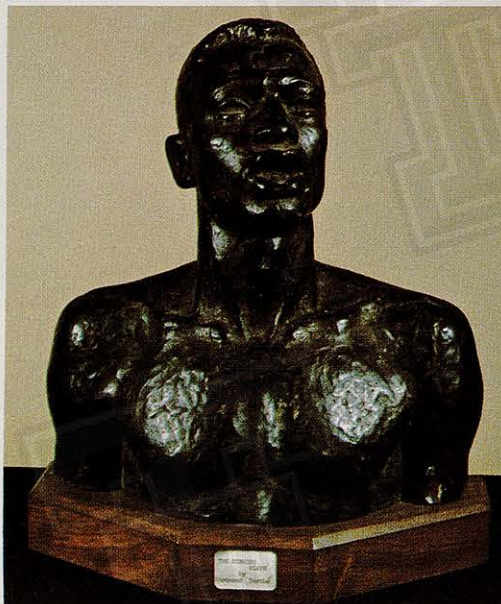
By Carroll Greene, Jr.



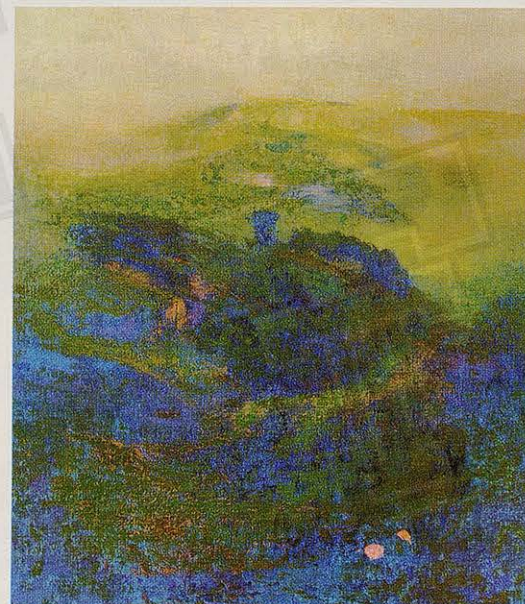
*The author is Curator of the  
Afro-American Art Collections  
at the Frederick Douglass  
Institute of Negro Arts and  
History, in Washington, D. C.*



John Biggers — *The Market Women* Collection the artist, Houston



Richmond Barthé — *Singing Slave*  
Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library



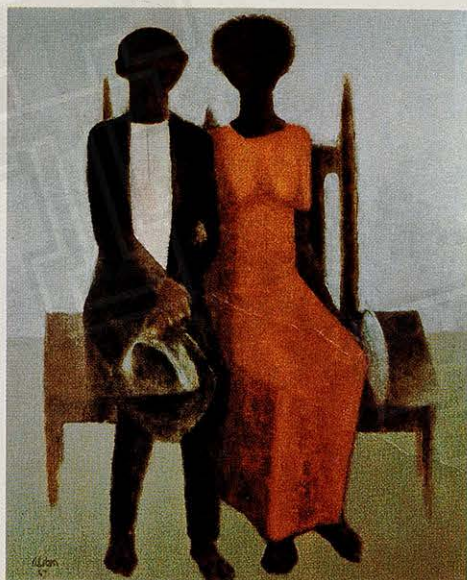
Richard Mayhew — *Gorge*  
Courtesy Art Gallery Magazine

Edward M. Bannister — *Approaching Storm*

Frederick Douglass Institute







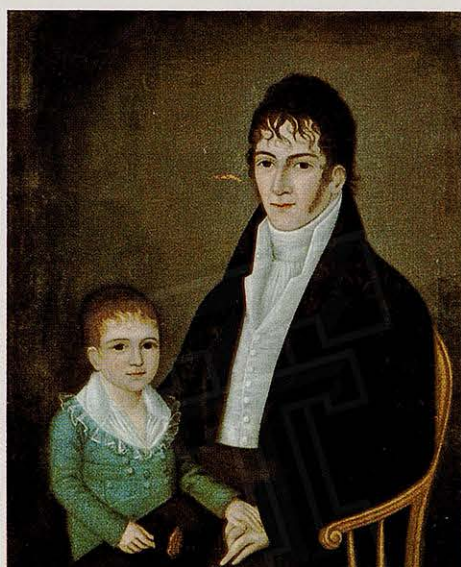
Charles H. Alston  
**Black Man and Woman—U.S.A.**  
N.A.A.C.P. Collection, New York

*Since colonial times, some of this country's outstanding artists and sculptors have been Negroes. Many have earned international reputations, and much new talent awaits recognition*

It has been observed that the arts begin with the crafts. In the development of the United States, craftsmen played a very important role. Among American craftsmen were significant numbers of men and women of African descent who achieved impressive levels of workmanship and product. Records of the colonial and federal periods indicate that Negroes provided more than the indispensable muscle power of the labor force. (There were nearly 60,000 "free persons of color" by 1790 out of a total Negro population approaching a half-million.) They provided many talents and skills necessary to the economic life and general social well-being of the colonies and the new nation.

Among these craftsmen were cabinet makers, weavers, coopers, pewter-, gold-, and silversmiths, and workers in wrought iron. The newly established United States of America was of necessity pragmatic in its concerns and most colonist-homemakers cared little for art except for "family likenesses." Antedating the advent of photography and making up for the lack of trained artists, many sign and house painters took to painting the portraits of eager sitters. Joshua Johnston, of Baltimore (active from 1796 to 1824), is the best known Afro-American painter of this period. He is noted for his portraits of well-to-do Maryland families.

The nineteenth century produced an interesting group of Afro-American art-



Joshua Johnston  
**Benjamin Franklin Yoe and Son**  
Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts,  
Winston-Salem, N. C.

ists. They were of necessity a hardy lot, faced with formidable barriers of cultural provincialism, race prejudice, and the usual economic uncertainties that plague artists. Prevailing attitudes regarded dancing, singing, story-telling, and the writing or recitation of dialect poetry as the socially tolerable areas for black artistic expression. However, some few Afro-American artists had their plight mitigated through the generosity of individual patrons or abolitionist groups, which allowed them to join their white compatriots in studying and traveling in Europe — which was considered virtually a necessity for

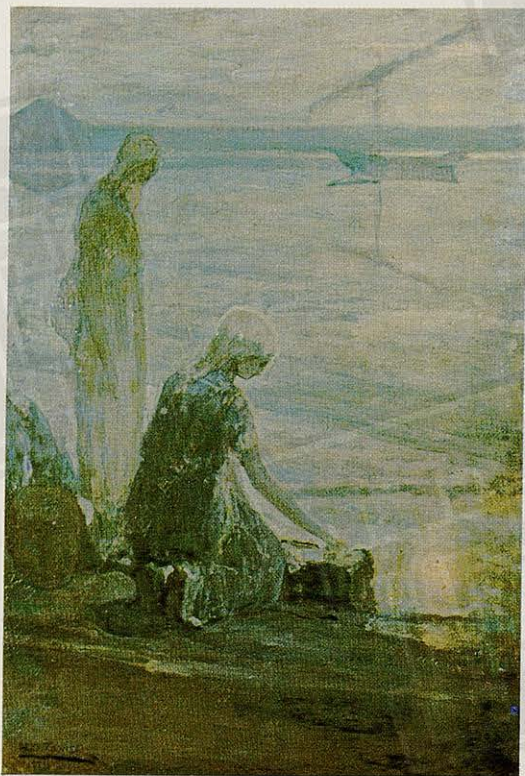
serious artists. Robert S. Duncanson (1817-1872), of Cincinnati, was commissioned by the Longworths and other prominent families of that city to paint portraits and landscapes. His murals still adorn the stately Longworth mansion (now the Taft Museum).

An abolitionist award allowed Duncanson to travel in Europe. While in England he received the patronage of the Duchess of Sutherland and the Duchess of Essex. He enjoyed the hospitality of Alfred Lord Tennyson, who is reported to have remarked that Duncanson had truly captured the spirit of his poem, "The Lotus Eaters," in his painting of that subject.

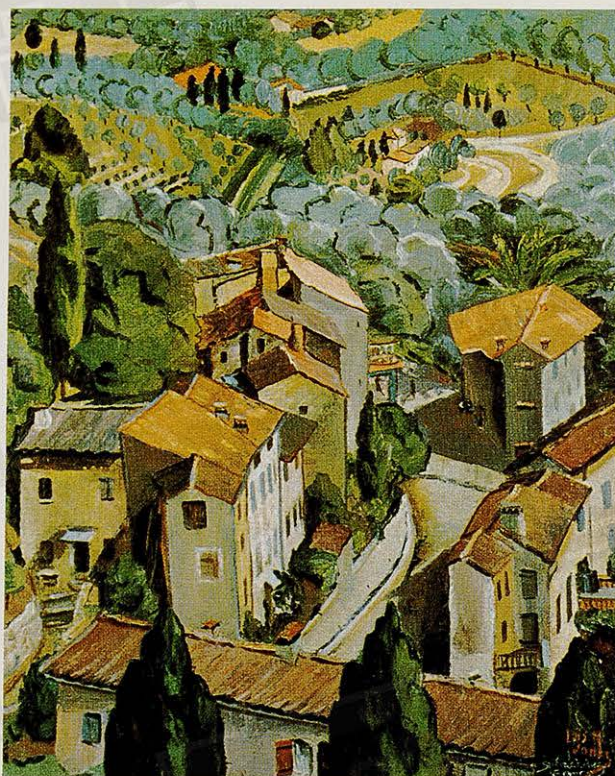
A prominent artist who did not travel abroad was Edward Mitchell Bannister (1828-1901), of Providence, Rhode Island. Bannister won considerable recognition as an American regional painter. One of his landscapes took a first prize at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 and was purchased by a New York collector for \$1,500—a considerable sum for an American painting in that day. Bannister later became a founding member of the Providence Art Club. A gentle and urbane man, he was an important figure in the artistic life of that New England city.

The nineteenth century produced a well-known Afro-American sculptor, Edmonia Lewis (ca. 1843-ca. 1890) a petite brown skinned girl of Negro-Indian extraction. Following private study





**Henry O. Tanner—*Moses in the Bulrushes***  
Frederick Douglass Institute



**Lois Mailou Jones—*Spéracédes, France***  
Brooklyn Museum, New York



**Edmonia Lewis—*Hagar***  
Frederick Douglass Institute



**Robert Duncanson—*Romantic Landscape***  
Henry M. Fuller Collection, New York



**Horace Pippin—*John Brown Going to His Hanging***  
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

in this country, she traveled to Rome, where she created neo-classical portraits and figures related to her dual racial heritage, and busts of prominent abolitionists. She became a favorite of the expatriate art community in Rome.

Near the turn of the century, Henry O. Tanner (1859-1937) emerged as an outstanding artist of international reputation. He achieved substantial success during his lifetime, and in very recent years his work has begun to enjoy renewed interest. He studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine

Arts with the noted Thomas Eakins and journeyed to Paris to continue his studies. Tanner remained in France, where he was awarded the Legion of Honor by the government. He developed a distinctive style—restrained, mystical, and scientific in its attention to detail. Remaining aloof from the abstract revolution that overtook so many of his contemporaries, he became absorbed in Biblical themes.

The 1920s produced the New Negro Movement, sometimes referred to as the Negro Renaissance. This was a

period of great social and intellectual ferment, and Afro-Americans were very much a part of it. In the black community dozens of literary-art publications appeared, and for the first time in American history a cultural racialism developed among Negroes. Afro-American artists, writers, poets, and scholars joined the musicians in documenting the creative potential of black America. Harlem became their mecca, and they flourished there amidst the intellectual forums of the Schomburg Collection of Negro History and Harlem's cabarets.





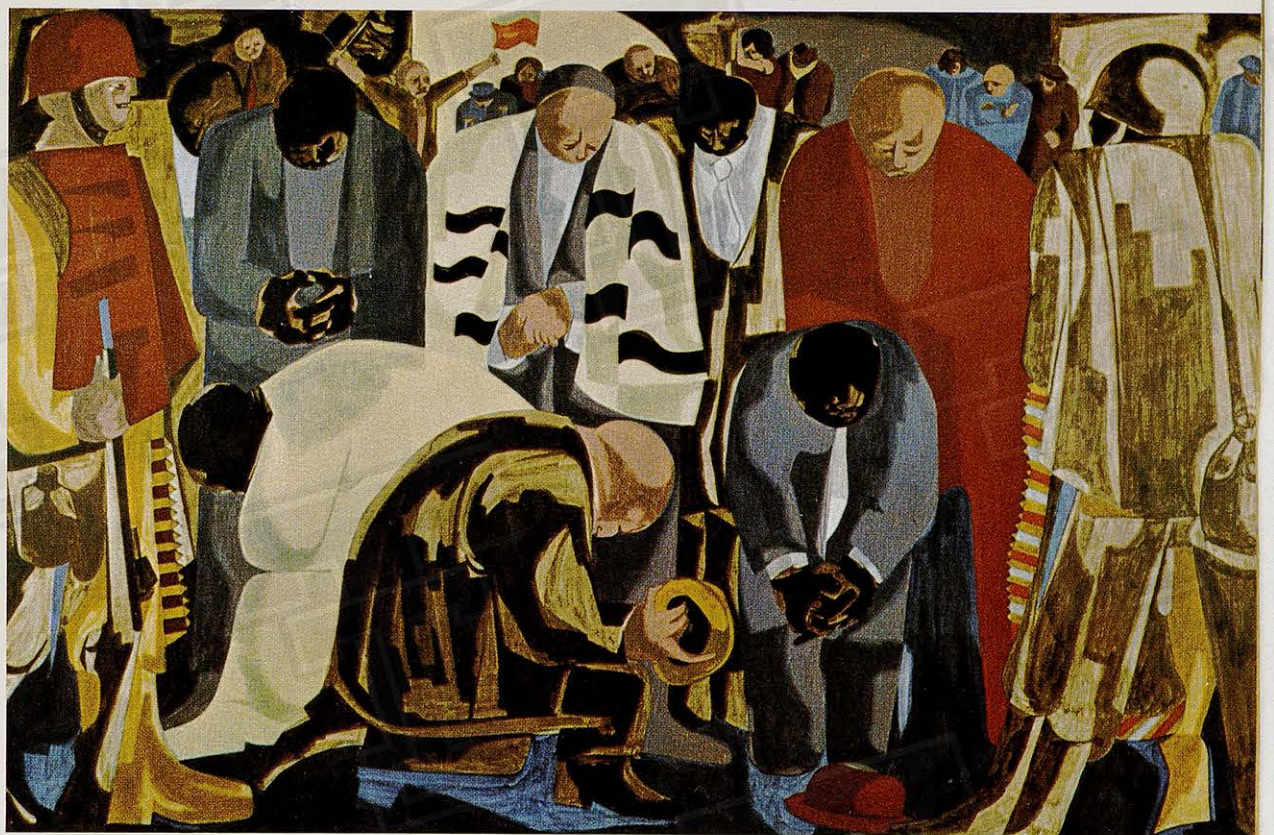
Archibald Motley—*Parisian Scene* Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library



Aaron Douglas—*Alta Douglas*  
Barnett Aden Gallery, Washington, D. C.



Hale Woodruff—*The Little Boy*  
Barnett Aden Gallery, Washington, D. C.



Jacob Lawrence—*Praying Ministers* Adolph Berle Collection, New York

European artists discovered African art in the late nineteenth century, and its impact on their work had a subsequent effect on American art. Paradoxically, Afro-American artists—largely outside the mainstream—were not initially influenced. Belatedly, through the efforts of the Afro-American scholar-aesthete, Dr. Alain L. Locke, a new appreciation of Africa and the “ancestral arts” was generated in the black literary-artistic community.

Locke tried to promote enthusiasm for a new synthesis in art—a wedding

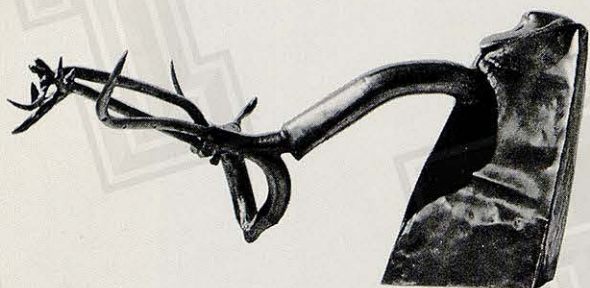
between the African and the Euro-American. Such a synthesis had occurred in music through the medium of jazz. The spirit of this first wave of cultural racialism was concisely stated by the poet Langston Hughes:

“We younger Negro artists intend to express our individual dark skinned selves without fear or shame.”

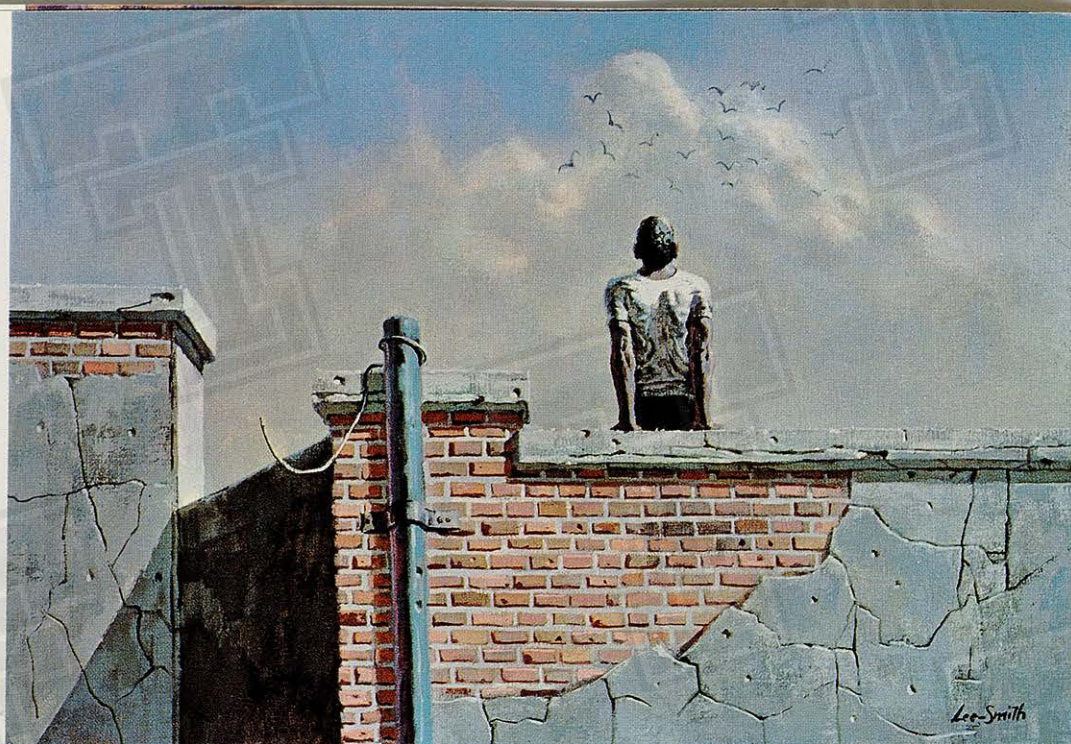
During this period, a substantial number of Afro-American artists began to consider Negro subject matter and themes a proper concern for artistic exploration. The strictures of the past

had allowed few of them this freedom. “Negro Renaissance” painters such as Aaron Douglas and Archibald Motley helped to raise the level of Negro portraiture to a respectable standard. Renewed interest in Negro history and mural painting attracted Douglas, Hale Woodruff, and others to that epic medium. Richmond Barthé emerged as the preeminent Afro-American sculptor of the New Negro Movement. The versatile Lois M. Jones, of Boston, initially captivated by the French landscape, fell in love with Haiti, that

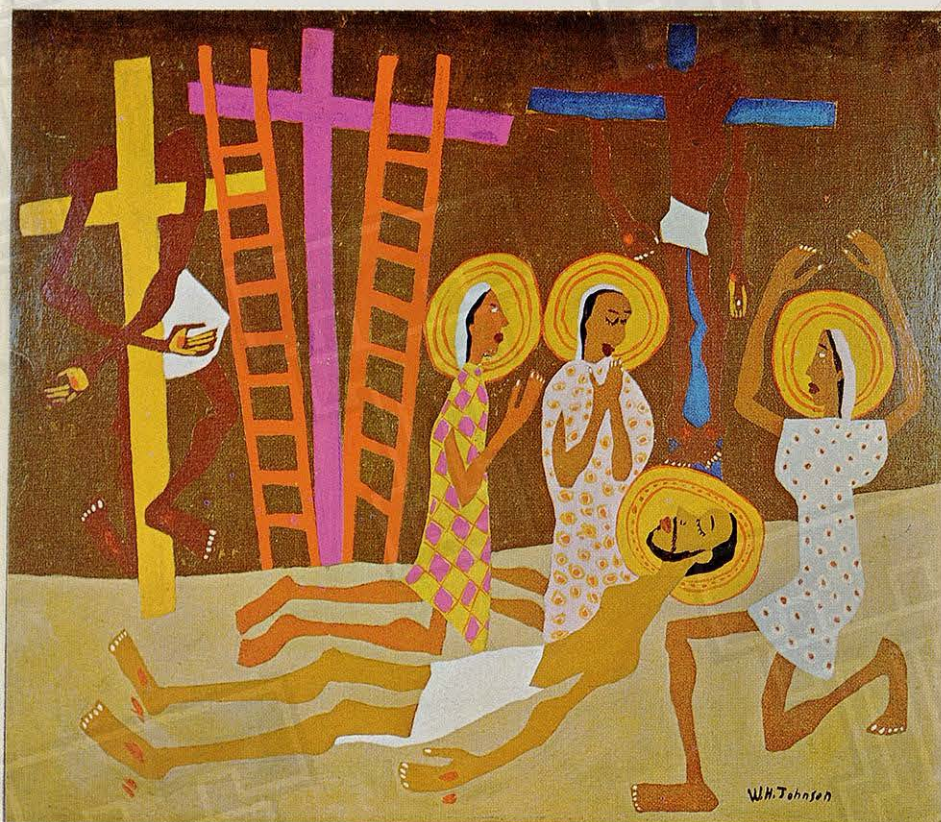




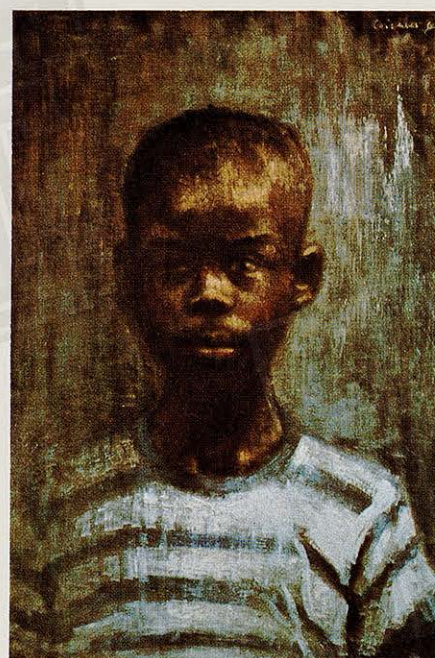
Richard Hunt—*Outgrowth* Collection the artist, Chicago



Hughie Lee-Smith—*Boy on Roof* David Randolph Collection, Philadelphia



William H. Johnson—*Descent from the Cross*  
National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C.



Ernest Crichlow—*Young Boy*  
Collection the artist, New York

Africa in the New World that has held a special fascination for many Afro-American artists.

The next generation of artists confronted the lean years of the Depression. The Federal Arts Projects rescued many of them and made available better opportunities than would otherwise have existed. Some of the best known Afro-American artists of today emerged during the '30s and 40s.

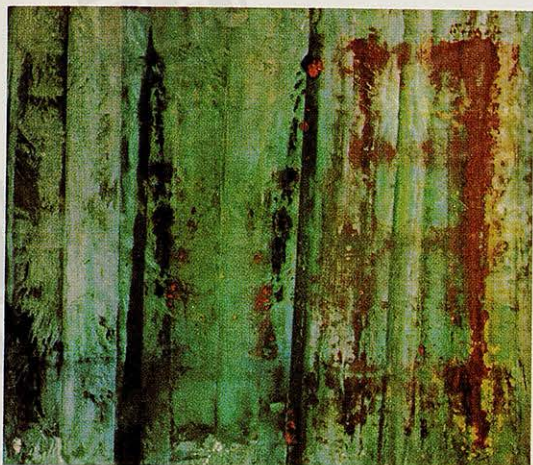
Jacob Lawrence's colorful, stark designs of Afro-American life catapulted him to public attention in the early

'40s. Hughie Lee-Smith's dignified, isolated men and women have a surrealistic touch expressing man's lonely and confused condition in a complex technological age. Romare Bearden's skillful use of the collage penetrates the Afro-American psyche and conveys the universality of oppressed man's condition. Ernest Crichlow has been consistent in his social commentary on Afro-American life. Both Charles Alston and Norman Lewis (see cover) have maintained a vital interest and proficiency in figural works and abstract painting.

Elizabeth Catlett, long a resident of Mexico, is a sculptor of considerable power. Mention of this period would not be complete without recalling the extraordinary work of the late Horace Pippin, of Pennsylvania, one of the finest of twentieth century self-taught American artists.

Since the end of World War II the number of Afro-American artists has greatly increased and a considerable number have earned international reputations. In fact, there are so many that one hesitates to single out a few.





**Sam Gilliam—But Through**  
Jefferson Place Gallery, Washington, D. C.



**Elizabeth Catlett—Figura**  
Sol Lieber Collection, New York



**Carroll Sockwell—Crisis of the '60s**  
Eleanor Ulman Collection, Washington, D. C.



**Bernie Casey—You Can Win the Game if It's Your Turn**  
Ankrum Gallery, Los Angeles



**Romare Bearden—Rites of Spring**  
Cordier and Ekstrom Gallery, New York

They are to be found in the big cities, rural areas, and colleges across the land. The work of Prof. John Biggers, of Texas Southern University, in Houston, reflects a growing interest in Africa. The superb colorist and landscapist Richard Mayhew must be mentioned for his distinctive use of restrained color to transmit feeling and mood. Richard Hunt, the Chicago sculptor, fashions from metal abstract forms often suggested by nature. Sam Gilliam's experiments with new materials, forms, and techniques place

him among the *avant garde* of American artists. The lyrical abstract paintings of Bernie Casey, a professional football player with the Los Angeles Rams, and the promising work of the younger Carroll Sockwell and many others reveal a wide range of styles and techniques, all stamped by the artists' individual personalities.

Undoubtedly, more doors need to be opened for these artists. They ask only for the opportunity to have their work seen by the public. Interaction between the public (including the critics) and

an artist's work is indispensable for his growth and further development. When this opportunity is not available to him, he is often defeated both psychologically and financially. For every good artist there are perhaps ten not so good ones. Unfortunately, in the case of black artists in the United States, too often some of the best talent has never been given a proper viewing. Many Afro-American artists have splendid gifts which when removed from obscurity can greatly enrich our individual lives and the cultural life of our nation.



As far as the pilot could see, wind and current had smeared great greasy hand-prints of crude oil on the blue-green water. With a crop duster's practiced hand, he settled the small airplane a few feet above the ocean waves and opened the valves on its spray tanks, releasing a clear amber fluid.

For a minute the pilot held his course. Then, reaching the end of one of the long fingers of oil, he soared upward, banked into a tight turn, and glanced over his shoulder. Where oil had covered the ocean's surface, a wide

## The Battle For Clean Seas

**On the world's oceans, rivers,  
harbors, and beaches, new  
techniques prevent pollution and  
eliminate or recover spilled oil**

swath of clear water was magically appearing behind the aircraft.

After three minutes of weaving back and forth over the oil slick, the pilot regarded his work with satisfaction. No trace of oil could be seen on the sea's bright surface. It had been dispersed by a remarkable chemical developed by Esso Research and Engineering Company, a Humble affiliate.

The Chemical's name is Corexit 7664 (pronounced "corrects it"). It is an effective oil dispersant that is easy to use and harmless to marine life. It is





one of a number of techniques being marshaled by the oil industry to cope with the problem of accidental spills.

How such oil gets on the waters of the world is a question frequently asked these days, especially of the petroleum industry. There are many answers, for the problem is complex. Spills are bound to occur while billions of barrels of petroleum and animal and vegetable oils are transported and processed in the U. S. every year.

Some of the spills originate with land-based facilities such as storage

tanks or tank cars. Others are caused by accidents involving various kinds of watercraft. Many occur during refueling and can be traced to a ruptured hose or leaky valve. In rare instances, collisions involving tankers breach a ship's tanks.

Man, nature, and fate are all responsible for soiling the seas. There are natural petroleum seeps on the ocean floor. Motor oil is dropped onto the streets from millions of vehicles and washed by rainwater via storm sewers into rivers and bays. Motor oil is lost

from the engines of millions of cruising pleasure boats. Each year, a few of the world's 3,200 ocean-going tankers fall prey to violent storms or submerged reefs; these are the major disasters that make headlines.

But regardless of its origin, oil on the water can be a serious problem, and the petroleum industry has taken the lead in solving it. Humble's commitment to clean seas is contained in a six-point policy statement that says in part, "We respect both the public's right to the use of natural resources





such as oceans and beaches and its right to know what progress is being made toward their protection." With the voluntary adoption of a "clean seas code" in 1964, Humble moved to prevent the discharge of oil into the oceans during the operation of its tanker fleet.

A tanker, after discharging its cargo, must pump sea water into its empty tanks as ballast. Otherwise, the ship would bob on top of the seas like a cork and would be uncontrollable. The ballast water becomes mixed with small amounts of oil remaining in the tanks and at one time it was standard practice for tankers to discharge dirty ballast in authorized areas far out at sea. Clean ballast water would then be taken aboard for the rest of the trip.

Today, under the clean seas code, Humble tankers discharge oily ballast water into shore facilities where it is processed to remove the oil. In parts of the world where such equipment isn't available, other tanker captains may use *Breaxit*, an Enjay Chemical Company product which separates oil from water so the latter can safely be discharged. Or a tanker may be outfitted with a mechanical oil-water separator designed to produce ballast water with less than 100 parts of oil per million parts of water—clean by international standards.

Together, these methods are helping to eliminate one source of sea pollution from oil. However, there remains the problem of what to do about oil spilled accidentally. In the spirit of the clean seas code, Humble—as well as other major oil companies—began a research program several years ago to discover chemicals and methods that could eliminate or recover spilled oil.

Since an oil spill can spread over a wide area, some way to confine a spill was needed. One answer, effective in the quiet, undisturbed waters of a harbor, is a floating boom. Resembling a plastic fire hose with a skirt attached, the boom can be unreeled, inflated, and towed into place.

In several busy ports, industries have collaborated with port authorities to form cooperatives to buy and own such equipment. In Providence, R.I., for example, the cooperative owns two 1500-foot booms purchased at a cost of \$15,000. In case of a spill, the fire department takes the boom to the scene and surrounds the oil with it. The oil is then siphoned from the surface with a vacuum hose.

A Dutch company is experimenting with an endless flexible belt of wool-like plastic which is continuously unwound onto the water's surface. As it absorbs oil, the belt is retrieved and passed through a wringer.

A similar technique developed by an American company employs a rotating drum which is covered with a blanket of plastic sponge. Mounted between two pontoons, the turning drum is driven through an oil slick. As it revolves, the oil soaked blanket passes underneath a roller which squeezes out the oil into a container.

One of the least expensive methods has been tested in England by Esso Petroleum Company, Ltd. A shredded



New methods are being perfected for spraying Corexit on oil spills from boats or planes.

plastic foam that looks much like bread crumbs is cast upon oily waters where it soaks up a hundred times its weight in oil. Scooped up and squeezed dry, it may then be reused. About \$175 worth of foam can pick up 100 barrels of oil. By comparison, detergents of the type used to treat oil spilled in the wreck of the tanker *Torrey Canyon* in 1967 would cost (according to the trade journal, *Ocean Industry*) as much as \$3,400 for enough to dispose of 100 barrels of oil.

Washed up on a beach, oil presents a different problem. Air and the sun's heat quickly reduce it to a thick tar which is hard to clean up. Talc, the

main ingredient in baby powder, has been found useful as a beach cleaner. Spread on a beach, it absorbs the oil and forms nonsticky balls that can be easily disposed of. If available, earth moving equipment can be used to scrape up oily sand.

While these methods are helpful, they are limited mainly to small spills on beaches or in calm water. Coping with oil gushing from the ruptured side of a stricken tanker in the open sea is quite another matter.

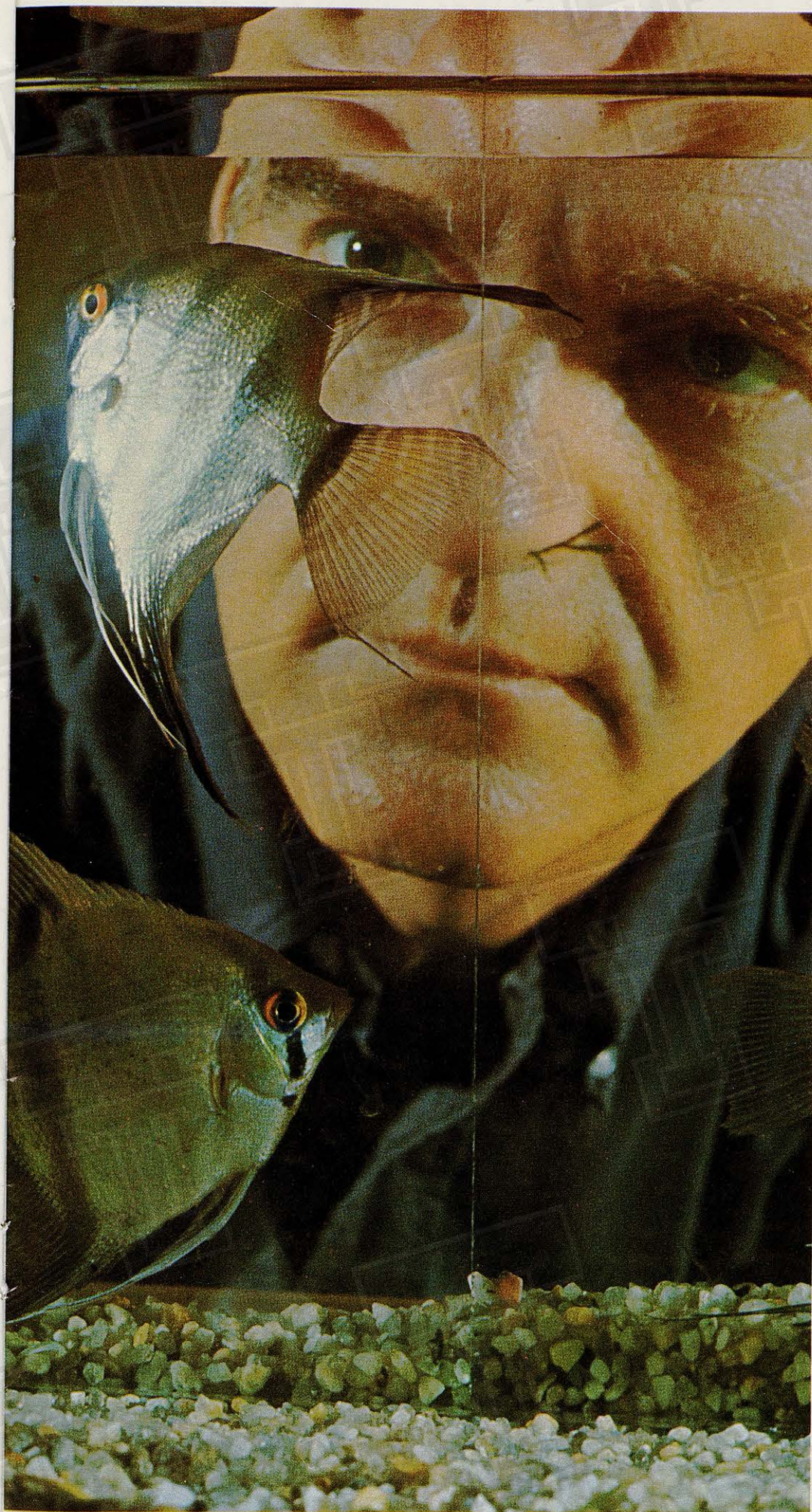
An interesting possibility is being developed by Esso Research and Engineering Company in the form of a gelling agent. Dropped into a tank of oil, the chemical causes the liquid to solidify. The captain of a damaged tanker could use it to turn his cargo into "instant Jello" which could not flow from his ship's tanks.

A number of chemicals have been developed by various companies for spraying on oil slicks. Those of the detergent type, though more or less effective, share a common drawback—they are toxic to marine life. By comparison, Corexit 7664, a dispersant, effectively and harmlessly eliminates oil. Developed by Esso Research, the chemical is marketed by Enjay Chemical Company. Its inventor, Gerard Canevari, has an aquarium in his Florham Park, New Jersey, lab in which several angel fish live in a relatively heavy concentration of 10,000 parts of Corexit to one million parts of water. "They've been there several months now," Canevari says, "and they're getting bigger. I think it agrees with them."

The Institute of Marine Sciences of the University of Miami carried out extensive toxicity tests on other types of fish and on shrimp, which are particularly sensitive to changes in their environment. Scientists found the sea creatures suffered no more distress than Canevari's angel fish in a similar solution of Corexit and sea water. Independent tests at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Plymouth, England, confirmed the Miami findings.

Also, Corexit effectively disperses oil. Canevari explains why. "Oil spreads out on the surface of the water until it reaches an equilibrium," he says. "At this point, it is a cohesive, intact film of uniform thickness. Treated with Corexit and agitated by wind and waves, the film immediately breaks up into fine droplets and begins to disappear. The droplets won't cling to other surfaces such as sand, dock pilings, or





Gerard Canevari, who led in the development of Corexit 7664, has tested the toxicity of the dispersant to marine life. Angel fish are unharmed by a solution of Corexit in their tank.

sea birds' feathers. They cannot merge to form an oil film once again, and they soon decompose by natural forces—mainly bacterial action."

Two major oil spills were eradicated by Corexit early last spring. The first occurred in April when the German tanker *Esso Essen*, on her way to Europe from the Persian Gulf, struck an uncharted rock some three miles off the coast of Africa. She suffered three huge gashes in her hull from which over 90,000 barrels of crude oil poured. Resort beaches and fishing grounds over a twenty-mile section of the coastline were threatened.

When the news reached Enjay Chemical, Dick Gibson, marketing coordinator for Corexit, promptly left for the scene with 300 drums of the product.

"That spill was a discouraging sight from the air," Gibson recalls. "It was roughly a mile wide and fifteen miles long. The winds and currents had stretched it into long black fingers."

Gibson arranged to have Corexit sprayed on the oil slick with aircraft normally used for spraying agricultural chemicals. "The pilots would begin at the edge of the slick," he says. "With each pass, they'd spray a strip forty feet wide. In seconds after the chemical hit the water, the oil slick would begin to disappear."

In two days, Gibson's crop dusters eliminated the oil completely with 125 drums of Corexit. Government investigations made of the treated areas found no evidence of change in water conditions or of harm to marine life.

A few days later, a Greek tanker, the *Andron*, sank about 700 miles farther north, and its cargo of crude oil imperiled a wide stretch of shoreline. Local authorities called for Corexit and again successfully eliminated the oil.

Recognizing the value of Corexit, the masters of tankers in the fleets of Humble and Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) now carry a supply of the chemical on board. Plans are under way to stock it at all ports where the companies have facilities.

As Gibson points out, oil companies and tanker operators have developed an extensive arsenal of weapons to fight the battle for clean seas. Corexit is one of the most effective of these.

"We don't want spills in the first place," he says, "and skillful handling of ships and cargoes is the best way to prevent them. But it's good to know that if the need arises, from now on we've got Corexit."

DOWNNS MATTHEWS



# How to drill holes in the ground... How to g How to make playgrounds safe

## Novel drilling techniques

For thousands of years, man has been busy digging holes, shallow and deep, wide and narrow, in search of precious minerals. Methods have ranged from sticks and shovels to mechanized drills that chisel and cut their way into the hardest rock.

The newest unconventional drilling techniques, including nuclear reactors and laser beams, are the subject of a recent book, *Novel Drilling Techniques*, by Dr. William C. Maurer. Dr. Maurer is a senior research specialist at Esso Production Research Company in Houston, Texas, a Humble affiliate.

Dr. Maurer describes the techniques as "novel" because instead of using conventional drilling bits they attack rock by one of four basic methods:

**THERMAL STRESS** expands or chemically changes the crystals and grains of rock, thus weakening and crumbling it to allow easy drilling.

**FUSION AND VAPORIZATION STRESS** employs extreme heat to melt and dissolve rocks.

**CHEMICAL REACTION STRESS** uses fluorine or other chemicals to dissolve rocks such as sandstone, limestone, and granite.

**MECHANICAL STRESS** methods are the most numerous and most unusual. They include ultrasonic, or high frequency vibrations that fracture surrounding rock. Explosive drills pump explosives to the bottom of the hole where they are detonated. Erosion drills wear away the hardest rocks with high pressure water jets.

Many of the twenty-five techniques described in the book not only apply to rock drilling, excavating and crush-

ing, but are potentially applicable in a wide range of uses from dentistry to space exploration. For example, lunar explorers may use one of these new methods to collect a rock sample from the face of the moon.

Dr. Maurer states that although most of the methods he has discussed are still in the research stage, they have proved in laboratory tests that they can drill and excavate rock effectively. What is considered exotic today may be conventional tomorrow.

## Disposing of brine

With nearly three-quarters of the earth's surface covered with salt water, you'd think a little more wouldn't matter. But sometimes salt water can be an awful nuisance — for example, when produced with crude oil, as it is in over two-thirds of America's 583,000 oil wells.

Typically, oil is pushed toward a well bore by salt water rising under pressure from below. Some eventually finds its way to the surface mixed with oil. In time, the well may begin to produce more brine than oil as salt water displaces oil in the reservoir rock.

When an oil well begins to "make water," its owner must install one of several devices designed to separate the two. Most work on the principal that oil is lighter than water and will float. If the oil and water have formed an emulsion, either heat or chemicals, or both, may be required before gravity can effectively separate water from oil.

Having recovered his oil, the oilman must then dispose of a steadily growing supply of brine. Salt water was once viewed only as a waste material to be

disposed of by any means at hand. Today, it is turned to useful purpose, chiefly in repressuring the producing formation by pumping it back into the reservoir. Years of experience have shown that salt water injection is not a simple process. In a recently published technical paper, Humble engineer Jack Battle reports on the complexities of injection technology.

"The disposal of oil field brine to subsurface formations in a manner to assure freedom from pollution is an essential part of the lifting cost in our industry and is so recognized," Mr. Battle writes. Lessons learned by the oil industry for disposition of liquid wastes have been widely adopted by other industries and by the Atomic Energy Commission, he adds.

One of the worst problems oilmen have had to solve is the corrosive effect of salt water on steel. Low pressure gathering lines may be fashioned of asbestos cement or fiber glass reinforced plastic. Steel pipe may be lined with plastic or cement.

In areas where water must be injected into formations with very fine pore spaces, it must first be filtered to remove suspended solids which might plug the well. Salt water may also contain slime-forming bacteria, which must be controlled with chemicals. Uncontrolled, these bacteria can produce acids that destroy thick steel pipe in a few months.

The widely varying chemistry of brines, coupled with differences in the physical characteristics of reservoir formations, make a difficult problem more complex. Yet the solution of such problems is typical of the work oilmen are doing to protect our environment.



v to get rid of salt water...



### Landing mats for kids

One of the nice things about growing up in the country is having trees to climb and soft grass to fall on. Though many city youngsters lack such assets, they still love to climb, as the popularity of jungle gyms in city parks will illustrate. But a real drawback is the absence of grass. All too often, small hands lose their grip and a painful tumble to hard pavement follows.

Though it may never replace grass, a welcome substitute is being supplied by the Mitchell Division of Royal Industries. It's a landing mat for kids called Safety Surf. Made of thick, interlocking pads of Enjay Chemical Company's chlorobutyl rubber, a petroleum based material, Safety Surf is capable of withstanding repeated impacts and flexing without damage either to itself or to the child who drops onto it. Guaranteed for ten years, it should last for twenty without maintenance. The material is impervious to sun, rain, snow, mildew, and fungus. It provides a nonskid surface when wet.

To reduce the 750,000 playground accidents reported last year to the National Safety Council, many school and park systems are laying Safety Surf over play areas and beneath play equipment. It has been used successfully for several years in southern California, and is being tested by institutions across the country. Where the mats have been installed, serious injuries from falls have been eliminated, representatives of the Los Angeles-based company say.

Maybe city kids don't have it so bad after all; not even grass can offer all those advantages.



On their way down Locust Street to the convention hall, delegates in St. Louis for the Democratic National Convention of 1916 were taken aback by an astonishing sight. Silent women in yellow lined the curbs elbow to elbow. There were seven thousand of them. Each wore a sash emblazoned with the words, "Votes for Women." The "walkless, talkless parade" climaxed in an immense tableau. On the ground, dressed in black, knelt sorrowing women extending manacled hands. They represented states which refused women the right to vote. Above them sat women in gray—the states which had granted partial suffrage. Representing states which had ratified suffrage laws were smiling ladies in white. Surmounting all, there stood a beautiful woman in flowing robes holding aloft the torch of liberty.

The delegates were impressed. Four years later, as the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution became law, the ladies attained their objective.

But as they began their maiden journey to the ballot box, the ladies realized they were unprepared for participation in the democratic process. How do you register to vote, they asked. How do you mark a ballot? How does the electoral system operate? Because many of them didn't know, Carrie Chapman Catt proposed to her fellow members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that a League of Women Voters be established "to finish the fight," and to increase the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government.

Today, with 150,000 members in fifty states, the League of Women Voters is one of the most respected of America's many organizations concerned with the conduct of government and public affairs. Strictly non-partisan, the League may take a stand on issues but never supports or opposes candidates or parties. Members



## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

They are 150,000 housewives and mothers. When they make up their minds on public issues, lawmakers listen





work for their parties, but all such activity ceases when a woman takes office on the state or national level.

Former Senator Gordon Bubolz, of Wisconsin cites the League's reputation for getting things done. He says, "Their thoroughgoing, effective research and positive observations have been a dynamic influence for community progress and accomplishment."

Senator Aiken, of Vermont, upon learning of the organization's relatively small size, exclaimed, "Why, I thought there were millions of them!"

Yet, for the most part, League members are housewives and mothers who "want to talk about something besides diapers and learn what's really going on in the community," as a member from Michigan put it.

"We are women whose ideas soar," says Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, of Spokane, a past national president of the League. "When we are washing dishes or waxing floors, our minds reach out beyond our house and our street and we begin to think of an improved town and a better state and a more beautiful world for our children." Women join the League in the hope that they can help make some of these things a reality, she observes.

Others seek out the League through a sense of personal responsibility. A Negro housewife from New Jersey explains that she joined the League after having voted on a public question "about which I had no knowledge. I realized that I was abusing a privilege for which many Negroes had struggled and been persecuted."

Through its 1,249 local chapters, the League promotes an informed and active participation in government. "We do this by educating ourselves on an issue," says Mrs. Bruce Benson, Amherst, Massachusetts, the national president of the League. "Then we educate the voters and after that we make an attempt to persuade the legislators to our point of view." Such work

carries League members into the thick of things, into slums to work with residents on voting registration, into battles with city fathers over civic needs.

In Washington, D.C., during the recent Poor People's Campaign, League members went to Resurrection City to show an educational film that demonstrates how inner-city residents can



For forty-eight years League members have been active in the cause of good government.

band together to make their voices heard at the polls. Its message: real power rests in the hands of the individual voter.

To join the League, a woman needs only to be of voting age and pay annual dues from \$5 to \$10. This enables her to attend League meetings and to concentrate on local, state or national issues—or all three—as her time and energies permit.

Typically, the thirty members of the League in Lee Summit, Missouri, addressed themselves to the problem of getting their 8,237 fellow citizens to vote in an important local election. The subject of the vote, sewer bonds, appeared to play a poor second to Thanksgiving plans and football fever which had Lee Summit preoccupied.

Two days before the election, telephones began to ring all over town.

"The election is only forty-eight hours away," a League lady would inform her listener. "Please don't neglect your duty to vote on an issue which will affect the health and finances of every family in town." When the polls opened, Leaguers provided babysitters for young mothers and rides for the elderly so they could cast their votes. During the day, poll checkers telephoned hundreds of absent voters to remind them of their civic responsibility. As a result, Lee Summit cast one of the heaviest votes in its history and the sewer bonds passed by a ten to one margin.

In all fifty states, the League prepares and distributes voter information sheets listing the names and platforms of candidates for public office along with basic facts concerning public issues. In some areas, these may be printed in Chinese, Armenian, Arabic, Polish, Italian, or Braille, to reach various segments of the population.

To place its information in the hands of the voters, the League sometimes relies on the assistance of corporations such as Humble. This year, in some 375 cities and towns, teams of League ladies will set up shop in more than 750 Humble service stations. They will provide motorists with voter information sheets and answer questions on the mechanics and requirements of voting. Humble also will make the information available to 30,000 employees in a company-wide get-out-the-vote campaign.

"I wasn't too sure about this when we started back in 1964," a station manager in Scarsdale, N.Y., admits. "But those information sheets tell it like it is. My customers think so, too."

Research is another basic League activity. The organization will take no stand on an issue until its members have had an opportunity to study a problem thoroughly. As a result, League members are among the best informed citizens in the country. And



Getting the facts from the men who know—  
a League member questions Texas State  
Senator Criss Cole and Air and Water Pollution  
Control Board Commissioner Hugh Yantis.



Clean air and water are top priority subjects  
with Leagues across the nation. Above,  
members of the Elmhurst, Illinois, League  
observe the condition of nearby Salt Creek.



Housing problems are more than a topic for  
discussion at League meetings. Women from  
the Houston, Texas, League make an inspection  
as part of an urban renewal study.

the organization has become one of the best sources of reliable, objective information on major issues confronting the nation. For example, when the Jones Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee needed facts on water resources, it asked for data that League members had been compiling for ten years.

One of the League's most valuable services is to act as the public's representative at hearings and official meetings. Since few citizens are able to attend such functions, local League representatives known as "observers" cover over 2,000 city council and commission meetings on a regular basis. Their function is to monitor the actions and words of public officials "to be there, to see what is going on, and report back to the members." Observers may listen and take notes but they may not speak or interfere. "If they smile, it's a non-partisan smile."

When League observers first appeared at a city council meeting in Chicago some years ago, the startled councilmen conducted their discussions in guarded whispers. With observers still in attendance at a second meeting, the councilmen decided they had better speak up. Before the third meeting, they had installed a public address system and prepared copies of their agenda for distribution. The ladies had made their point.

"Most government officials welcome League observers," says Mrs. Benson. "They're pleased that someone is interested in what they are trying to do."

On occasion, the League offers concrete assistance to elected officials trying to do a good job. At a meeting of the board of education in a Midwest city, League observers saw that school board members were having trouble making sense of the school system's financial records. After this problem had been reported, the local League president contacted the board with an offer of assistance. The League's

financial experts soon determined that there was no graft as had been feared, but just a bookkeeping problem. "We recommended a budget expert and better accounting methods," explains a League leader. With this advice accepted, board members now get accurate answers on school finances.

Even so, not every public official finds the League's efforts commendable. "The Plague of Women Voters," grumbles one disgruntled candidate for office. And of course the League meets opposition. An attorney in Michigan who opposed the League's successful drive for a new state constitution sighed ruefully, "To differ with the League is to differ with motherhood and the flag."

Yet in its careful, thorough efforts to create an informed, responsible electorate, the League contributes purpose and direction to the machinery of representative government. "Public spirited women at every board and commission meeting in a city can so improve conditions that no political boss can exist," comments the mayor of a southern city.

Recognizing the League's influence, Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently spoke to New York League members in favor of a Medicaid program proposed for his state. "When this program is introduced, nothing would delight me more than to find that it had won your support," he said. "Your record for legislative tenacity and success is formidable. Grown men shudder at your opposition and wise men strive for your support."

The ladies may have been pleased by the compliments. But true to League policy, they refused to endorse the program hastily.

Until they decide to make a careful study of the issue the Governor will just have to wait.

ROSALIE E. SLIVKA

League women sometimes hoist banners and march—as they did recently in Washington.



# *the Humble Way*

THIRD QUARTER 1968





# the Humble Way

THIRD QUARTER 1968 VOL. VII, NO. 3

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*Its members have campaigned for good government since American women gained the right to vote*

HUMBLE OIL & REFINING COMPANY  
P. O. BOX 2180, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77001

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*The Yellow Hat*, on the cover of this issue, was painted by Norman Lewis, a New York artist whose work has been exhibited in many galleries in the United States and in Africa, Europe, and South America.

This painting, and the examples shown on pages 10 to 15, were done by twenty-five artists and sculptors whose lives span two hundred years—from the eighteenth century to the present. Styles range from primitive to sophisticated. There are examples of landscapes and portraiture, academic realism, social commentary, abstract expressionism. In addition to their high level of quality they have only one thing in common: all are the work of American Negroes.

The examples shown here were gathered from many galleries and private collections from New York to Los Angeles. They make it clear that Negro artists have never belonged to any one school, but have responded to all the currents moving through American and European art history. Many Negro artists have naturally been concerned with Negro subject matter, but today they are in the international mainstream. Whether they choose to call themselves Negro, black, or Afro-American, these talented individuals ask to be judged only on their merits—in other words, as artists.





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State Sen. Russell Barlow (Rep.) addresses a league gathering in Tacoma, Wash. Seated next to Barlow is his Democratic opponent, Mrs. Louise Taylor.

Even when they are sneered at as a bunch of ladies' sewing societies, the League of Women Voters takes no offense. They just keep on needling politicians, influencing history, fighting the things they fear: Dishonesty and bad faith.

## The League of Frightened Women

By **WARNER OLIVIER**

**A**T a recent meeting of the Cheltenham Township, Pennsylvania, League of Women Voters a young matron, making her debut at a league gathering, sat silently through the two-hour discussion of complicated phases of our international trade policies, her comely brow furrowed by the plows of inner concentration.

After the discussion was adjourned the newcomer thanked the ladies to whose spirited pros and cons she had listened. The discussion had convinced her, she told them, that she must join the league.

"I'm awfully glad I came," she said, "because I was so terribly confused about international trade. Of course," she confessed, "I'm still confused, but on a much higher plane."

The dauntless quality of this tenderfoot in the thorny patch of political rationalism struck instant and responsive appreciation among the leaguers, who know well that courage, if you have it, is a built-in quality, like original sin, while confusion is an acquired state of mind which can be substantially alleviated, if not wholly cured. One of the league's primary targets is the reduction of confusion on any plane, high or low, and to this end it labors with diligence and dedication at the national, state and local levels throughout the country.

If there are those who through lack of knowledge regard the league as an organization of bluestockings, they should have looked in at a group of summer cabins high in the Rockies near Denver, Colo-

rado, last April. They would have seen a score of women, dressed in slacks and dungarees, keeping fires going in the fireplaces—their only source of warmth—doing other household chores and discussing the Current Agenda of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

The biennial convention of the league had just been concluded in Denver and this group of ladies, who were the members of the national board, had been called into executive session in the summer cabins in Estes Park by Mrs. John G. Lee, of Farmington, Connecticut, the league's national president since 1950, whose liking for informality is as great as her abhorrence of stuffed shirts, whether worn by men or women.



Any onlooker at this gathering would have been witness to the influencing, if not the making, of American history. For that is a game which, consciously or unconsciously, the League of Women Voters has been playing since its inauguration in 1920.

Four years ago the Library of Congress accepted two tons of papers—roughly about 2,000,000 items—constituting the records of the League of Women Voters since its establishment through the year 1944.

It was said to be the largest single acquisition the library had ever received and it is one of the largest collections of nongovernmental papers in the library's Manuscript Division. Most significantly, it was the first time the Library of Congress had ever accepted the working records of any nongovernmental civic organization. Why should the Library of Congress break precedent in the case of the League of Women Voters?

Dr. Louise Young, who was assigned by the library's Manuscript Division to arrange the collection, gave a partial answer to the question. "There hasn't been a moment in your history," she told a league convention, "when you weren't engaged with the most important issues of that particular time. There isn't any kind of scholar who is interested in the record of human activity who will not find your records useful. They are already doing it. They are clamoring to get them on the shelves."

The League of Women Voters is not only an American phenomenon but a unique organization. While it is tiny when compared with the great service or labor organizations, it has the true aim and power of David's slingshot. Politicians have vast respect for the league and what it can do. They have seen it spearhead or help to spearhead—and win—fights for the Food and Drugs laws, the improvement of the merit system in government, the entry of displaced persons, the reorganization of Congress, civilian control of atomic energy, reciprocal-trade agreements, the mutual-security program and the United Nations—to name a few.

After Julia Lathrop proposed the revolutionary idea of grants in aid from the Federal Government to the states for maternal and child welfare services in her famous Annual Report of the Children's Bureau of 1917, the League of Women Voters was largely responsible for needling a reluctant Congress into giving the idea legislative life in the Sheppard-Towner Act, a forerunner of the Social Security Act of 1935, which opened the door to the grants in aid which enabled the nation to survive the depression of the '30's.



JOHN BICKEL  
The league's Camas, Wash., "votemobile" helps register farmer Mike Marugg and his daughter.

Not long before her retirement, Katharine Lenroot, who had helped make the Children's Bureau one of the great governmental social agencies of the world, credited the League of Women Voters with the success of the bureau.

"Everything that the Children's Bureau has ever done," she said, "has been made possible by the support and the background that the league gave it in its early years."

The League of Women Voters is an answer to the question so frequently asked: What chance has a mere citizen in a vast country like this to make his voice heard or his influence felt on issues of importance to his country and himself?

It has fewer than 130,000 members. It operated nationally in 1953 for \$230,828—a budget which might well force the National Association of Church Mice to regard itself a pretty-well-heeled group, after all. Most of what the league does spend goes for research and printing. There are thirty-nine paid members of its national staff. Elected officers serve without pay. The league housekeeps with a stern eye for economy. When the staff has used a pencil until the stub is too short for further use, it is not thrown away. It is saved for a board meeting. The league has found from its experience that its own board mem-

bers are no better than those of other organizations in the matter of inadvertently carrying new pencils away from board meetings.

The league is organized locally in all the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Alaska. The local leagues are split up into units. The Minneapolis, Minnesota, League, for example, has fifty-one units. Dues are usually three dollars a year. The local leagues concern themselves with problems of local government, but every member of a local league is automatically a member of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Local leagues contribute part of their income from dues and contributions to the state league, which contributes part of this income to the national organization.

The national officers include the national board, which operates as a sort of executive committee. The supreme policy-making body of the league is its national convention, held every two years. At the convention, the league's program for the coming biennium, called "the Current Agenda," is decided upon. The national officers and the national board are governed by the decision of the convention. On alternate years, when the convention does not meet, there is a national council attended by the national officers and board, the head of each state league and an additional delegate from each state league.

As between parties and candidates the league takes no stand. It can espouse only issues. No officer of the league, national, state or local, can run for political office or be an active party worker. The fidelity with which the league adheres to this principle was recently illustrated in amusing fashion. A presidential commission was to be appointed and a White House adviser asked the league to suggest the names of some of its members from whom a selection might be made for a possible appointee. Though the commission would be nonpartisan, the league was told, it would be desirable to know the party affiliations of the ladies whose names were suggested.

Mrs. Lee and her administrative assistant, Miss Muriel Ferris, had no trouble in thinking immediately of five members of the national board who could capably sit on the commission and were free to do so. They found, however, to their surprise, that in no case were they certain of the party affiliations of the ladies. Having known the ladies fairly well over a period of years, they thought they could pretty well guess to which party each belonged, and just for the fun of it, they made their guesses. Somewhat ruefully, they found that in every case they had guessed wrong.

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OLLIE ATKINS  
At the league's national headquarters in Washington, D.C.: Miss Muriel Ferris, executive secretary; Mrs. John Lee, president; Mrs. Robert Leonard, first vice-president.



JOHN BICKEL  
League members of Camas register William Pratt, 93, as a voter. At election time, they'll take him to the polls.



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JOHN BECKEL  
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As the league is numerically small compared to the total electorate, as it has nothing which could be called a war chest in the way of funds, as it neither espouses nor opposes candidates and threatens no reprisals, what is the source of its undeniably great influence with politicians? One answer is that the politicians are never quite sure what the league will do next.

In 1948, the House Ways and Means Committee's Subcommittee on Tariffs was considering a bill for the three-year extension of reciprocal-trade agreements. The league, which favored the extension, and other organizations asked the subcommittee to hold a public hearing on the bill. The subcommittee chairman, Rep. B. W. Gearhart (Rep., Calif.), took a poor view of this. "I can't see," he was quoted as saying, "that any useful purpose would be served by listening to spokesmen for a bunch of ladies' sewing societies reading statements prepared by the State Department."

The league took no offense over its brusque dismissal as a "ladies' sewing society." It simply took a few timely stitches and whipped together, with other organizations, an open public hearing on the bill at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. There was considerable advance publicity for this event and fifty-odd organizations, representing some 60,000,000 citizens, sent representatives to testify.

On the eve of the Mayflower hearing the Republican steering committee announced that it would advocate consideration of a one-year extension of the bill. The action was significant in that the subcommittee had not yet reported on the bill. The Congress subsequently voted for the one-year extension. And Mr. Gearhart—who denied he ever made the sewing-society remark—was defeated for re-election.

The league is effectively active on all levels of government. This activity includes such homely chores as riding for hours on streetcars or buses to distribute literature, or sitting all day in supermarkets to persuade citizens willing to learn about issues at stake to carry a league pamphlet home with the groceries. If an election is coming up, the pamphlet will probably be what is called the Voter's Guide, and will list the candidates for office in the voter's district, with their records and position on pertinent issues.

The activities of the league at the state and municipal levels are as various as the issues that raise their complex heads everywhere. And once given an issue, the league, state or municipal, will go to town with it. Many persons have learned this, sometimes to their great annoyance. Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves, of Rochester, Minnesota, now a member of the board of the national organization, during her presidency of the Minnesota league was stopped on the street by a gentleman who observed, somewhat peevishly, that "this country is in a mess" and why didn't the league do something about it? A few months later, during a Minnesota legislative session, league representatives were testifying in support of a piece of pending legislation. It was legislation of which Mrs. Hargraves' friend didn't approve. He telephoned her and demanded angrily, "Why don't you women stay home and mind your own business?"

On the municipal or local level the 959 leagues throughout the nation are continually active with projects for better community government and living. They reconstitute the city fathers, they modernize old jails, cam-

paign for juvenile-detention homes, modern garbage-disposal plants and a thousand and one other projects which need to be done.

Though a league publication has commented wryly that "getting the council-manager plan adopted is usually about as easy as persuading an eight-year-old boy to invoke God's blessing on the aunt who sent him two suits of underwear the previous Christmas," many local leagues have waged long fights to get this kind of government, and usually these fights have been successful.

In San Antonio, Texas, for example, the league worked for a full decade for a new city charter with council-manager government. It feels it had a definite part in finally persuading the electorate to vote two to one for the new government in 1951. A year before, the Des Moines, Iowa, league was the recipient in New York of the national Lane Bryant Annual Award "in recognition of outstanding volunteer services to the community" for its successful campaign for the same thing.

Another routine league chore, performed on a nationwide basis, is interviewing congressmen and senators at least once a year, and oftener if it seems desirable. The task of interviewing congressmen is undertaken by the league or leagues in the congressman's district. Senators customarily are interviewed by a group from the state league.

Many of the local league task forces assigned to the interview of a congressman make it a small social event by inviting Mr. and Mrs. Congressman to tea, perhaps. After these interviews a form entitled Report of Congressional Interview is filled out. This form gives the name of the congressman, his district, state and party, the subjects discussed and the view of the congressman on each, and the attitude of the congressman toward the league.

The higher you go up the league ladder, the more demanding is the job. The national officers certainly work as hard—perhaps they work much harder—as the top officials of a busy national corporation. The election of Mrs. Lee as president in 1950 was in the nature of an experiment, because until that time the national president had made her home in Washington during her incumbency. Largely because of this requirement, no married woman had headed the League of Women Voters of the United States since its organization, when Mrs. Maud Wood Park became its first president.

As the membership of the league is largely composed of married women—all the members of the present national board are married—the league faced something of a dilemma. To select only women without families as presidents would sharply curtail choice, but to ask a woman with a family to spend all her time in Washington would be asking too much. Mrs. Lee was elected with the understanding that she would spend every other week in Washington, which she does, commuting by plane to her home in Farmington, Connecticut, for weekends.

Even with this arrangement, Mrs. Lee accepted the job only after prolonged soul searching, the souls searched including her own, her husband's and her children's. The two older children were grown and off on their own, and the two younger ones were away at school, and they and Mr. Lee felt strongly that Mrs. Lee's acceptance of the job would be in the nature of a family contribution toward making a world which had grown almost un-

bearably grim perhaps a little less so.

In her report to the league's biennial convention after her first two years in office, Mrs. Lee said:

"Without infinite understanding and support on the part of my husband, and the co-operation of my household in Farmington, plus the patience and dedication of the resident board and staff, the difficulties of living a divided life might have been insurmountable. Happily, the co-operation has been unending and I have managed to commute regularly from home to the office without any major crisis. The horse has had no exercise, the old setter is mournful beyond belief and the new kittens have been legion. But the humans, curiously enough, seem to be bearing up quite well."

However well he bears up, Mr. Lee is nonetheless an unsung American patriot. During the days, as the assistant director of research for the United Aircraft Corporation, he can while away the hours with observing the eccentric behavior of wind in tunnels, conning the so-far-unpromising methods of abating the sonic bedlam of jet planes or jousting with any number of such esoteric matters. But as he spends his weekday evenings alone every other week, a pro-tempore widower, at the Lee home on a high hill near Farmington, he may well entertain moments when he is grateful, in an un-Nathan Haleish sort of way, that he has but one wife to give for his country. For the lovely, grayish-blue-eyed Percy Maxim Lee is the kind of wife and woman who would make a house in which she was accustomed to preside seem very empty when she is not there.

Mr. Lee is not alone in being a loyal league husband, for most of them soon become league fans and are proud of their political-minded wives. The attitude of one busy banker is fairly typical.

"I take my politics from my wife," he said stanchly, "because she has time to study these things."

Of course, not all league husbands are tame. When the state president of the league in one of the Southern states wrote a letter several years ago to local leagues in the state extolling the work of the Office of Price Stabilization, her husband, a business executive, wasted no time or finesse in setting things right. He snaffled her mailing list and sent a letter of his own to each of the local leagues.

"My wife," he wrote succinctly to make his own position on OPS quite clear, "is crazy."

The experiment of a part-time president has proved remarkably successful. During Mrs. Lee's first four years in the job, membership in the league has increased more than 35 per cent, continuing a growth it began under her predecessor, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, of New York.

But if the league were ten times as large as it is, its size would not explain its remarkable influence on the pattern of American political history. Probably one of the most compelling reasons for its strength is its determination to squeeze any issue dry of its pros and cons, and to examine these as intelligently and unemotionally as it can. This method makes for unbiased judgment insofar as any political issue can be definitively judged. The members of the league know what they are talking about and what they are voting about.

The New Year of 1950 brought a moment of critical decision to the league. An old friend and member who

had died in Santa Fe, New Mexico, had made the league the residuary legatee of her sizable little fortune.

"But," wrote the attorney for the executors of the will, "a matter has come up which requires immediate attention." The "matter," it appeared, was a female French poodle named Roule, a live asset of the estate, and the immediate attention she required was the attention female dogs customarily require when they have the cyclic notion of tossing their inhibitions over the windmill. Roule's condition was not without legal as well as canine precedents, but there was a complication. The league's benefactor and Roule's late owner, just before her death, the lawyer said, had arranged for the importation from Connecticut of a highly pedigreed Rover who even at that moment was roving by plane to Santa Fe. In this crisis the executors felt themselves powerless to act and the league must decide whether the marriage arranged between Roule and the emplaned Rover should be permitted consummation. Would it, please, make its decision known by return mail?

The league, being no dog in the manger, sent its blessings by airmail, but, in making this hasty decision, it violated its historic policy of never taking a defined position on any issue without prolonged study of all its implications. Had the league followed its habitual methods in this case, Roule and Rover would have become as well known to league members throughout the country as Romeo and Juliet, and probably a great deal more comprehensible. An ambitious study of the affair would have been initiated by the league's research staff. The backgrounds and medical histories of both principals would have been fine-tooth-combed. The league would doubtless have computed incidence of ectopic pregnancies among females of the poodle family and made an objective study of the desirability of increasing the canine population of New Mexico.

A basic publication would have been prepared treating the affair exhaustively and with the most complete objectivity. There would have been consultations with the country's leading authorities of veterinary gynecology and veterinary pediatrics. The findings of all these studies and the publications resulting would have been made available to the 959 local leagues throughout the nation, together with a bibliography covering all the main and most of the tangential questions involved.

When this painstaking pursuit of the truth in its many phases and guises is transferred from the realm of the facetious to the field of issues on whose determination the league correctly believes the fate of the United States as a nation may well depend, the importance and value of the League of Women Voters in today's world becomes apparent.

An example of this is the nearly two years the league spent in studying the Bricker Amendment before taking a stand against it. Members of the national staff interviewed proponents and opponents of the measure. They kept in constant touch with the Senate Judiciary Committee, attended its hearings and reported on them. In The National Voter and other league publications continuous and extensive information on both sides of the question was made available to members throughout the country as the basis of group discussions. These are held in thousands of league units, and reports of them pack



the league's filing cases at national headquarters.

From these reports it was evident that the great majority of league units and members were opposed to the amendment and the league at length announced it was opposed to the resolution. Mrs. Lee wrote to President Eisenhower setting forth the league's opposition. State presidents of the league were called by long distance and, especially in states whose senators appeared to be wavering, all the influence of the league and its members was brought to bear to convince the undecided. The New York Times cited the league as one of the several agencies which had contributed most to the defeat of the proposed amendment.

When the time came to speak about the Bricker Amendment, to stand up and be counted, the league could speak with an authoritative voice because it had taken infinite pains to know what it was talking about. It is a shining example of democracy working as it should work all over the free world. What compels members of the League of Women Voters to go to the endless trouble they do go to in order to inform themselves about political issues in the world today?

The average member of the league today is a youngish mother of two or three children. The key word is "mother." The intelligent woman in this extending era of world wars and world cold wars cannot escape acute apprehension of the fact that today's world is a grimly threatening world. It is no disparagement of the league to judge that today, in the 1950's, it is an organization whose driving forces are compounded of much greater self-interest than they were in 1920 when it was founded.

In 1920 the long battle for woman suffrage had been won here. The organized suffragists were all dressed up in their war paint with no place to go. It was Carrie Chapman Catt, then the grand old lady of the suffragist movement, who suggested and was the godmother of the League of Women Voters. Naturally, its organization was something more, and something more significant, than the mere sublimation in the hour of victory of the militant forces developed in the long fight for equal suffrage. The women who had borne the brunt of the fight, who were

the chief architects of victory, felt a grave sense of responsibility to educate themselves and the women they had enfranchised in the duties of citizenship. They believed, to quote a league publication, "that a nonpartisan organization could provide political education and experience which would help in the development of citizen responsibility and contribute to the vitality of our representative system of government."

The league was organized to educate, and education was and is the keystone of its arch. That has not changed. The league since its organization has spent, and is spending, millions of man-hours—or to be more exact, woman-hours—in studying the problems which government must face and decide. It comes up with answers, based on profound study and research, from which bias, prejudice and partisanship have been eliminated so far as is humanly possible.

Mrs. Lee sometimes thinks of the league, in a paraphrase of a Rex Stout title, as 'The League of Frightened Women.' This fright has nothing to do with hysteria. It is the opposite of panic. It is the fright that must seize any intelligent and relatively informed person who looks realistically at the mid-twentieth-century world and recognizes its alternative imperatives. It should be, and in the case of league members it is, a constructive fear which makes them only more intrepid in their determined and dedicated fight to win for their children, if not for themselves, a less grim and a more gracious world in which to live.

Percy Maxim Lee, the daughter and namesake of Hiram Percy Maxim, inventor of the Maxim silencer, has helped bring about and is herself a symbol of the new spirit of the league. She has the ability, invaluable to a presiding officer, to listen to long and involved discussions, wrapped up in swaddling non sequiturs and errant perorations, and to strip them in a few words to their essential bones. When she is conducting a meeting she stands, because she feels she has things under better control when she is on her feet. At conventions this can become an endurance test, and behind the podium she does a good bit of fast footwork in changing back and forth between her "standing shoes," an old, comfortable and friendly pair, and the smarter pair she slips into

when her feet are likely to come under the thousand or so pairs of friendly but still female eyes.

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It is Mrs. Lee's belief, and it is shared by other leaders of the organization, that the league cannot be a law unto itself—that it must not run too fast for its contemporaries of the American electorate to keep up—that it must, in other words, want the things that other reasonable American citizens want. It is a temptation for any intellectually elite organization to lose day-by-day elbow contact with its fellow citizens, to get out of touch with them, eventually to operate in the vacuum of its own egocentricity. But the butcher, the baker and the modern candlestick maker who is a dues-paying member of the IUE (CIO), the conservative doctor, lawyer, merchant and chief, are, in the last analysis, the people who decide how things will go on election day.

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knight-errantry, started crusading off in another direction would soon dry up. Mrs. Lee has therefore insisted that the league be human and sociable and keep its elbows rubbing those of its fellow citizens.

One of the two items on the Current Agenda of the League for 1954-1955 is the Development of Understanding of the Relationship Between Individual Liberty and the Public Interest.

"Our job will be accomplished," says the league's *The National Voter*, "as we succeed in developing each citizen's awareness of his basic heritage of individual freedoms and its relation to the present-day world. . . . With other groups and individuals, leagues will attempt to breathe new life and meaning into familiar concepts found in the Bill of Rights; concepts affecting the relationship between the free citizen and his government, such as 'due process of law,' 'searches and seizures,' 'to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation,' 'to be confronted with the witnesses against him,' and 'to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.'"

Mrs. Lee is frequently asked, "What do you want to see the league accomplish this year?"

"I have tried to think this through," she says, "and I have only one answer. I want the League of Women Voters to be a beacon light of honesty and faith in a country confused by smog. Honesty, in terms of its being true to its fundamental principles and concepts; faith in its indestructible belief in truth and in the human being."

"In the league we may remember to advantage the words of Francis Bacon: 'To say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, is to affirm that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by light.'"

Mrs. Malcome Hargraves, commenting on an important project of the Minnesota state league, noted that it could be achieved only through the calling of a state constitutional convention. She put a great deal in a small nutshell when she said, "To do that we shall need patience and longevity. We are women and we have both."

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State Sen. Russell Barlow (Rep.) addresses a league gathering in Tacoma, Wash. Seated next to Barlow is his Democratic opponent, Mrs. Louise Taylor. JOHN BICKEL

Even when they are sneered at as a bunch of ladies' sewing societies, the League of Women Voters takes no offense. They just keep on needling politicians, influencing history, fighting the things they fear: Dishonesty and bad faith.

# The League of Frightened Women

By **WARNER OLIVIER**

**A**T a recent meeting of the Cheltenham Township, Pennsylvania, League of Women Voters a young matron, making her debut at a league gathering, sat silently through the two-hour discussion of complicated phases of our international trade policies, her comely brow furrowed by the plows of inner concentration.

After the discussion was adjourned the newcomer thanked the ladies to whose spirited pros and cons she had listened. The discussion had convinced her, she told them, that she must join the league.

"I'm awfully glad I came," she said, "because I was so terribly confused about international trade. Of course," she confessed, "I'm still confused, but on a much higher plane."

The dauntless quality of this tenderfoot in the thorny patch of political rationalism struck instant and responsive appreciation among the leaguers, who know well that courage, if you have it, is a built-in quality, like original sin, while confusion is an acquired state of mind which can be substantially alleviated, if not wholly cured. One of the league's primary targets is the reduction of confusion on any plane, high or low, and to this end it labors with diligence and dedication at the national, state and local levels throughout the country.

If there are those who through lack of knowledge regard the league as an organization of bluestockings, they should have looked in at a group of summer cabins high in the Rockies near Denver, Colo-

rado, last April. They would have seen a score of women, dressed in slacks and dungarees, keeping fires going in the fireplaces—their only source of warmth—doing other household chores and discussing the Current Agenda of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

The biennial convention of the league had just been concluded in Denver and this group of ladies, who were the members of the national board, had been called into executive session in the summer cabins in Estes Park by Mrs. John G. Lee, of Farmington, Connecticut, the league's national president since 1950, whose liking for informality is as great as her abhorrence of stuffed shirts, whether worn by men or women.



Any onlooker at this gathering would have been witness to the influencing, if not the making, of American history. For that is a game which, consciously or unconsciously, the League of Women Voters has been playing since its inauguration in 1920.

Four years ago the Library of Congress accepted two tons of papers—roughly about 2,000,000 items—constituting the records of the League of Women Voters since its establishment through the year 1944.

It was said to be the largest single acquisition the library had ever received and it is one of the largest collections of nongovernmental papers in the library's Manuscript Division. Most significantly, it was the first time the Library of Congress had ever accepted the working records of any nongovernmental civic organization. Why should the Library of Congress break precedent in the case of the League of Women Voters?

Dr. Louise Young, who was assigned by the library's Manuscript Division to arrange the collection, gave a partial answer to the question. "There hasn't been a moment in your history," she told a league convention, "when you weren't engaged with the most important issues of that particular time. There isn't any kind of scholar who is interested in the record of human activity who will not find your records useful. They are already doing it. They are clamoring to get them on the shelves."

The League of Women Voters is not only an American phenomenon but a unique organization. While it is tiny when compared with the great service or labor organizations, it has the true aim and power of David's slingshot. Politicians have vast respect for the league and what it can do. They have seen it spearhead or help to spearhead—and win—fights for the Food and Drugs laws, the improvement of the merit system in government, the entry of displaced persons, the reorganization of Congress, civilian control of atomic energy, reciprocal-trade agreements, the mutual-security program and the United Nations—to name a few.

After Julia Lathrop proposed the revolutionary idea of grants in aid from the Federal Government to the states for maternal and child welfare services in her famous Annual Report of the Children's Bureau of 1917, the League of Women Voters was largely responsible for needling a reluctant Congress into giving the idea legislative life in the Sheppard-Towner Act, a forerunner of the Social Security Act of 1935, which opened the door to the grants in aid which enabled the nation to survive the depression of the '30's.



The league's Camas, Wash., "votemobile" helps register farmer Mike Marugg and his daughter.

Not long before her retirement, Katharine Lenroot, who had helped make the Children's Bureau one of the great governmental social agencies of the world, credited the League of Women Voters with the success of the bureau.

"Everything that the Children's Bureau has ever done," she said, "has been made possible by the support and the background that the league gave it in its early years."

The League of Women Voters is an answer to the question so frequently asked: What chance has a mere citizen in a vast country like this to make his voice heard or his influence felt on issues of importance to his country and himself?

It has fewer than 130,000 members. It operated nationally in 1953 for \$230,828—a budget which might well force the National Association of Church Mice to regard itself a pretty-well-heeled group, after all. Most of what the league does spend goes for research and printing. There are thirty-nine paid members of its national staff. Elected officers serve without pay. The league housekeeps with a stern eye for economy. When the staff has used a pencil until the stub is too short for further use, it is not thrown away. It is saved for a board meeting. The league has found from its experience that its own board mem-

bers are no better than those of other organizations in the matter of inadvertently carrying new pencils away from board meetings.

The league is organized locally in all the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Alaska. The local leagues are split up into units. The Minneapolis, Minnesota, League, for example, has fifty-one units. Dues are usually three dollars a year. The local leagues concern themselves with problems of local government, but every member of a local league is automatically a member of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Local leagues contribute part of their income from dues and contributions to the state league, which contributes part of this income to the national organization.

The national officers include the national board, which operates as a sort of executive committee. The supreme policy-making body of the league is its national convention, held every two years. At the convention, the league's program for the coming biennium, called "the Current Agenda," is decided upon. The national officers and the national board are governed by the decision of the convention. On alternate years, when the convention does not meet, there is a national council attended by the national officers and board, the head of each state league and an additional delegate from each state league.

As between parties and candidates the league takes no stand. It can espouse only issues. No officer of the league, national, state or local, can run for political office or be an active party worker. The fidelity with which the league adheres to this principle was recently illustrated in amusing fashion. A presidential commission was to be appointed and a White House adviser asked the league to suggest the names of some of its members from whom a selection might be made for a possible appointee. Though the commission would be nonpartisan, the league was told, it would be desirable to know the party affiliations of the ladies whose names were suggested.

Mrs. Lee and her administrative assistant, Miss Muriel Ferris, had no trouble in thinking immediately of five members of the national board who could capably sit on the commission and were free to do so. They found, however, to their surprise, that in no case were they certain of the party affiliations of the ladies. Having known the ladies fairly well over a period of years, they thought they could pretty well guess to which party each belonged, and just for the fun of it, they made their guesses. Somewhat ruefully, they found that in every case they had guessed wrong.



At the league's national headquarters in Washington, D.C.: Miss Muriel Ferris, executive secretary; Mrs. John Lee, president; Mrs. Robert Leonard, first vice-president.



League members of Camas register William Pratt, 93, as a voter. At election time, they'll take him to the polls.



As the league is numerically small compared to the total electorate, as it has nothing which could be called a war chest in the way of funds, as it neither espouses nor opposes candidates and threatens no reprisals, what is the source of its undeniably great influence with politicians? One answer is that the politicians are never quite sure what the league will do next.

In 1948, the House Ways and Means Committee's Subcommittee on Tariffs was considering a bill for the three-year extension of reciprocal-trade agreements. The league, which favored the extension, and other organizations asked the subcommittee to hold a public hearing on the bill. The subcommittee chairman, Rep. B. W. Gearhart (Rep., Calif.), took a poor view of this.

"I can't see," he was quoted as saying, "that any useful purpose would be served by listening to spokesmen for a bunch of ladies' sewing societies reading statements prepared by the State Department."

The league took no offense over its brusque dismissal as a "ladies' sewing society." It simply took a few timely stitches and whipped together, with other organizations, an open public hearing on the bill at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. There was considerable advance publicity for this event and fifty-odd organizations, representing some 60,000,000 citizens, sent representatives to testify.

On the eve of the Mayflower hearing the Republican steering committee announced that it would advocate consideration of a one-year extension of the bill. The action was significant in that the subcommittee had not yet reported on the bill. The Congress subsequently voted for the one-year extension. And Mr. Gearhart—who denied he ever made the sewing-society remark—was defeated for re-election.

The league is effectively active on all levels of government. This activity includes such homely chores as riding for hours on streetcars or buses to distribute literature, or sitting all day in supermarkets to persuade citizens willing to learn about issues at stake to carry a league pamphlet home with the groceries. If an election is coming up, the pamphlet will probably be what is called the Voter's Guide, and will list the candidates for office in the voter's district, with their records and position on pertinent issues.

The activities of the league at the state and municipal levels are as various as the issues that raise their complex heads everywhere. And once given an issue, the league, state or municipal, will go to town with it. Many persons have learned this, sometimes to their great annoyance. Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves, of Rochester, Minnesota, now a member of the board of the national organization, during her presidency of the Minnesota league was stopped on the street by a gentleman who observed, somewhat peevishly, that "this country is in a mess" and why didn't the league do something about it? A few months later, during a Minnesota legislative session, league representatives were testifying in support of a piece of pending legislation. It was legislation of which Mrs. Hargraves' friend didn't approve. He telephoned her and demanded angrily, "Why don't you women stay home and mind your own business?"

On the municipal or local level the 959 leagues throughout the nation are continually active with projects for better community government and living. They reconstitute the city fathers, they modernize old jails, cam-

paign for juvenile-detention homes, modern garbage-disposal plants and a thousand and one other projects which need to be done.

Though a league publication has commented wryly that "getting the council-manager plan adopted is usually about as easy as persuading an eight-year-old boy to invoke God's blessing on the aunt who sent him two suits of underwear the previous Christmas," many local leagues have waged long fights to get this kind of government, and usually these fights have been successful.

In San Antonio, Texas, for example, the league worked for a full decade for a new city charter with council-manager government. It feels it had a definite part in finally persuading the electorate to vote two to one for the new government in 1951. A year before, the Des Moines, Iowa, league was the recipient in New York of the national Lane Bryant Annual Award "in recognition of outstanding volunteer services to the community" for its successful campaign for the same thing.

Another routine league chore, performed on a nationwide basis, is interviewing congressmen and senators at least once a year, and oftener if it seems desirable. The task of interviewing congressmen is undertaken by the league or leagues in the congressman's district. Senators customarily are interviewed by a group from the state league.

Many of the local league task forces assigned to the interview of a congressman make it a small social event by inviting Mr. and Mrs. Congressman to tea, perhaps. After these interviews a form entitled Report of Congressional Interview is filled out. This form gives the name of the congressman, his district, state and party, the subjects discussed and the view of the congressman on each, and the attitude of the congressman toward the league.

The higher you go up the league ladder, the more demanding is the job. The national officers certainly work as hard—perhaps they work much harder—as the top officials of a busy national corporation. The election of Mrs. Lee as president in 1950 was in the nature of an experiment, because until that time the national president had made her home in Washington during her incumbency. Largely because of this requirement, no married woman had headed the League of Women Voters of the United States since its organization, when Mrs. Maud Wood Park became its first president.

As the membership of the league is largely composed of married women—all the members of the present national board are married—the league faced something of a dilemma. To select only women without families as presidents would sharply curtail choice, but to ask a woman with a family to spend all her time in Washington would be asking too much. Mrs. Lee was elected with the understanding that she would spend every other week in Washington, which she does, commuting by plane to her home in Farmington, Connecticut, for weekends.

Even with this arrangement, Mrs. Lee accepted the job only after prolonged soul searching, the souls searched including her own, her husband's and her children's. The two older children were grown and off on their own, and the two younger ones were away at school, and they and Mr. Lee felt strongly that Mrs. Lee's acceptance of the job would be in the nature of a family contribution toward making a world which had grown almost un-

bearably grim perhaps a little less so.

In her report to the league's biennial convention after her first two years in office, Mrs. Lee said:

"Without infinite understanding and support on the part of my husband, and the co-operation of my household in Farmington, plus the patience and dedication of the resident board and staff, the difficulties of living a divided life might have been insurmountable. Happily, the co-operation has been unending and I have managed to commute regularly from home to the office without any major crisis. The horse has had no exercise, the old setter is mournful beyond belief and the new kittens have been legion. But the humans, curiously enough, seem to be bearing up quite well."

However well he bears up, Mr. Lee is nonetheless an unsung American patriot. During the days, as the assistant director of research for the United Aircraft Corporation, he can while away the hours with observing the eccentric behavior of wind in tunnels, conning the so-far-unpromising methods of abating the sonic bedlam of jet planes or jousting with any number of such esoteric matters. But as he spends his weekday evenings alone every other week, a pro-tempore widower, at the Lee home on a high hill near Farmington, he may well entertain moments when he is grateful, in an un-Nathan Haleish sort of way, that he has but one wife to give for his country. For the lovely, grayish-blue-eyed Percy Maxim Lee is the kind of wife and woman who would make a house in which she was accustomed to preside seem very empty when she is not there.

Mr. Lee is not alone in being a loyal league husband, for most of them soon become league fans and are proud of their political-minded wives. The attitude of one busy banker is fairly typical.

"I take my politics from my wife," he said stanchly, "because she has time to study these things."

Of course, not all league husbands are tame. When the state president of the league in one of the Southern states wrote a letter several years ago to local leagues in the state extolling the work of the Office of Price Stabilization, her husband, a business executive, wasted no time or finesse in setting things right. He snaffled her mailing list and sent a letter of his own to each of the local leagues.

"My wife," he wrote succinctly to make his own position on OPS quite clear, "is crazy."

The experiment of a part-time president has proved remarkably successful. During Mrs. Lee's first four years in the job, membership in the league has increased more than 35 per cent, continuing a growth it began under her predecessor, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, of New York.

But if the league were ten times as large as it is, its size would not explain its remarkable influence on the pattern of American political history. Probably one of the most compelling reasons for its strength is its determination to squeeze any issue dry of its pros and cons, and to examine these as intelligently and unemotionally as it can. This method makes for unbiased judgment insofar as any political issue can be definitively judged. The members of the league know what they are talking about and what they are voting about.

The New Year of 1950 brought a moment of critical decision to the league. An old friend and member who

had died in Santa Fe, New Mexico, had made the league the residuary legatee of her sizable little fortune.

"But," wrote the attorney for the executors of the will, "a matter has come up which requires immediate attention." The "matter," it appeared, was a female French poodle named Roule, a live asset of the estate, and the immediate attention she required was the attention female dogs customarily require when they have the cyclic notion of tossing their inhibitions over the windmill. Roule's condition was not without legal as well as canine precedents, but there was a complication. The league's benefactor and Roule's late owner, just before her death, the lawyer said, had arranged for the importation from Connecticut of a highly pedigreed Rover who even at that moment was roving by plane to Santa Fe. In this crisis the executors felt themselves powerless to act and the league must decide whether the marriage arranged between Roule and the emplaned Rover should be permitted consummation. Would it, please, make its decision known by return mail?

The league, being no dog in the manger, sent its blessings by airmail, but, in making this hasty decision, it violated its historic policy of never taking a defined position on any issue without prolonged study of all its implications. Had the league followed its habitual methods in this case, Roule and Rover would have become as well known to league members throughout the country as Romeo and Juliet, and probably a great deal more comprehensible. An ambitious study of the affair would have been initiated by the league's research staff. The backgrounds and medical histories of both principals would have been fine-tooth-combed. The league would doubtless have computed incidence of ectopic pregnancies among females of the poodle family and made an objective study of the desirability of increasing the canine population of New Mexico.

A basic publication would have been prepared treating the affair exhaustively and with the most complete objectivity. There would have been consultations with the country's leading authorities of veterinary gynecology and veterinary pediatrics. The findings of all these studies and the publications resulting would have been made available to the 959 local leagues throughout the nation, together with a bibliography covering all the main and most of the tangential questions involved.

When this painstaking pursuit of the truth in its many phases and guises is transferred from the realm of the facetious to the field of issues on whose determination the league correctly believes the fate of the United States as a nation may well depend, the importance and value of the League of Women Voters in today's world becomes apparent.

An example of this is the nearly two years the league spent in studying the Bricker Amendment before taking a stand against it. Members of the national staff interviewed proponents and opponents of the measure. They kept in constant touch with the Senate Judiciary Committee, attended its hearings and reported on them. In The National Voter and other league publications continuous and extensive information on both sides of the question was made available to members throughout the country as the basis of group discussions. These are held in thousands of league units, and reports of them pack



the league's filing cases at national headquarters.

From these reports it was evident that the great majority of league units and members were opposed to the amendment and the league at length announced it was opposed to the resolution. Mrs. Lee wrote to President Eisenhower setting forth the league's opposition. State presidents of the league were called by long distance and, especially in states whose senators appeared to be wavering, all the influence of the league and its members was brought to bear to convince the undecided. The New York Times cited the league as one of the several agencies which had contributed most to the defeat of the proposed amendment.

When the time came to speak about the Bricker Amendment, to stand up and be counted, the league could speak with an authoritative voice because it had taken infinite pains to know what it was talking about. It is a shining example of democracy working as it should work all over the free world. What compels members of the League of Women Voters to go to the endless trouble they do go to in order to inform themselves about political issues in the world today?

The average member of the league today is a youngish mother of two or three children. The key word is "mother." The intelligent woman in this extending era of world wars and world cold wars cannot escape acute apprehension of the fact that today's world is a grimly threatening world. It is no disparagement of the league to judge that today, in the 1950's, it is an organization whose driving forces are compounded of much greater self-interest than they were in 1920 when it was founded.

In 1920 the long battle for woman suffrage had been won here. The organized suffragists were all dressed up in their war paint with no place to go. It was Carrie Chapman Catt, then the grand old lady of the suffragist movement, who suggested and was the god-mother of the League of Women Voters. Naturally, its organization was something more, and something more significant, than the mere sublimation in the hour of victory of the militant forces developed in the long fight for equal suffrage. The women who had borne the brunt of the fight, who were

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Mrs. Lee is frequently asked, "What do you want to see the league accomplish this year?"

"I have tried to think this through," she says, "and I have only one answer. I want the League of Women Voters to be a beacon light of honesty and faith in a country confused by smog. Honesty, in terms of its being true to its fundamental principles and concepts; faith in its indestructible belief in truth and in the human being.

"In the league we may remember to advantage the words of Francis Bacon: 'To say that a blind custom of obedience should be a surer obligation than duty taught and understood, is to affirm that a blind man may tread surer by a guide than a seeing man can by light.'"

Mrs. Malcome Hargraves, commenting on an important project of the Minnesota state league, noted that it could be achieved only through the calling of a state constitutional convention. She put a great deal in a small nutshell when she said, "To do that we shall need patience and longevity. We are women and we have both."

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT  
 Edited by  
 MARGARET HICKEY

## Women in Politics.....

### New Hampshire Legislators

#### Your Vote Counts

By MARGARET HICKEY

**W**OMEN in the United States were at last officially recognized as full citizens of their country in 1920. On the August morning when Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby proclaimed the 19th Amendment a part of the Constitution, women gained the right to vote for which they had fought, been ridiculed and thrown into jail.

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There were an estimated 97,000,000 people who could have voted in 1950. But less than 70,000,000 registered, and of these only 42,325,000 voted. *Less than half the people who might have voted did so.* Even among those who troubled to register, 39 per cent cast no ballots in the 1950 election.

Women make up the majority of the population. Whether fewer women than men vote, as one would infer from the report of the Census Bureau, or the other way around, as claimed by the League of Women Voters on the basis of scattered checks, one fact is certain: millions of women have failed to accept their full responsibility as citizens.

Leaders of both major political parties are trying hard to get more people to register and to vote. The "Work and Win" program of the Republican women's 1950 campaign is being supported by many similar efforts for 1952. Mrs. Gifford Mayes, Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee in charge of women's activities, says the precinct program to develop forceful leaders and "alert and responsive rank-and-file workers" is being carried into "every home in every block." The Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, under the leadership of dynamic India Edwards, is equally determined to get out the vote.

The hobble-skirted marchers of the early 1900's achieved for women the right to vote. By the use of that right, and all it stands for, American women today can be the deciding power in public life. We—you and I—can assure the election of honest and competent public officials, along with the kind of government we want for our communities—and our nation.

**M**ARY WASTCOAT, seventy-one, a slight, soft-spoken grandmother, was a candidate for the New Hampshire House of Representatives from the little town of Candia. She was modestly confident she could "do some good" in her state legislature.

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Like Mary Wastcoat, most of the women who have climbed to political authority in conservative, tradition-bound New Hampshire have triumphed over male candidates, often in hard-fought campaigns. To measure their success you need only count the number of women in the state legislature today: forty, or 10 per cent, in Representatives' Hall; six, or 25 per cent, in the Senate chamber. Proportionately they constitute the largest feminine voice in any governing body in the world.

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(Continued from Page 25)



"I can spin a pretty fair yarn m'self, but you should hear my missus..."



"Only the yarn she tells about somethin' called Lastex o-u-t-s-t-r-e-t-c-h-e-s anything I've ever told."



"In one breath she says this here Lastex yarn makes things stretch like all get-out."



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*Lastex*

the miracle yarn that makes things fit  
UNITED STATES RUBBER COMPANY  
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# LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS...

## In Tulsa, Oklahoma

### "What's the U. S. to You?"

By MARGARET HICKEY

THE League of Women Voters has in current circulation a quiz entitled "What's the U. S. to You?" A small booklet, it is packed with to-the-point instructions on making your citizenship more effective. You might try out its questions on your guests or your club members. Every citizen should know the answers and act upon them.

This simple down-to-earth campaign for better citizenship is another step by the National League of Women Voters to promote political responsibility. Since only about 52 per cent of those qualified to vote did so in the last Presidential election, the League deserves the support of every thinking citizen. Founded in 1920, largely through the efforts of Carrie Chapman Catt, to help women use their newly acquired voting privileges, it is now attempting to reach all citizens. "You may feel that questions which disturb you, such as the prospect of another war or another depression, are problems about which you can do nothing," the League says. But you can do something. Don't think you can leave such vital decisions entirely to the President, to Congress or to our diplomats, it warns. These are the problems of every citizen. And in our democratic form of government, the participation of everyone is essential.

#### Where Do You Start?

Begin at home, the League advises. A nonpartisan organization, it urges you to become a member of the party of your choice; to start at the bottom, address envelopes, ring doorbells, make telephone calls, or baby-sit while others do their political chores. And don't put off your politics until you have more time. Delay may mean trouble for your community or your nation. "There is only one prescription for consistent good government—good election laws, good party rules, and good citizens who do not wait for trouble but are constantly alert."

Discussion groups of the nonpartisan variety in every community are recommended. Men's and women's service clubs, labor and management groups, P.T.A., the American Association of University Women (its publication *Assignment in Human Freedom* is filled with ideas for community programs), and the public-affairs committee of the Y.W.C.A. are reliable sources of co-operation. Education for citizenship doesn't end with the grade-school or high-school classes; it must be carried to your entire community, through newspaper, radio and word of mouth. Junior chambers of commerce are to be applauded for their work with new voters, who are added each year on their twenty-first birthdays.

Make politics your business. Voting, holding office, raising your voice for new and better laws are just as important to your home and your family as the evening meal or spring house cleaning.

THE END

Two members of the Tulsa League of Women Voters take their business to the heart of government—City Hall and Mayor Roy Lundy. Members are "willing to let a cake fall to see the mayor at the right moment."

TULSA, Oklahoma, is a city of contrasts. Barren Indian Territory a scant 43 years ago, today its churches look like cathedrals, its schools big as universities. Tar-paper shacks across the railroad track gaze at towering new skyscrapers and shops as expensive looking as any on upper Fifth Avenue. Claimed by some of its citizens to be the "cleanest city in the U. S. A.," Tulsa's health record is nothing to boast about. Although a glance at the police records shows that half of the white arrests are for drunkenness, the city is bone dry (along with the rest of Oklahoma, which has voted against repeal four times).

Because this city of 200,000 is filled with busy, aggressive, intelligent citizens, all eager to "do something" about Tulsa's problems, it has hundreds of clubs, dozens of civic programs. Among the women's groups, none holds a more generally admired position than the League of Women Voters.

A newcomer tells of walking down the main street and overhearing two men ahead of her arguing violently.

"You can't do it, Joe!" one was saying. "You'll never get away with it! You'll get the League of Women Voters on our necks!"

"The man really sounded scared to death," she laughed. "I thought to myself, if the League is *that* important around here, I'd better join." Which she promptly did.

Just what is the League of Women Voters? What makes the Tulsa chapter one of the most effective in the U. S. A.?

It is a nonpartisan group with great local political influence, to which any woman of voting age may belong. It supports no candidate or party, is primarily interested in political *issues*, and in turning women into aware citizens.

The Tulsa League is outstanding because, as one member put it, "We're willing to drive through sleet and ice to meetings, to work all night if necessary, and to let a cake fall in order to see the mayor at the right moment."

With its 400 membership and a yearly budget of over \$5000, the Tulsa League is run like a business, with a full-time secretary

PHOTO BY JOHN COLLIER





in a downtown office, where members can be seen busily running in and out all day long.

"The League is not like the Garden Club," says a past president, "where you plant your seeds in the spring and can show off your results in the fall. Trying to cultivate an interest in good government takes years and years, and the fight can demand every ounce of work and ingenuity a woman can offer."

The League laments the fact that some consider them bluestockings, and it is true that most Tulsa members have a higher-than-average education (the majority are college graduates) and a stronger-than-average urge to discover what sets political wheels whirling. It is well aware that women are apt to consider lawmaking as something dry, dusty and dull.

"I went to one meeting," relates a young housewife, "and decided it was not for me. It was just like school. Why, they were discussing something called state fiscal policy—imagine!"

A newly inducted housewife expresses a different viewpoint: "With three small children and no help, I like to think I'm getting something for what I pay the baby-sitter. That's why I chose the League of Women Voters. Other women's clubs *talk* about improving their city; the League *does* something."

"Foreign policy interests me the most," says another. "The war came pretty close to me, with my husband overseas and my brother killed. The League made the United Nations come alive for me."

"I can hardly wait to rush home after meetings and tell my husband. Know what?" says a mother of three. "It always starts a great discussion with my husband arguing against me, but I have the facts!"

The League stresses small, intensive "discussion groups" rather than passive "speaker" meetings. Although monthly speaker meetings are held in a downtown restaurant, the real work of the League is done in small study groups of from 10 to 12 people. About 50 of the 400 League members join these study groups yearly, meeting twice a month in members' homes. (A topic like state expenditures may take 16 weeks.) It is the recommendations of these study groups which are translated into League action.

In its 25-year history, the Tulsa League's achievements have been impressive. "When the League was just getting started, one in four babies in Tulsa never lived to see its first birthday, and their principal diet was milk," says a city health official. The League's first victory, back in 1930, was the passage of a Grade A milk ordinance to assure a safe milk supply. In 1946, one League member fighting to reinstate the Grade A ordinance, which had been relaxed, found that both her children were suffering from undulant fever. Through League efforts, Grade C milk was again outlawed, sanitary regulations for dairies tightened up, and Tulsa's 87 raw-milk dairies have been reduced to 2.

In 1933, when kids in trouble with Tulsa law were jailed and treated like adult offenders, the League obtained the first city Juvenile Court in the state of Oklahoma. They were instrumental in employing the first

policewomen in Tulsa, in licensing boarding homes for children, and in getting hospital care for mental cases before sanity hearings (formerly they had been jailed).

The League program is divided into three parts: topics of national interest, state interest and local affairs. National agenda currently includes action programs for strengthening the United Nations, promoting international reconstruction and expansion of world trade. And now the League is extending its study of state and local taxes and expenditures to the Federal system of Government finance. And it is believed that when the League holds its biennial convention this month, delegates will adopt an amendment calling for the improvement of Presidential-election methods. The Tulsa League ran a city-wide educational campaign on United Nations, showed films to an audience of 1000 travelers passing through the railroad station. Members wrote and produced a half-hour original radio play on world trade. On a state level, the Tulsa League is currently working to have the Oklahoma constitution brought up to date; scrutinizing legislation relating to children, education and low-cost housing. This year, in Tulsa, they are studying local recreational facilities, one particular school district, and the juvenile court; and taking a refresher course in the merit system.

You can see why one member, in paying her yearly dues, remarked, "Where else can I get a year's course in government for two dollars?"

Says a veteran League member, "We are most influential in getting laws passed whether through Congress, our state legislature or our city commissioners here in Tulsa. It is a much harder job to educate the general public, and we have often failed."

The Tulsa League has suffered four defeats at the polls in its long-sustained battle for a merit system in the hiring of city employees. The last time, the city employees themselves asked the League to draft a merit system. It was defeated by the people two to one, after the Police Department (which has its own kind of merit system) campaigned against it from house to house. The League failed on another issue three years ago when it pushed for a city-county hospital to alleviate a critical shortage of hospital beds (never more apparent than during the bad polio epidemic last summer). The people voted it down four to one largely because of the campaign of a small group of taxpayers who opposed the idea.

"However, it is more than reforms which are important," says Mrs. Ruric Smith, who has served as League state president and as a national director. "It's getting women exercised over a situation so that they develop a sense of civic responsibility. This is something which, once acquired, they never lose."

Adds present President Mrs. P. P. Manion, "Every time those women who worked for the new hospital see a piece about it in the paper, they will be interested. We try to get women to function as citizens the year round, not just at election time."

Although the League has failed so far in its fight for a merit system, the older members feel that the type of city servant has im-

proved. "I can remember in the early days of the League," says a member, "when the politicians seldom bothered to come to a candidates' meeting, or if they did, made speeches about the lovely ladies and their charming hats. Not any more!"

"Politicians hate us," says the League, gleefully. "But they also respect us."

At the League's meeting before the last local election, the politicians hurried right over. "And you know how hectic a candidate's life can be, the day before election," says President Mrs. Manion. "Twenty of the thirty candidates showed up, and others sent very careful regrets."

The League is perhaps most famed for its Voter Service. To get out the vote, the League maintains six booths (one roving) to answer voters' questions. About 6000 requests were handled last year at these booths. Three League members gave their home telephone numbers for voting information ("When you have small children at home to care for it's the best way to help").

To acquaint voters with the candidates for local, state and national office, the League prints an elaborate Voters' Information Sheet giving biographical data on each candidate and his stand on various issues. Questions are weighted to get a "yes" or "no" answer from the candidate and not a flurry of oratory. For instance, *not* "How do you feel about Federal low-cost housing?" but "Would you support legislation permitting Oklahoma to have low-cost Federal housing?" Says the League, "Then, when he's elected, we go visit him and point a finger at his answer. It's on the record." Last year all 41 candidates from both parties, including U. S. congressmen, promptly sent the information requested by the League. Twenty thousand of these sheets were distributed, to housewives at the corner grocery, union members at their meetings, college students at their classes, businessmen at their civic clubs. Business firms requested 10,000 more sheets than the League could supply.

This is typical of the way the League goes about informing the public.

This nonpartisan voters' service provides the League with a springboard into the community for its financial drive. Tulsa businessmen think so highly of the League that they contribute two thirds of its yearly budget, generally in \$5 and \$10 donations. They are also willing to join the League's Speakers' Bureau (one man gave 15 speeches last year on League projects). One businessman gives his women employees time off to attend League meetings ("I consider it a contribution to the community"). Radio stations give the League all the free time it wants.

During the year the League keeps all contributors up to date by letter on what it is doing. In this way it also acquaints other civic groups with the League efforts, as in the case of the bulletin, *Our Shame*, an exposé of the Tulsa City Health Department which shocked into action the P.T.A., Federated Women's Clubs, Council of Jewish Women, Council of Social Agencies and the Chamber of Commerce.

This dramatic campaign was launched as a study-group topic in the summer of 1947

under the leadership of Mrs. Raymond Feldman, a young housewife from Illinois with a law degree. "Tulsa has fine doctors, modern hospitals, it's new and sparkling and clean. I couldn't believe that any real health problems existed. However, as a basis for comparison, we wrote to sixty cities in the U. S. A., asking for health statistics, and got fifty answers."

Mrs. Feldman's group found that Tulsa spent less (62 cents a year per person) on public health than any other city its size; its pygmy-sized city health staff had lacked a director since 1945 and was in a chaotic state.

This is what else they discovered: too many Tulsa children dying of diphtheria, which has been almost completely eradicated in some cities (Oklahoma has no compulsory immunization law); infant and maternal mortality far too high (only one maternity health clinic); tuberculosis a tremendous problem, with 40 per cent of active cases not hospitalized.

Mothers complained that quarantine signs were put on their doors weeks late. One woman, when her son had scarlet fever, sent all his germ-infested sheets and clothes to a commercial laundry. The study group found there was no law in Tulsa regulating sanitary conditions in laundries and cleaning establishments! When the group had made its recommendations (most crying needs: a city health director, bigger budget, more trained personnel) the League swung into action. Numerous interviews were held with the mayor and the Board of Health. Mrs. Feldman worked up a speech, "Our Shame!" with striking charts. Her group gave 74 talks all over the city, personally reached about 4000 people. At the end of each speech, post cards addressed to City Hall were distributed to the audience. One day the mayor called, "Please, no more post cards! We've had four hundred this week!"

League members were present (along with other civic groups) the day the mayor raised the health director's salary from \$5600 to \$10,000 a year (more than the mayor himself made). This year, the Health Department is operating on a budget of \$172,000 (more nearly consistent with the U. S. Public Health Department's recommended minimum of \$1 a year per person), including a \$12,000 salary for a director. Nurses' and technicians' salaries have been raised, more personnel added, county and city health services consolidated.

"The people of Tulsa are becoming health-conscious," says the superintendent of nurses. "Every month more mothers are voluntarily bringing in their children for free immunization shots. Some women are even volunteering to work in our fifteen weekly well-baby clinics for nothing."

"We've got a long way to go yet," says Mrs. Feldman briskly. "At least everybody now knows that a health problem exists."

The League likes to tell the story about a leading public-health official who was addressing a Tulsa women's club on the evils of Tulsa public health.

"What can we do?" they chorused.

"What can you do?" he replied. "Why, join the League of Women Voters!"



## The Boys in the Back Room

"I'm just like a conductor on a train," said a high state official. "When a man comes to me for a job and he has a ticket saying 'Good for one ride,' I'm just the conductor who takes his ticket. I'm not going to enter into any academic discussion on how he got that ticket."

### My Favorite Political Story

By THOMAS J. CORCORAN  
Mayor, Syracuse, New York

In a political debate one of the candidates who towered, physically, over his opponent said: "You little whippersnapper—why, I could pick you up with one hand and put you in my pocket!" "If you did that," retorted the pint-size candidate, "you would have more brains in your pocket than you have in your head."

**What They Say:** "A political platform is like the platform of a streetcar. It's not something to stand on; it's something to get in on."

Veep Alben W. Barkley takes his Senatorial duties as seriously as any man in the chamber, but not without a sense of humor. After an operation, he appeared in the Senate with a black patch over his eye. He explained to his colleagues: "The doctor said to wear this patch to keep the wind out of my eye. So I put it on before I came in here."

**On the Wall:** Make women think government is something mysterious and remote. Then you won't have much trouble. As long as they don't see how politics touches their daily lives, they won't care and we can go on as before.

A former New Deal senator once charged one of his colleagues—a Southern Democrat—with forming an "unholy alliance" with Northern Republicans. Asked later if he really had such information, the accusing senator said, "No, but wait'll you see how mad it makes him."

A weary convention delegate found several party leaders in a heated discussion on a street corner outside their hotel at 3:30 in the morning. "This," he said, "is the first time I've seen a smoke-filled corner."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

### Voter's Notebook

"I have always been amused by those who say that they are quite willing to go into government but they are not willing to go into politics. My answer, which has now become a bromide with me, is that you can no more divorce government from politics than you can separate sex from creation."

*The Forrestal Diaries*, by Secretary James Forrestal.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## Join a party... either party... BUT JOIN!

By Senator WILLIAM BENTON

"What can I do?" women ask.

The answer is, "You're already doing it."

But if you really want

to work—not just talk—

here are three sound suggestions.

I HAVE tens of thousands of women in my state who expect a Democratic senator to appear in a burst of smoke, snorting fire and brimstone, with cloven hoofs and a tail. Eighty to ninety per cent of the 169 towns in my state have been dominated for generations by the Republican Party. My first effort after I climbed out of the helicopter which I used throughout my campaign in 1950, was to try to create a friendly environment, to provoke a smile. I solved this when I was able to take along with me my eight-year-old son, John. As we tumbled out, I would introduce him as my "button boy." I would announce, "John, my button boy, will give a Benton button to ladies who smile at him." This may have produced few votes, but it produced quite a few smiles.

The ladies in many of our Connecticut small towns are political traditionalists, in a tradition set by their fathers and grandfathers. I found that little I said or did could influence a woman who felt herself married, till death do her part, to the Republican Party. To such women I was just a curiosity like my noisy helicopter.

Of the women who may be wooed and won—and these are those for whose eyes the candidate is searching—there are, broadly speaking, two types: those who might prove to be workers, and those who won't.

The latter, those who think they will work but usually don't, are often young married women in their late twenties or early thirties—eager-eyed, often good-looking—who ask provocatively, "But what can I do?" These women, who look so photogenic in the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, at first seemed to me the political hope of America—and not merely because they looked at me as if they intended to vote for me. But they aren't. They aren't a major political hope at all, not unless and until they can learn a few simple rules. First they must seek to become the political hope of their own communities.

They, of course, play their part in the first answer to the question, "What can I do?" This is, of course, "You are already doing it." Paul Appleby, dean of the School of Politics at Syracuse University, reminds us there are many ways of influencing public policy other than through the ballot. Each woman who wants to know "What can I do?" should ponder his comment:



Sen. Benton tries to "win friends and influence voters."

"Citizens vote by adding their names and energies to membership rolls. They vote by swelling, or failing to swell, the circulations of particular newspapers or periodicals. They vote by contributing to the popularity of particular radio or newspaper commentators. They vote by writing letters to the editor. They vote much more potently than they know when they write or talk to members of legislative bodies and to administrative officials. They vote as they express themselves in labor unions, farm organizations, business and professional bodies. They vote in every contribution they make to the climate of opinion in a thoroughly political society. They vote more effectively still as they organize to exert influence. They vote effectively in proportion to the persistence of their efforts, for persistence is an index to intensity of feeling."

"But what can I do directly?" some persistent women will continue to ask. These are the women who give promise of becoming workers. They are the valuable women: one such can be worth one hundred or perhaps ten thousand of those who are only transiently eager-eyed. I would like to hope that a notable percentage of the readers of this remarkable series of articles in the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL will someday be found among them.

Women already do around two thirds of the election-district work which keeps our political parties vital. This is far and away more important than that women have 2,000,000 more votes than men in the United States. Further, it is my hope that women have only begun to fight. I now make these three suggestions to women who share that hope, to willing women, women willing to work:

(Continued on Page 168)



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...with fine enduring  
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(Continued from Page 166)

four days. We'd hardly left our mark on it. It was no place to live. No place at all. You'd never have known there was a woman within a hundred miles. The trees and bushes and the rocks still had it. Who did they think was boss here, people or them?

I cleared the stones, even the little ones, out of a nice large space. I slung them over the cliff into the water. I couldn't make them unsharp, but I didn't have to sit on them. I got a stick and scraped and leveled the space. I spread a tarp and a blanket over it. I got our two sleeping bags and rolled them up and put them under the edge to make back rests. I went through the provision box and made some plans.

This island must have something useful to humans besides fish. I got a pan and went to look. I found blueberries and water cress and flowers, and if I looked a little ridiculous in my rolled-up long underwear picking them, Nature didn't laugh. She didn't dare. I had her number at last. I found a piece of sheet metal back in the woods and lugged it into camp.

Then the water was warm, so I took a bath. Right out in the open, soaping myself all over and pouring rinse water over myself like a shower. The lake lapped at the landing place below me, gently reprimanding me.

"Keep still!" I yelled at it. "I prefer a warm bath."

The sun was gloriously warm. I found some civilized silk underwear in my bag and put it on. It gave me new strength. I knew in that moment why women had been such spineless underdogs for ages. They hadn't had silk underwear. My own jeans were dry and I put them on and rolled the legs above the knees and it was warm enough for only one shirt. My clothes fit me; I felt slim and human.

I washed out some towels and socks and hung them on the line to dry. Then I took flour and shortening and made piecrust and, lacking a rolling pin, I patted it into one of our tin eating plates. I put in the berries and some sugar and crumbled bits of the crust over the top. I covered it with another plate. Then I rolled stones up to the bed of coals and balanced the sheet metal on them. I baked the pie on the flat stone underneath. It was a kind of oven and it worked.

I cut up bacon and onion and cooked them and I opened an extra can of tomatoes and fixed up that darn spaghetti so you would never have recognized it. I crumbled cheese over the top and put it in the "oven." I opened canned fruit and made a salad with the water cress, using a kettle lid for a plate. I didn't care how much of the backlog of food I used up. What were we saving it for?

I put a clean dish towel in the center of the blanket and I arranged the flowers in the fruit can in the center of it. Then my hair was dry and I combed it and put on some make-up, the first I'd had on for days. I got a small magazine out of my purse and lay back against the back rest on the

blanket to read, but I couldn't get my mind on it. I just lay there being me.

When I heard them coming, I busied myself with the food. I didn't care if they did laugh, but I didn't have to face them.

"Come on, let's clean the fish," I heard Esther say.

"You can eat right now," I called. "You don't need the fish."

"Of course we need the fish," Esther said. "We caught them. Just keep the spaghetti warm."

I put the salad on the cloth in the middle of the blanket. It was a startlingly beautiful salad. I hadn't seen one for so long. I brought the pie. It looked wonderful. Then I got the spaghetti. It was all golden melted cheese and heart-warming fragrance. I put it on the table beside the pie.

Bill was standing at the edge of the blanket looking stunned. The others came, too, and stood gaping. Bill picked up the salad and held it on his finger tips.

"It's unbelievable!" he said. Then he looked at Don. "You know something?" he said. "Women are just different from men, that's all. You know what the difference is?"

"Never noticed," Don said facetiously. "Is there a difference?"

"Yuh," Bill said as if he had just discovered it and was surprised himself. "This: You set women—most women," he qualified endearingly—



Happiness never lays its fingers on its pulse.

—A. SMITH



"down in some wild place and what do they do? They make it comfortable. They battle Nature and bring her to time. 'To heck with you,' they say. 'You get out of my way.'"

Then they grab her berries and flowers and anything else they want and they pretty things up and they cook up a meal. You set men down in a wild place and they let Nature take over. They lie down and go to sleep."

"Or fish," I said.

Esther stood at the edge of the blanket, still gaping. Her hair was a little matted, I noticed, and it needed shampooing. And she could have done with a little lipstick. She had rolled her jeans up, too, because of the heat. I hadn't ever seen her legs before. Her ankles were thick and her calves too straight. Her shoulders drooped and she looked flat-chested and tired.

"Ye gods! You must have been battling Nature like mad around here this morning," she said. She threw herself down on the blanket and tossed her fish scaler aside. "Sometimes I wish I were the domestic type. What are we waiting for? Pass the ambrosia."

Don lingered over a bite of the spaghetti, rolling it around in his mouth. "You know, women add something special to life," he said. "And as long as they do, what do you say we keep them around?"

"You bet they add something special," Bill said. "Frills, that's what. A bit of fluff." He leaned back with a big sigh against the sleeping-bag couch I'd made and lit into the spaghetti and salad. "Good old fluff," he said.

## JOIN A PARTY

(Continued from Page 55)

1. Get on a party committee—either party—in your own community. Do it now. You'll be welcomed, if you're a worker. Sooner than you think, if you're a worker, you'll find your political influence multiplied tenfold and a hundredfold over your days as an independent or solitary voter.

Don't hold back because you can't decide whether you should be a Republican or a Democrat. Make the best judgment you can, but don't ask my advice, if you think you want to become a Republican, unless you want to be dissuaded! However, both parties can stand a lot of cleaning up and both, at all times, need local leadership. There isn't too much ideological difference between the parties in local elections and often there is

none—and what there is varies from town to town.

Don't be discouraged if at first the men seem to dominate the decisions; or if the older women in the organization look at you, if you are younger, with raised eyebrows. I've heard the women's division of one political party described as a "conspiracy of the grandmothers."

To the younger worker, the older women may seem overproud of their organization status and interested largely in personalities and in party politics and success. Don't be misled. Don't be intimidated either. But remember that without these veterans any political organization would risk collapse.

(Continued on Page 170)





Steady there, Mate!  
ON A  
**Rubbermaid BATHMAT**  
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AS A SAILOR



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(Continued from Page 168)

One women's chairman in Connecticut shrugged off the younger women with the comment, "They are too busy raising their children to be good workers." Exactly the reverse I believe to be true. The ideal time for women to enter politics is when they first become concerned, through their family problems, with community problems. The young mother in the PTA discovers that the town or the county faces a choice between a new school auditorium and a road-building project, between a hospital bond issue and a new bridge. If she's smart she'll discover she can best back up her own choice as a member of a party committee. Further, her voice can prove determinant.

2. *Know what you want, in terms of your community's future, and go after it.* Don't make a speech at your first or your tenth meeting about the founding fathers, or about efficiency in government. Be specific and concrete about candidates and about issues. Bring your friends along to help you and teach them all your speeches.

3. *Be persistent and be good-natured about your political objectives.* I know of no field where the old maxim "Keep everlastingly at it" pays off more surely or more quickly than in politics. Your first work may seem unrewarding—perhaps hack work, licking stamps and envelopes. You may have to work yourself up to the great career of pushing doorbells. But you'll soon find that 75 per cent of your alleged fellow workers are dilettantes or coattail riders who don't show up 75 per cent of the time. The worker, the one who is persistent and good-humored, gets the recognition in politics even more quickly than in other fields.

\* \* \*

Frankly, I see little point in women's going into politics if the only result is to swell the vote on behalf of a machine boss who thinks he can elect a chimpanzee on a laundry

ticket. Unhappily, he all too often ran, for the machine boss is all too much of a reality in all too many American communities.

Women must bring their own ideas into politics and insist on them. This is easy if they'll work at it. Then they can make a far greater contribution to community and national life than ever before. Only thus can they channel their idealism in concrete terms. My three foregoing suggestions are designed to that end.

Women are, of course, already contributing enormously to American political life at the top level. Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, has led her own party in facing up to the menace of Senator McCarthy. I have known Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense, for twelve years, and she is one of the ablest public servants in America. We need far more women in positions of such high importance in our democracy. When I served as Assistant Secretary of State I urged women upon the State Department for positions of high responsibility. We now have two women as chiefs of missions.

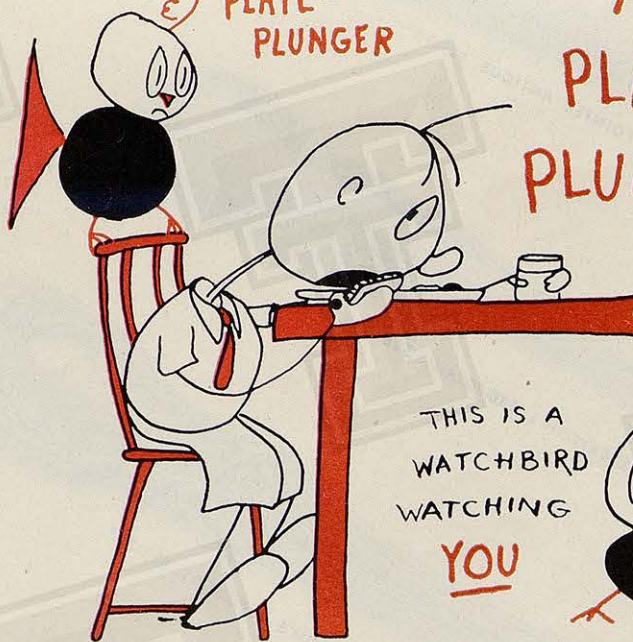
The United States needs many more women participating at the top level—and at the local level. This we must always remember: the national and international policies of our great nation can never rise for long above the level of local political morality in our villages, towns and cities.

Shortly before he died, the great American philosopher William James helped answer every woman who asks, "What can I do?" Wrote James:

"I am done with great things and big things, great institutions and big success, and I am for those tiny, invisible, molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, yet which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of men's pride." THE END

THIS IS A  
WATCHBIRD  
WATCHING A

PLATE-  
PLUNGER



THIS IS  
A  
PLATE-  
PLUNGER

THIS IS A  
WATCHBIRD  
WATCHING  
YOU



By Munro Leaf

PLATE-PLUNGERS are messy and they are about as pleasant to eat with as a pig. They stick their heads almost into their plates at the table. This Plate-Plunger is so close to its plate that its chin is almost in the gravy and it is about to use a piece of bread for a shovel. If you ever ate with a Plate-Plunger, you certainly would see why you wouldn't want to be one. Ugh!



WERE YOU A PLATE-PLUNGER THIS MONTH?





SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 6, 1973



THE WHOLE FAMILY LENDS A HAND  
Veta Winick, Center, With Her Children, Mitch, Seth And Mara

## LWV State President Keeps Very Occupied

By MAGGIE STEBER  
NEWS STAFF WRITER

Most people would run out of steam if they cared for a husband, three children and a dog, ran a large house, helped direct an art league, painted and spent over 40 hours a week working on their third term as president of a statewide organization.

But Veta Winick of Dickinson, president of the League of Women Voters of Texas, does all that and running out of steam, she's not.

Veta first joined the League in 1957, in Dallas when she began feeling what she calls the seven-year itch.

"I just had to get out of the house so I picked three things I was interested in joining and the League was one of them," Veta says.

The presidency of such an organization isn't an easy office to attain and along the way,

Veta served as vice president and president of the local League in Dickinson. On the state level, she is serving her eighth year on the board of directors.

"I didn't know my involvement would go this far," Veta says, "but it is a very fascinating job, somewhat like receiving a college education all over again. The job takes up a great deal of my time here in Dickinson and around the state but it gives back much more."

A spunky woman with a strong enthusiasm for the League's role as a citizen lobby in Austin, Veta says the League in Texas enjoys a very good reputation.

"In Austin, we have 18 to 20 women who act as volunteer lobbyists and go to meetings and testify. It's all a very clear-cut case of keeping the taxpayer's interest at heart," she says.

"No one takes us to dinner or pays our bills. We do that all ourselves because we are responsible for keeping an eye on the issues and on elected officials once they get to office."

And with an election year behind voters, the public and elected officials can settle down a bit but for the League, the work is just beginning again.

According to Veta, this is a very crucial time for the future of the state and the League works harder now than during election months.

"The League has worked and studied constitutional revision for 25 years. It has been a major concern of our program and right now, we are preparing to testify at meetings being held around the state through June," she says.

"We must continue a sharp surveillance over the revision process for the next two years. The League will not forget to support a good constitution nor to help defeat a poor one."

The need for substantial change in the state constitution is great, Veta says, and the League will not let voters be charmed by a set of words that provides only cosmetic change.

Other points of study the League maintains include changes in the election law (the League, she says, was responsible for getting rid of the poll tax), voting rights, state financing and a

stronger ethics bill.

"We're always going to have a full program. Maybe we reach for the stars but if we don't care, who's going to do it?" she says.

"Sometimes the issues we handle aren't too popular but the League has always enjoyed a great sense of credibility and we seem to be able to go places where other groups can't," the League president says.

Because members of the League are women, Veta is often asked if League members are also women liberationists.

In response, she maintains that while the League and the women's movement have much in common, the League's interests go past issues for women and include all people.

"We have women who belong to the National Women's Political Caucus and I even went to Houston to observe the convention."

"But I think the League members have always done their own thing. You could call us people liberationists because we are concerned with issues involving all people, not just women," she says.

The League's membership everywhere is very diverse, Veta says, and there has been an increase in the number of young women in the organization.

"I'm very pleased to see young women coming into the organization."

"Many of them have babies and they bring them to meetings so we fold mailers and diapers at the same time. It's great," she says.

Although the League is partisan on issues and non-partisan on candidates and her office is non-political, Veta gives some indication that when her third term is up, she might be interested in going into politics.

She says she has learned a great deal about politics and in Texas, there are very definite changes that need to be made, especially where women in government are concerned.

"There are a lot of good, smart women in Texas who are repeatedly overlooked when it comes to assignments, agencies and commissions."

"Anytime a position needs to be filled, the qualifications and not the gender of an individual should be scrutinized and in Texas, appointments for women are generally overlooked because they are women, not because they are not qualified," she says.

In her role as a League member, Veta has some criticisms of elected officials after they take office.

"Every two years, at election time, our elected state officials become interested in the League. Some of the same officials remember the League between elections but others seem to have unbelievable, but convenient, lapses of memory," she explains.

"The League was a sought-out partner when it came to lending credibility of a non-paid citizen's lobby to the support of issues involving good government," she continues.

"But, those same officials who sought us out, forget us when commissions are chosen and reform bills debated."

Since Veta's involvement in the political world through the League began, her whole family has not only helped her but has also become involved in issues concerning better government.

Her husband, Darwin, an industrial physiologist, takes over when she has to be away, Veta explains, and urges the children to take an active part in community affairs.

Her oldest son, Mitch, 17, is past president of the student council at Dickinson High School and is very active in community affairs. Seth, her youngest son, knows nothing but the League, Veta says, and Mara, 13, has become very issue-oriented in both community and national problems.

"I think they are all very proud of me and they all back me 100 per cent. Everyone helps out above and beyond the call of duty and their attitudes are great," she says.

"I think because of my involvement, the whole family is more interested in both their community and the world so the whole thing has really paid off."

### The View From Austin

## Hopes For Speaker Position Damaged?

By KIM McMURRAY

AUSTIN — It was a pitiful display of the concept of "democracy and free speech" which reform-minded House members had pledged to bring to the lower chamber this session.

And it may have dashed any hopes Troup Rep. Fred Head had of succeeding House Speaker Price Daniel Jr.

The unbelievable exhibition took place during a mid-week meeting of the House Reapportionment Committee, which Head chairs.

Many members, apparently a majority, of the panel wanted to go head and okay a redistricting plan which left all House districts as they are drawn now, thus leaving any boundary-changing to be done on the floor.

Those members feared that drawing new districts in committee would give Head a tremendous advantage in his race for speaker in 1975.

Time and time again members of the committee asked to be recognized for motions to send a bill to the House floor. Time and time again Head refused to let those motions be made.

The chairman, who defeated former House Speaker Rayford Price in last year's Demo-

cratic primary, was a charter member of the famed "Dirty 30" reform group which fought former Speaker Gus Mutscher's "dictatorial" rule over the House.

Head denied that his refusal to allow a vote on any bill was "dictatorial" even though a majority of the committee apparently wanted it.

He contended that the committee had not given enough thought to the matter, intimating that he knew best.

One newsman asked Head if his actions could be characterized as a "benign dictatorship" as opposed to Mutscher's malignant dictatorship. Head said certainly not.

One committee member remarked angrily, "I thought we had gotten rid of the Hitlers, Stalins and Mussolinis," and another called Head "a liberal Gus Mutscher."

One committee member who supported Head's actions told reporters that "it's good for them (the more conservative members of the committee) to see what we felt like under Mutscher."

Head later apologized if anyone was offended by his actions and said that he certainly did not intend to stifle freedom of speech.

Despite his apology, however, even Head supporters were admitting that his credibility

had been seriously damaged and that the committee meeting may have marked the beginning of the end for his speaker bid.

### CAPITOL QUICKIES

ITEM: If Head and Port Arthur Rep. Carl Parker aren't named to the five-member House conference committee on the 1974-75 state spending bill, it'll probably be largely because they are speaker candidates. Reports circulated last week that House Speaker Price Daniel Jr. didn't want to name any speaker hopeful to the all-important panel. Head and Parker were both on the House Appropriations Committee and the conferees must come from that group.

ITEM: Many eyebrows were raised last week when Rockdale Rep. Dan Kubiak, chairman of the House Education Committee, filed a statement reporting no expenses and no contributions in a campaign for House speaker in 1975. As it turns out, Kubiak is not a candidate but is working hard for Rep. Parker. Kubiak had been going to House members saying saying that there is "someone I would like for you to support for speaker," and felt that since that vague statement could be interpreted to mean himself, he'd better file a report.



# League of Women Voters Keeps Eye on Ball in Making Program

## Alertness, Facts, and Fervor Brought to Convention Tasks

By Jessie Ash Arndt  
Woman's Editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Orderly, alert, informed, responsive. These terms best characterize the League of Women Voters in convention or at work in their own communities.

The League members are women with a purpose—one defined for them when their organization was founded: "To promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." Therefore, they themselves keep informed, they make decisions on the basis of facts, and they have a plan of action which their program embodies.

The final steps in making the program for the next two years were taken the last week in April at Atlantic City, where about 900 League members assembled for their biennial convention. Like the organization itself, unique in its aims and achievements, the League convention stands out among those of American women's groups.

For members of many women's organizations, a convention is something of a lark. At least it is one for those who merely attend as delegates without any responsibility for the mechanics of the convence.

### Delegates on the Job

Not so with the League of Women Voters. One of the impressive memories of the Atlantic City meeting is that of the opening session. The convention hall looked full. Many members had barely had time to deposit their bags and register before they convened, but they were on hand, pencils poised over notebooks.

They hardly waited to catch their breath before they were lined up at the microphones (placed conveniently in various parts of the hall so speakers from the floor could be heard). They had come prepared to participate and to work—and they did both.

The responsiveness of the convention was symbolic of the democratic system of government for which the League is a bulwark. Sometimes it was divided on a question and the ayes and noes had to be counted in a rising vote. At other times, the convention body spoke out like a single voice, as responsive as an orchestra to the conductor's baton, except that, in this instance, the response was the voice of independent and free decision by a group equipped with facts and a background of experience.

And for all the discussion of heavy national and international issues and the League's stand on

### Voters' Service

This time the Voters' Service has been placed right at the top of the League's 1950-1952 program, preceding the current agenda, so there can be no mistake as to the place it holds in over-all League activity. It reads:

1. Provides nonpartisan, factual information in regard to registration, voting, candidates, public officials and issues.
2. Promotes party participation and voting in every primary and general election.
3. Builds understanding of the essentials of representative government.

retiring president, Miss Anna Lord Strauss, would lighten her remarks with a touch of humor. Then the convention laughed as easily as it voted, and came to order as promptly.

Rarely did anyone speaking from the floor confuse the issue. Once such a tendency was evident. One delegate after another had risen, named the state she was from, and had given her views on the question. But the tedium was ended when a businesslike member announced: "I am Mrs. Smith from the State of Confusion, and I'd like to ask for clarification . . ."

The business of the convention was the final acceptance of the program for 1950-1952. One of the problems in the program-making was the conflict between the League members' desire to take action in certain directions, and the necessity for keeping to the League's primary objective—training for citizenship through its Voters Service. "Heavy program load" was a phrase frequently repeated—often in warning tones.

### Work for Local Leagues

The local leagues are committed to follow through on the national program as well as to take state and local action within its framework, and always to keep uppermost the purpose to use such action as an instrument for citizenship training. Because of the importance of work by local leagues on local and state issues, effort is made to keep the national items on the current agenda to a minimum.

League action is defined as "political action in the public

whirl as they do at a League convention, one must know that the actual process of program-making begins early in the autumn preceding the convention. First the local League members discuss the kind of program needed and send their recommendations to the national board at the organization's headquarters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

On the basis of these recommendations, the national board works out at its November meetings a "Proposed Program" which is printed for consideration of state and local leagues. Between December and the middle of March this year, 30,000 of these programs were ordered for distribution to the League membership.

This is known in League terminology as "Round 1" of the program-making process—and incidentally the League "spells out" its communications to members in what is coming to be known as characteristic League phraseology.

"Round 2" of the program procedure is the consideration of the views of the whole League membership expressed in recommendations sent to the national board after studying the "Proposed Program." A digest of this opinion is compiled and on its basis the board's original proposals are modified for presentation to the convention. "Round 3" is actual adoption of the current agenda by the convention body.

### Three Subjects Considered

In Round 1, for this biennium, the proposed current agenda which came out of the November, 1949, board meeting listed three items: (1) expanding work trade and international economic development, as essential steps toward a strong United Nations; (2) An understanding of the Federal budget in relation to a stable and expanding economy; the examination of conservation programs to illustrate the effect of government expenditures and administrative efficiency on the economy of the United States; support of reorganization measures for improved administration of conservation programs. (3) A constitutional amendment to improve the method of election of the President and Vice-President of the United States.

The second item was designed to meet two demands, one for study of the Hoover Report, the other for bringing conservation on to the current agenda. Conservation was one of the subjects which again and again was brought before the League at its Grand Rapids convention two

### League Leads Way For Legislation

Sometimes the League of Women Voters is charged with leaning toward one side or the other politically, although it is a nonpartisan organization. This is usually because some idea it has espoused from the beginning finally becomes a legislative issue.

The League, in the '20's was the innovator of the idea of grants-in-aid for maternal and child welfare services as embodied in the short-lived Sheppard-Towner Act which it persuaded a reluctant Congress to pass. Withstanding the Constitutional test, this measure opened the way for the social legislation of the '30's when the substance of it was included in the Social Security Act of 1935.

Other legislative accomplishments listed by the League are:

- The Cable Act (independent citizenship for married women).
- Muscle Shoals (TVA as a "yardstick").
- Food and Drug Act.
- Improvement of the Merit System in Government.



Pencils poised over notebooks, information on tap and determination to "get on with the business" distinguish a League of Women Voters convention session.

## Catt Fund Does Much In Its First Two Years

By the Woman's Editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Something new and significant was added to the convention of the League of Women Voters of the United States when its 900 delegates met at Atlantic City in April—the presence of women observers from other countries.

Throughout the week, guests from Iceland, the Philippines, Greece, Lebanon, Germany, Japan, and Dr. Hannah Rydh, of Sweden, president of the International Alliance of Women, sat on the front row during the sessions. On Wednesday evening they were guests of honor and speakers at a meeting over which Mrs. Charles E. Heming, chairman of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, presided.

The League members saw distant horizons draw near, and a new era of service dawned for their organization.

something as they sat through the sessions.

As Miss Amineh Makdissi, a veteran educator from Lebanon, commented: "I am most impressed with the unity of the people from all parts of your great country and their faith that they can do something for their country."

The visitors looked beyond the walls of that convention hall to visualize similar meetings in their own lands and the advancement of women there in the techniques of good government.

At the Wednesday evening program, in addition to the talks by Dr. Rydh and other overseas observers, League members also had opportunity to hear more of the training for citizenship which is being offered women of other countries through the Carrie



Central Studies

Around the conference table are gathered four top-level workers for the League of Women Voters (left to right): Mrs. Bradford L. Patton of Chicago, treasurer; Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Conn., new president; Miss Anna Lord Strauss of New York, immediate past president, and Mrs. Walter G. Fisher of Winnetka, Ill., nominating chairman for the 1950 election.

at the same time give focus to conservation. Then came the letters. Because

conditions, Dr. Newcomer explained. It is now difficult to know in which direction the economy is

many members to put it on the current agenda. The reason was that the prin-



decision by a group equipped with facts and a background of experience.

And for all the discussion of heavy national and international issues and the League's stand on them, the sessions were not solemn. The definitely defined differences of opinion were forthrightly and briskly presented, always without rancor.

Occasionally a delegate or the

on local and state issues, effort is made to keep the national items on the current agenda to a minimum.

League action is defined as "political action in the public interest" and is nonpartisan. It may include providing information, building public opinion, and supporting legislation concerning issues on the League's program.

To understand why the wheels

other for bringing conservation onto the current agenda. Conservation was one of the subjects which again and again was brought before the League at its Grand Rapids convention two years ago, particularly by delegates from the mountain and plain states of the West and Midwest. The board therefore decided to select for the agenda a certain portion of the Hoover report and

at the same time give focus to conservation.

Then came the letters. Because of the protest by local leagues against the "work load" indicated by the program as proposed, it was modified and brought before the convention in a shorter form. Item No. 3, on the constitutional amendment, was dropped and item No. 2 divided into two parts.

The method of putting these items before the convention was characteristic League technique. They were explained one by one, by members of the national board who have become recognized as "experts" in certain fields. Mrs. Allan C. G. Mitchell, of Bloomington, Ind., presented the item providing active League support for "the expansion of world trade and international economic development with maximum use of United Nations agencies."

This was presented early the afternoon of the opening session. Discussion "for clarification only" was announced by the president, Miss Strauss, to follow Mrs. Mitchell's presentation.

The delegates lost no time. They were ready with questions and expressions of opinion. The discussion was lively. It revealed a unanimous desire among the delegates to work to strengthen the United Nations.

#### UN Depends on People

Most of them recognized that the institution would continue to gain strength only as the peoples of the world held the determination to make it work successfully. Just a few revealed by their comments a tendency to pin all their faith on the institution as such, as though of itself it might save the world.

There was not time for the presentation of item No. 2 and item No. 3 until the second and third days of the convention. Dr. Mabel Newcomer, professor of economics at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., explained item No. 2 calling for "a continued analysis of the Federal budget in relation to a stable and expanding domestic economy."

The convention finally changed this to read: "A continued analysis of the Federal budget and support of such federal measures as make for a stable and expanding domestic economy." League action on this item must be geared to

conditions, Dr. Newcomer explained. It is now difficult to know in which direction the economy is going.

Answering one question as to how far the United States can go in military spending without affecting the domestic economy, Dr. Newcomer quoted Paul Hoffman, director of ECA, who had told the women the night before: "One thing we can afford is a cold war, because we can keep on living and spending for it."

She recommended that the League give out information and build constructive public opinion on the federal budget. "Some people have not discovered there are two sides to the budget," she said.

#### Civil Rights Issue Up

One of the delegates, speaking in favor of item No. 2, termed it "a good tool" for citizenship training. "And we should stay with a good tool till we know how to use it," she added.

Mrs. Nelson Morris of Rosford, Ohio, presented item No. 3, providing League support of reorganization measures to improve administrative efficiency in the development and use of natural resources.

Then there was a period for the presentation of nonrecommended items. Here the civil rights question came up in various forms and many other proposals, some of which were discussed at length, but one after another were voted down.

The League program, supplementing the current agenda, is embodied in the platform which represents positions taken in the past by the League as a whole in fields of government to which it has since given sustained attention. The national board may select from the platform measures for timely action if an opportunity arises to do specific work which is in conformity with the platform.

During the recent convention the civil liberties issue was not included in the proposed program nor in the modified program which was brought before the convention, although requests for it had been among local leagues' recommendations to the national board and there was no doubt of an insistent desire on the part of

many members to put it on the current agenda.

The reason was that the principle of civil rights is already embodied in the League's statement of purpose and inherent in its entire program.

The convention reaffirmed "its conviction that protection of the citizen in his constitutional rights is basic to our system of government. This is the keystone of our democratic society and remains No. 1 in our statement of principles."

Often there were votes on whether or not discussion should be closed. Not until Thursday— one day before the convention ended—was there a unanimous vote on this question. It was at 4:30 p.m., after debate had gone on and on, and there was a rousing and unanimous "YES, it should be closed!"

But, even when debate was long, no one went to sleep over it. The delegates expressed their opinions intelligently and others came back with quick comments. Discussion always moved.

But as the end of the week drew near, it looked as though perhaps it had not moved fast enough. Maybe they would not get through. League conventions are like that. You think it will be all over with no program adopted. But that wouldn't be like the League.

**Alertness to the End**

By Thursday afternoon, the convention had made up its mind. Items 1, 2, and 3 were adopted with only slight change in the wording of No. 3.

It was all very simple. Probably Friday they'd just introduce the new officers and then adjourn. But what a foolish idea! The League had other business.

Some of the delegates wanted the platform item on Federal Aid for Education clarified. In view of the League's continuing support, they wanted to know what were the criteria by which the League would judge a proposed measure.

There was then discussion— not hurried but thorough. Aid must be state administered, it was pointed out, and it must safeguard public funds for public education.

There were other qualifications and no bill came up to the League's specifications. Therefore it could not give active support.

There were one or two minor changes in the wording of platform items. Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Conn., was introduced as the new president to succeed Miss Strauss, who had six years of distinguished service behind her. Other officers and board members serving with Mrs. Lee were presented.

Thus the convention closed promptly, briskly, as it had begun. The delegates checked out, made their trains, planes, and busses for their respective destinations, and another two years of League work was under way. And how?

Well, this way. Under the date of May 12, the new president sent out a 5½-page letter and "outlook sheet" for each item, "giving the general outline of work ahead."

And if you don't believe the League members are workers— well, maybe you have a league in YOUR town!

had opportunity to hear more of the training for citizenship which is being offered women of other countries through the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, often called the "C.C.C. Fund," just as Mrs. Catt's friends often referred affectionately to her as "C.C.C." in the years she carried on her great work for women.

This project is still so new that not all League members are aware of its significance. It is not the purpose of the League of Women Voters of the United States to establish affiliated groups in other countries, but to offer to women in other lands the benefit of its "know-how" in democratic processes of government.

#### Visit Spurred Wise German Work

One of the first projects under the fund was to sponsor in this country, in cooperation with the American Military Government for Germany, an educational tour for seven German women early in 1949—the first such women's group to be brought to the United States.

The whole program for the women was arranged under the direction of Mrs. Charles E. Heming, of New York, chairman, and other officers of the fund, giving the visitors an understanding of this country and its institutions, which they have used in constructive work with women's groups since their return to Germany. Mrs. Robert F. Leonard, just elected first vice-president of the League, was also chosen by the Army to work in Germany with the German women, three months last summer.

Effective help has been given the Italian Women Voters through the visit there of Mrs. Marc Law, of Chicago, who reported some of the results of her mission to Italy at the Atlantic City meeting, and also discussed the C.C.C. Fund and its purpose.

"We are told," said Mrs. Law in her address before the convention, "that our collective age in the League of Women Voters annually becomes less. This may account for our vigor, but it robs us of our memories."

"Too few of us are aware that except for Carrie Chapman Catt we might not be so happily assembled here. We have the right to vote, the League of Women Voters, and the International Alliance of Women because Mrs. Catt fought tradition, prejudice, and ignorance for us."

"When the cause of suffrage for women was won, she was not content, but founded the League so that we might learn to use our new right wisely. She had the insight rare for her time, and still rare, that our destiny (in America) depends not so much on what we ourselves do as what other people do. So she founded the International Alliance of Women."

"Following World War II, women in many countries were given the right to vote. Many turned to the women in the United States for help and advice. To comply with these requests, a fund was established. It was highly fitting that it be called the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, for its purpose is to carry on the work begun by Mrs. Catt, 'to increase the knowledge of individual men and women about government.'"

done entirely for and by Italians," Mrs. Law added. "It is not the purpose of the Catt Fund to make others in our image and likeness. A grant of \$4,000 was made to the Unione to provide a training course for 100 young teachers in southern Italy."

"Before any announcement was made, 1,400 young people applied, so well does the underground work and so determined are the people to improve their status," Mrs. Law told the women.

The young people have returned to their poor towns where they are directors of little community centers. The Catt Fund has now made a second grant of \$2,000 to help maintain these centers, which are teeming with people.

The presence of the women from Italy at the League convention was another evidence of opportunities the fund provides. And the women liked what they saw there, for they saw women at work for an ideal, completely apart from selfish interest, willing to help not only their own country but other countries, that government "of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

## This World...

### New Gap Yawns in Australia—Apartheid

By ALBERT E. NORMAN, Australian News Chief of The Christian Science Monitor

Gap is a word that yawns as widely for today's ethnologist as for any dollar-beset statesman. In fact, it has its own special name—Apartheid—the "separate development of races."

"Never the twain shall meet," wrote Kipling. And his verse typified the rigid racial views of the age of empire. Today's poet is not nearly so sure. True, he sees no widespread racial mingling. But neither does he see the clear-cut Apartheid of yesterday.

In the Asian hemisphere this diffusion has developed in ratio to the advance of the new nationalism. Apartheid, like charity, always begins at home. And in Australasia the signs show it is beginning to end right there.

In recent times Australian Governments undoubtedly have seen the wringing on the wall. Once confidently ensconced behind a powerful European shield that held the lands of Asia for the colonial powers, both Australia and New Zealand dwelt Apartheidly secure. But even in those days there was a so-called "yellow peril," a consciousness that there existed another side to the "gap."

But World War II and the "Great East Asia Coprosperity Sphere" bridged it abruptly. And in these southern countries the memory lingers.

#### Fight for Aborigine Rights Pressed

But whither Apartheid? To set the Australian house in order, the New Liberal government has now declared its "policy of native affairs is to provide for the welfare of aborigines . . . to educate them . . . to entitle them to the ordinary rights and privileges of citizenship."

This is official utterance of something already visible here, forced up into public awareness by white race fighters for aborigine rights. Broadly, these enthusiasts are pressing for a federal board of control to care for such dependent people, descendants of a race whose beginnings are lost in antiquity. This board would replace the present patchwork of separate state policies on native welfare. It is this varied admixture of good and bad which gives rise to sharply conflicting yet authoritative accounts of kindness and brutality, multiplication and extermination, separated only by state borders.

It has been asked whether this remnant of a race is worth saving. Views vary. One high authority declared that "missionaries, anthropologists, and others may say what they like, but, as a race, aborigines are not virile and are devoid of ambition and any desire to help themselves." This contrasts strikingly with the published protest of an educated native writing from the tribal reserve. Whites, it seems, had protested against their children being educated with "blacks" in a nearby school. Wrote the native spokesman:

"We find that our attempts to gain the children's admission to the school are silently rejected. Rumors fly even to us, the downtrodden, and it is said our color is objected to there."

"I have heard of the United Nations (which is) to help the people of all nations, all races, all colors. Also I have heard of the fair deal which Australians pride themselves on."

That essentially is a protest. It also bespeaks a vigorous ambition for improvement and a ranging intellect that can sit effectively in judgment. Moreover, it knows that the new sovereign Asia watches with it and feels for it. And that acutely is what Australian officialdom increasingly has come to understand.

It is but a matter of time before that same realization filters through to the tribes generally. And it may well prove an effective voice in parliaments where an elected aborigine representative has yet to speak for his people.

But notwithstanding this educated rebuke, the Australian "fair deal" thrives in some of the nation's most fruitful soil. An official of the British and Foreign Bible Society said it in a grade school at Alice Springs, Central Australia. "We found," he said, "Afghan, Chinese, aborigine, and white Australian children sitting on the same forms, doing the same lessons."

"Animated by that true democracy natural to children uninfluenced by their elders, they worked and played happily together. We asked the headmaster whether the white children were usually at the head of the class, to which he replied, 'Very seldom.' This supports our point that aborigines, given equal opportunities, can do anything that white people can do . . ."

#### Voice of Conscience Speaks Up

Elsewhere it has been said that "it is utterly impossible to segregate the aborigines, for the influences of civilization are always catching up with them." Clearly, one such "influence" at work in Australia today is conscience. The voice of conscience is in the words of an Australian anthropologist who recently declared: "We must change our prejudices into encouragement, and (aborigines) must strive, even under adverse conditions, to fit themselves and their children for assimilation into the general community."

We must change . . . Whites are not the only ones who are changing. Dr. Charles Duguid, who founded Ernabella Mission in central Australia, recently sent me a most significant report. It shows the source of the power for change being used by many natives.

The report tells of Nanjintjanja, a young mission-trained woman teacher. Stating that the mission was translating the Gospel of Saint John into Pitjantjara, the report adds that "Nanjintjanja makes the most suggestions as to new words and phrases, and is quite outstanding in her grasp of spiritual conceptions and truths. For example, she has just given a word for 'grace' which we have not been able to find before. It is a most difficult word to find in any language," says the report.

Chicago, treasurer; Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Conn., chairman for the 1950 election.

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#### UN Depends on People

Most of them recognized that the institution would continue to gain strength only as the peoples of the world held the determination to make it work successfully. Just a few revealed by their comments a tendency to pin all their faith on the institution as such, as though of itself it might save the world.

There was not time for the presentation of item No. 2 and item No. 3 until the second and third days of the convention. Dr. Mabel Newcomer, professor of economics at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., explained item No. 2 calling for "a continued analysis of the Federal budget in relation to a stable and expanding domestic economy."

The convention finally changed this to read: "A continued analysis of the Federal budget and support of such federal measures as make for a stable and expanding domestic economy." League action on this item must be geared to

conditions, Dr. Newcomer explained. It is now difficult to know in which direction the economy is going.

Answering one question as to how far the United States can go in military spending without affecting the domestic economy, Dr. Newcomer quoted Paul Hoffman, director of ECA, who had told the women the night before: "One thing we can afford is a cold war, because we can keep on living and spending for it."

She recommended that the League give out information and build constructive public opinion on the federal budget. "Some people have not discovered there are two sides to the budget," she said.

#### Civil Rights Issue Up

One of the delegates, speaking in favor of item No. 2, termed it "a good tool" for citizenship training. "And we should stay with a good tool till we know how to use it," she added.

Mrs. Nelson Morris of Rosford, Ohio, presented item No. 3, providing League support of reorganization measures to improve administrative efficiency in the development and use of natural resources.

Then there was a period for the presentation of nonrecommended items. Here the civil rights question came up in various forms and many other proposals, some of which were discussed at length, but one after another were voted down.

The League program, supplementing the current agenda, is embodied in the platform which represents positions taken in the past by the League as a whole in fields of government to which it has since given sustained attention. The national board may select from the platform measures for timely action if an opportunity arises to do specific work which is in conformity with the platform.

During the recent convention the civil liberties issue was not included in the proposed program nor in the modified program which was brought before the convention, although requests for it had been among local leagues' recommendations to the national board and there was no doubt of an insistent desire on the part of

many members to put it on the current agenda.

The reason was that the principle of civil rights is already embodied in the League's statement of purpose and inherent in its entire program.

The convention reaffirmed "its conviction that protection of the citizen in his constitutional rights is basic to our system of government. This is the keystone of our democratic society and remains No. 1 in our statement of principles."

Often there were votes on whether or not discussion should be closed. Not until Thursday— one day before the convention ended—was there a unanimous vote on this question. It was at 4:30 p.m., after debate had gone on and on, and there was a rousing and unanimous "YES, it should be closed!"

But, even when debate was long, no one went to sleep over it. The delegates expressed their opinions intelligently and others came back with quick comments. Discussion always moved.

But as the end of the week drew near, it looked as though perhaps it had not moved fast enough. Maybe they would not get through. League conventions are like that. You think it will be all over with no program adopted. But that wouldn't be like the League.

**Alertness to the End**

By Thursday afternoon, the convention had made up its mind. Items 1, 2, and 3 were adopted with only slight change in the wording of No. 3.

It was all very simple. Probably Friday they'd just introduce the new officers and then adjourn. But what a foolish idea! The League had other business.

Some of the delegates wanted the platform item on Federal Aid for Education clarified. In view of the League's continuing support, they wanted to know what were the criteria by which the League would judge a proposed measure.

There was then discussion— not hurried but thorough. Aid must be state administered, it was pointed out, and it must safeguard public funds for public education.

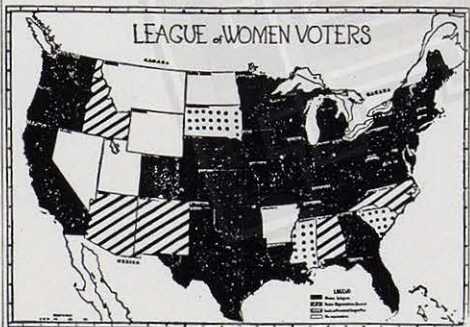
There were other qualifications and no bill came up to the League's specifications. Therefore it could not give active support.

There were one or two minor changes in the wording of platform items. Mrs. John G. Lee of Farmington, Conn., was introduced as the new president to succeed Miss Strauss, who had six years of distinguished service behind her. Other officers and board members serving with Mrs. Lee were presented.

Thus the convention closed promptly, briskly, as it had begun. The delegates checked out, made their trains, planes, and busses for their respective destinations, and another two years of League work was under way. And how?

Well, this way. Under the date of May 12, the new president sent out a 5½-page letter and "outlook sheet" for each item, "giving the general outline of work ahead."

And if you don't believe the League members are workers— well, maybe you have a league in YOUR town!



In this map league members can see exactly how their organization is rapidly finding favor throughout the United States. Black areas indicate states where there are state leagues; striped areas indicate state organization started; dotted areas show local and provisional leagues only; white areas, no leagues.



# THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

National group helps stimulate  
interest in vital public issues

**Voter registration**, a prominent activity of the League of Women Voters, is conducted in Honolulu, Hawaii, by Mrs. Ernest Harris (center) and Mrs. George Regula (r.) to sign up University of Hawaii student Kay Unten outside League's versatile "Voteswagen."



"LADY! Does your husband know what you're doing?" The question put to Mrs. Doris E. Pritchett of Camden, N. J., two years ago came from an angry man in the audience at a state convention of the League of Women Voters. She had been arguing for a state income tax to finance more and better schools, colleges, mental health facilities and prisons. But her anti-tax opponent told her she should have stayed at home because that, for him, was "a woman's place." "I was so surprised that I burst into giggles," Mrs. Pritchett recalls, "and fortunately the audience laughed along with me. When the laughter subsided, I told him: 'I really do not have to answer that question, but . . . yes, my husband knows and approves.'"

A similar response would probably come from almost any one of the 146,000 members of the League of Women Voters scattered in 1,227 communities across the nation. Organized in 1920 when women finally gained the right to vote, the League offers speakers and panels on government issues to any organization without cost. It holds candidates meetings where citizens can see and question all candidates for political election. It also distributes "Voter Information Sheets" containing biographical information on all candidates and their views on important public issues. In short, the League helps to bridge the information gap between governors and the governed, thus promoting individual effectiveness and dispelling the notion that "you can't fight city hall."

"I joined the League in 1953 after having voted on a public question about which I had no knowledge," Mrs. Pritchett recalls. "I realized that I was abusing a privilege for which many Negroes were being persecuted and even killed. I felt that since it was so easy for me to exercise my voting right, the least I could do was to become an informed voter and cast an intelligent ballot."

Adds Mrs. Gloria Marquez, board member of the Pound Ridge, N. Y., League: "If Negro women join in meaningful numbers, they can play an important role in bettering conditions for all Negroes through their League work. They can also help white members of the League to more clearly understand Negro problems."

Because the League spends much of its time gathering facts on public issues and inching laboriously toward consensus after long and sometimes involved discussion, it has a reputation of being "terribly intellectual and bookish" and therefore unappealing to the very women who need it most. Actually, the League acts as well as thinks. It testifies at public hearings, button-holes public officials and gets its point of view disseminated through the mass media. Thus, for example, the League supported a recent 10-month voter registration drive in New Orleans—vice chaired by Mrs. Sybil Morial—which added more than 25,000 new voters to the rolls. About 90 per cent of the newly-franchised voters were Negro.

REPRINT FROM OCTOBER, 1966 EBONY





Chicago League members see for themselves a condemned, South Side slum building which, according to law, should be boarded up. Such "go-see-trips" often spark civic reforms. The League is nonpartisan, but all League members are encouraged to involve themselves in partisan political activities in the interests of good citizenship.

## LEAGUERS APPLY EXPERIENCES IN OTHER CIVIC AREAS

**N**EGRO WOMEN are members of the League of Women Voters for various reasons. Mrs. Anna Johnston Diggs, wife of Michigan Congressman Charles C. Diggs Jr., became a Leaguer to learn more about Detroit and gain a "genuine understanding of much-discussed state and local issues." Others joined either because of "housewife fatigue," a desire for meaningful contacts across racial and political lines, a concern about a particular issue or, in general, a wish to learn. Mrs. Elizabeth H. Gilmore explains that she joined the Charleston, W. Va., League in 1958 because "at the time there were no Negro members and I am full of pioneer blood and I was vitally interested in constitutional revision for West Virginia."

Often outsiders are invited into the League by personal friends or neighbors. But the membership chairman of the Washington, D. C., League, Mrs. Louise Perry, points out: "Some women have the misconception that this is an invitation-only group. Actually, anybody who is interested is free to join, and if women get actively involved in an issue, chances are the 'League bug' will get them."

One issue which has excited members of the Washington League for several years has been the question of home rule for local citizens. "I have a hard time persuading my friends to join the League," re-

ports Dorothy Height, who in addition to her League membership is president of the National Council of Negro Women. "They can't see how working for a new state constitution, for instance, has much to do with the solution of their present problems."

But not only do Leaguers see the relationship, many of them discover a reciprocity between their membership and other civic activities. They are often selected for community boards and various governmental commissions. In Gary, Ind., Mrs. Inez B. Brewer, a high school art teacher and president of the local League, has served as art director, has headed its extensive Know-your-local-government study and illustrated the booklet which resulted. Indianapolis Leaguer, Mrs. Fay Williams, is also director of a War-on-Poverty neighborhood center, as is Mrs. Hettie L. Mills of Jacksonville, Fla. Mrs. Deborah McCrea of Providence, R. I., feels the knowledge she has gained as a member of the Human Resources Committee of the local League has contributed to her work on the Providence War-On-Poverty board. Mrs. Frankie Freeman, former board member of the St. Louis League, serves on the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights while Mrs. Helen Lemme, a veteran member of the Iowa City League and its former president, is active with the Governor's Human Rights Commission.

Ex-board member  
Washington, D. C.,  
of Mrs. Jehu

Ex-chairman  
Mrs. Gloria  
more meanin





**Ex-board member** of the National League, Mrs. John A. Campbell (l.), works at its Washington, D. C., headquarters as chairman of its Education Fund, is a colleague of Mrs. Jehu Hunter (r.) who was president of Washington League during 1963-65.



**Ex-chairman** of the United Nations Committee in the League of Pound Ridge, N. Y., Mrs. Gloria Marquez was responsible for making "the UN's work and principles more meaningful and comprehensible to local citizens," found work rewarding.



**Robert C. Weaver**, secretary of housing and urban affairs, is enthusiastically applauded by Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, national president of the League, after he delivered an address to the League at its recent national convention in Denver, Colorado.



**Delegates** to national convention from the Washington, D. C., League included (l. to r.) Mmes. Louise Perry, Ann L. Macaluso, Lacy Hoover, Connie Fortune, and Betty Brademan. National program is selected by League's biennial convention.



**Atty. Phyllis Shearer** (r.) of Greenburgh, N. Y., League discusses group's publication with Mrs. Carol Allensworth. Mrs. Shearer says: "Our local League has taken a leadership role in moving the town toward more comprehensive master planning."





Augusta, Ga., League includes (l. to r.) Mmes. E. Clifford Easter, Donald Bidus, Stephen Matthews and Allen Brown who is chairman of the State Educational Committee. Many citizens rely on League as source of unbiased, political information.

## LEAGUE SPOUSES 'TOLERANT'

**A**LTHOUGH most members of the League of Women Voters are married, they generally find their work does not interfere unduly with home life.

The attitudes of their husbands, lovingly dubbed "League widowers," range from "enthusiastic" to "tolerant," and often the wife's civic interests seem to rub off on her spouse. Thus, the husband of Mrs. Vera W. Davis of Jacksonville, Fla., enjoys the League as much as she does. William Davis of Anderson, Ind., "does not mind preparing the meals and doing the cleaning, if I am happy with my League work," says his wife Sadye, a former board member.

Mrs. Doris E. Pritchett of Camden, N. J., recalls: "Someone asked my husband, 'Are you any relation to that simple woman who goes around talking about an income tax for New Jersey?' Joey replied: 'No, I'm not related to her. I'm just crazy enough to be married to her.'"

In Flint, Mich., Mrs. J. Merrill Spencer's husband is so proud of his wife's League activities that for some time he refused outside political obligations for himself so that she could remain on the League board. Mrs. Anne Cheek Scott of Charleston, W. Va., says her husband "is happy to hear me able to discuss something other than 'what the children did today' (they have seven). Really, he is delighted and drives me to meetings when necessary and helps me at all times." Says Richard Blackwell of Chicago Heights, Ill.: "There ought to be a League of Men Voters."

Camden, N. J., League member, Mrs. Doris E. Pritchett, says a TV newsman who interviewed her admitted "he had always thought of the League as a group of wealthy women with nothing worthwhile to do; and meeting me had changed his entire concept."



Mrs. Ruth Hendricks, a member of the Hempstead, N. Y., League, talks with a neighbor, Mrs. Inez Bigby, about the importance of voting. The League is a non-profit, volunteer organization. No salaries are paid to its officers or its directors.

## LEAGUE PLUGS EQUALITY

**W**HEN the League of Women Voters was organized in 1920, it pushed such modest programs as teaching women simple voting procedures—how to register, where to vote, how to mark a ballot, etc. It later concentrated on problems related to the needs of women and children—better education, reduction of the prevailing 72-hour work week, an end to child labor, the lowering of infant mortality rates, better sanitation and the right to service on juries. Today the League's program has been so expanded that it supports, for example, policies and programs which provide equality of educational and employment opportunities for all persons.

The League was the first national, non-partisan organization to promote a registration and get-out-the-vote campaign. It pioneered in providing impartial information on candidates in local, state and national elections. It has a continuing interest in foreign policy issues and has strived to build public support for the United Nations. In Charlotte, N.C., for example, Mrs. Dorothy Rutledge Crawford heads the local League's United Nations Committee. She and former U.N. Committee Chairman Mrs. Eva L. Nixon of Tarrytown, N. Y., have helped generate community interest in the work of the U.N.



League member since 1948, Mrs. Dora Needham Lee, 85, a New York widow, was a Suffragette 46 years ago, was featured in a 1960 article in the Long Island Press she is holding. A newsman told Mrs. Lee he wanted to interview her in 1970 on the 50th anniversary of woman suffrage.



# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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## Lady Lobbyists

The League of Women  
Voters Widens Its Role  
In U.S. Public Affairs

Group Leads Battle to Win  
New Michigan Constitution,  
Fights Poll Tax, Aid Cuts

A Kennedy Aide Pooh-Poohs

By VERNON I. GRIFFIN  
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
Early next month, Texans will vote on a  
state constitutional amendment to repeal the  
state's long-standing poll tax.

Lone Star politicians may long argue whether the \$1.50 tax really disenfranchises Negroes and other low-income groups, as its opponents claim. But few will deny that if the poll tax is killed, a primary reason will be the all-out campaign against it by a group of women.

That group is the Texas Chapter of the League of Women Voters. Today's League bears little resemblance to its predecessor, the flamboyant National American Woman Suffrage Association, whose members perched on flagpoles and marched through saloons to win women the right to vote in 1920. But despite the League's more dignified approach and relatively small size (135,000 members) many politicians think its campaigns on state and local issues are making it an increasingly important force in American politics.

### Complaints From a Governor

The League's successes have ranged from pushing through tax reassessment in Oak Lawn, Ill. to leading the winning fight for a new constitution in Michigan. It recently won praise of sorts from New Jersey Gov. Richard Hughes when he blamed League opposition for seriously damaging chances for his pet fiscal plan to win voter approval next month. The governor wants to finance needed capital improvements with a massive \$750 million bond issue. The League contends interest costs will make this method too costly and advocates a broad-based tax instead.

Political observers attribute the League's rising influence partly to its following among women, including non-members, who are playing an increasingly important role in public affairs. They also credit the League's technique of involving its members in detailed studies of complex issues to the point where they sometimes have more facts at their command than professional politicians. And some political pros look with wonder and frustration on the League's ability to assume a mantle of non-partisanship (chapters are not allowed to



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"To differ with the League is to differ with motherhood and the flag," sighs Thomas Downs, legislative agent and attorney for Michigan's AFL-CIO Council, which vigorously opposed the League's drive for a new Michigan constitution. "You try to debate with them and the woman comes in late. She says she's sorry but she had to change the baby or see her daughter married. After this, it's hard to argue on the merits of the issue."

#### More Than Feminine Wiles

But a look at the Michigan campaign shows that a great deal more was involved than feminine wiles. The League argued mainly, along with other pro-constitution groups, that the old constitution had created political deadlocks responsible for a series of legislative crises. Leaguers obtained 209,000 of the 320,038 signatures on a petition to call the constitutional convention and presented reams of testimony to convention committees. Three League members served as convention delegates and 26 of 38 League-sponsored items were incorporated in the new constitution.

When the proposed Michigan constitution finally came before the voters, the League worked with other groups to distribute 38,000 booklets and 100,000 bumper stickers to support it. The final days of the campaign last March saw such sights as Leaguers parading through Dearborn on an antique fire truck decorated with proconstitution slogans.

When the constitution won voter approval, it was only by 10,000 votes, indicating that a less-zealous campaign might have failed. Michigan politicians were impressed. "The state League had little impact on Michigan before this issue," says Zoltan A. Ferency, chairman of the Democratic state central committee, which opposed the constitution. "You heard about them locally, but they hardly were visible at the state level. Now the record speaks for itself."

The League has 1,164 local chapters in 50 states. The chapters are broken up into small units, which meet in members' homes to pursue League study programs. There also are state and national headquarters. To prepare and disseminate study information, organize campaigns and the like, there are 35 full-time employees at national headquarters in Washington and 35 full-time and 14 part-time employees in 27 of the state headquarters. Half a dozen of the larger local chapters also have at least one paid worker.

#### Majority Vote Determines Stands

League stands on issues at all levels are determined by a majority vote of members. Dr. Rensis Likert, a University of Michigan social researcher, found in a 1957 study of the League that 65% of the members are wives of men in managerial or professional jobs. Fewer than 5% are wives of blue-collar workers. Fundamentally, he said, the League "is made up of people from what we might call the upper social-economic-cultural groups" who have a high educational level. He concluded that "League people, on the whole, are persons who feel that the world has problems about which something can be done." Over 85% of the League's most active members are married, have children and have been to college.

More than half of the League's nearly \$2 million annual budget is spent by local chapters. A major expense is publishing non-partisan, pre-election "voter's guides," listing issues and candidate biographies, and distributing them publicly. About 37% of the organization's money comes from outside contributions, often from male businessmen. Says a League manual on how to approach such sources:

Please Turn to Page 6, Column 1

## Lady Lobbyists: League of Women Voters Widens Its Political Role

Continued From First Page

"Dress in your tailored best. . . . Be positive, direct and businesslike. . . . you are trying to part a man and his money for a women's political organization."

Typical of the League's rising activity at the state level is its anti-poll tax campaign. Five of the 11 Southern states that adopted poll taxes after the Civil War Reconstruction period still have them on the books. An amendment to the U.S. Constitution to ban poll taxes in Federal elections is currently coming before state legislatures, with a good chance that it will be ratified by the states. Both the Texas and Virginia Leagues have chosen the opportunity to try to knock out such taxes in state elections.

An anti-poll-tax amendment already has received legislative approval in Texas and will go before the voters Nov. 9. The Texas League is providing speakers and distributing pamphlets in 26 cities to persuade voters to vote for repeal. Gov. John Connally launched the repeal drive at a League-sponsored rally at Austin and has offered to make television appearances on its behalf.

In Virginia, Mrs. John W. McDonald, state League president, fears state officials will try to retain the state poll tax even if the state has to comply with the Federal change. To forestall such action, the League in recent weeks has flooded the state with 50,000 pamphlets advocating abolition of the tax and has held four "workshops" to prepare members for lobbying.

#### Pacing Off Lots

Other League activities range widely. League members once donned low-heeled shoes and paced off the Chicago suburb of Oak Lawn lot by lot to help supply evidence that much of the property was under-assessed or in some cases not even on the tax rolls. The League's revised assessment added more than \$1 million in taxable property.

The New Orleans League three years ago spoke out against closing Louisiana's public schools to avoid integration, a highly controversial issue. "When we took our stand only two members resigned and one of those left because we weren't moving fast enough," says Mrs. Jean Reeves, New Orleans president. The schools were not closed.

At the national level, the League has campaigned for more liberal tariff and trade agreements since 1937. It engaged in one of the most extensive campaigns in its history on behalf of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, which became law in October that year. A booklet on U.S. trade policies written by the League was so thorough it was assigned as study material in an economics course at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

Currently the League is lobbying against curtailment of U.S. foreign aid. The group also supports the "greatest possible protection for the individual under the Federal loyalty-security programs" and opposes extension of such programs to non-sensitive positions in Government. And it campaigns for long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources.

Of course, Leaguers don't always succeed.

The organization's Berkeley, Calif., chapter flooded their city with thousands of pamphlets and letters urging approval of a new anti-discrimination housing ordinance in a city referendum last spring. But the measure failed by a narrow margin.

#### Lack of "Muscle"?

In the eyes of some politicians, the League is least effective at the national level. Asked how much influence the organization has on national legislation, a top Kennedy political aide snaps: "None—not even on their husbands." He doubts that the League campaign had much bearing on passage of the Trade Expansion Act, and attributes the weakness largely to the League's reluctance to use "muscle" on politicians.

"They never threaten reprisals," adds the aide. "They never take sides in an election. They're so non-partisan they're completely useless. Why they're even chary about advertising to their members which Congressmen voted with the League and which voted against it."

But this view is by no means unanimous, as one conservative GOP Congressman reveals in stating his opinion of the League: "The League is a very insidious organization as far as I'm concerned," he declares. "It parades around as a non-partisan, good-government group but the truth of the matter is that all of its policy positions are very liberal. . . . If their staff people presented both sides of an issue and encouraged the local groups to form their own positions, I'd say the League was a very good thing. As it is, though, the organization sucks in a lot of civic-minded women who lack political orientation then deluges them with Democratic propaganda."

Replies a League official: "We're used to being called Democratic or Republican by members of the opposite party who don't happen to agree with us on a League position."



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Friday, June 1, 1962

## 'The League' at Work

### A Political Force

By Jessie Ash Arndt

Woman's Editor of The Christian Science Monitor

**THE LEAGUE** of Women Voters of the United States hasn't gone into business, but it has definitely been "in trade" for the past two years.

Its 132,000 members are giving vigorous support on local, state, and national levels to increased trade expansion under authority of one of its two current agenda items which calls for: "support of U.S. economic policies which promote world development and maintain a sound U.S. economy."

It is busily involved in other projects, too. Last year 470 local leagues had planning and zoning on their agendas; 415, education; 297, finance, taxes, and budget; 277, charter revision and city manager government; 169, juvenile problems and child welfare; 117, items in connection with metropolitan growth.

The league makes it its business to prod the public on issues it considers of vital concern.

#### Trade Brought Home

But let's take first support of the trade expansion bill now before Congress. To bring it right into the family wardrobe, the Clearwater, Fla., league had a fashion show for which members were asked to wear items that were imported—not bought for the occasion, but off the hook and out of the dresser drawer at home.

Among the items were sweaters from Scotland; shoes, gloves, and bags from France and Italy; sweaters, gloves, and bags from England; watches from Switzerland; other jewelry from Europe and the Middle East; and one member drove to the meeting in her Fiat.

The women had proved a point: Every day Americans are all dressed up in symbols of world trade.

In Stamford, Conn., league members were asked to abstain for 24 hours from use of any food item imported from abroad. Oh dear, no pepper or other spices; no Switzerland Swiss cheese, no Danish or Polish hams, no Dutch chocolate, no bananas, no Norwegian sardines, no Spanish olives. The list was a long one—too long to take for granted. All these everyday food items involved the United States in foreign trade.

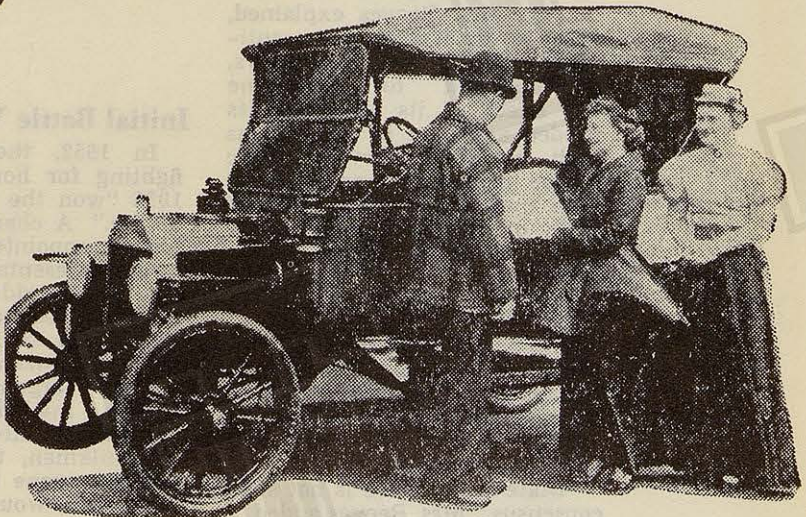
That's what the league has been hammering home—that the trade issue is something Americans put on in the morning and have served up at the dinner table.

#### Window Displays

It's something handled every time one picks up a telephone, too. In Madison, Wis., the telephone company prepared a window display showing how many telephone parts are made from imported materials. A paint company did the same kind of arresting display for its products. There it was, foreign trade looking out on Main Street, America.

Local leagues throughout the country make it their business to inform themselves and help inform others. Like the each-one-teach-one plan in the literacy program of newly developing nations, the league's technique of bringing pressing public affairs to the attention of the private citizen is sort of a "literacy in citizenry" program at the local league level.

Public meetings were arranged, with distinguished speakers on the relation of the European Common Market to the United States economy, panel discussions, and local business and industrial surveys showing the community's dependence on export-import trade have been



From a photo by the Seattle Times

#### 'Outdated as a Tin Lizzie'

That's what these members of the League of Women Voters are saying about legislative apportionment in the State of Washington, in a typically graphic presentation of the league's viewpoint.

other means used to arouse and inform the public. A few leagues have had radio and TV time for special programs on the subject. Some have had trade fairs to tell the story.

What is being discussed on Capitol Hill in Washington can seem pretty far removed from the interests of people out on the plains of Kansas, up in Albert Lea, Minn., or out in Yuba City, Calif. It takes some doing to put the foreign trade picture right up on the wall of the home city supermarket, dress shop, telephone office, manufacturing plant, and show how it fits there. That's what league members have been doing.

In Laurel, Del., they've interviewed farmers on the trade issue; in Rehoboth, Del., they interviewed the fishermen, and in Madison, N.J., they conducted an opinion survey by phone, calling 264 people.

#### Landon Joins Drive

In Kansas, former Gov. Alf Landon, Republican presidential candidate in 1936, joined in a

state-wide meeting in Topeka on "Our Stake in World Trade," sponsored by the state league with the co-operation of the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers Union.

In Washington, Mrs. John D. Briscoe of Connecticut, national first vice-president of the League, testified before the House Ways and Means Committee.

If there is a general understanding among citizens of the importance of world trade to the United States, the League of Women Voters has had something important to do with it.

In New Orleans, the league feels it is helping to work out another complex problem facing the country. Its president, Mrs. Richard E. Reeves, in her report at the recent biennial convention of the national league in Minneapolis, claimed the New Orleans league was the first, and one of the few, long-established organizations in the South to face squarely the problem of desegregation "or recognize that there is a problem."

... over



## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1962

The league proceeded cautiously, Mrs. Reeves explained, first to determine the sentiment of its own members, and second to determine the effect of its stand on its needed activities in other areas such as voter service. Basic league procedure was followed with meticulous care. Years of study of the question had given members a thorough basic knowledge.

### Support Grows

In August, 1960, the New Orleans league reached a consensus in support of "free public schools in Orleans Parish based on sound financial structure and efficient administration."

"State-wide, there is not such consensus," Mrs. Reeves added.

But the New Orleans league decided to take a public stand, and to work for public education. It hoped the circle of moderate talk would grow, and it has. Public opinion is being influenced by TV and some editorial support.

"Although the end is not in sight," said Mrs. Reeves, "as the voice of the extremist weakens and that of the moderate becomes stronger, public officials are bound to respond." And the league has become strong, she added.

The solemn tone of the New Orleans report on the league's national convention program was relieved by one from the Metropolitan Dade County league in Florida.

Mrs. Joel N. Lee, president of the Metropolitan Dade County league, described a sprawling metropolitan area, not organized for effective government, as a many-headed monster—"a 27-headed hydra, with fangs of misunderstanding and bristles of resistance to change." A metropolitan charter was the league's answer for taming the monster.

"Ours was a government of chaos, responsible only to the State Legislature," she said. "We were in a state of gross immobility."

### Initial Battle Won

In 1952, the league began fighting for home rule and in 1955 "won the battle of Tallahassee." A charter was drafted for an appointed county manager, representation by districts and county-wide representation. Then the League of Women Voters had to explain it and convince the citizens they wanted it.

They organized telephone squads, mailed thousands of postcards, talked to the grocer, the milkman, the dry cleaner, and to anyone they met on the street who would listen.

Last year, when an amendment was proposed that would negate the charter, they paraded backward on Flagler Street in Miami with the message: "Dade County Must Grow—Vote No!" They even answered their telephones with this message. Wherever they went, day or evening, they wore white bretons with big red, white, and blue streamers and "Vote No" in front.

On Oct. 17, that's what the voters did: the league had won.

In the State of Washington, the league, in 1956, wrote Initiative 199, for reapportionment, got the thousands of necessary signatures, and was successful in having it passed at the polls; but when it got to the Legislature it was drastically amended.

It would be a great understatement, according to Mrs. Harold D. Pearson, state league president, to say the Washington league was deflated as a result. It was dismayed; but it rallied to the job ahead. It worked diligently during the 1957 and 1961 sessions for legislation providing automatic machinery to redistrict when the Legislature fails to act. This effort failed, so at the state league convention last year, league members decided again to redistrict by writing the initiative.

### Motives Understood

This time their approach was different. They had been annoyed with the Legislature in '56. Now they weren't; they saw that it was unrealistic, because of the personal involvement of the legislators in this matter, to expect them to write impartial legislation.

The state league requested each local league to write its own plan for redistricting and send it in to the drafting committee. With two representatives delegated to it from each of the political parties, they had their co-operation and, after 12 weekly meetings, the initiative was finally drafted. Hearings were held over the state by local leagues in a genuine effort to get information which might have been overlooked.

To be first to file with the State Superintendent of Elections, Mrs. Pearson and another league member left Seattle for the state capital, Olympia, at 5:30 a.m. on Jan. 8 this year. The State House opened at 7:30 and the offices at 8. They heard their footsteps echo through the empty corridors as they made their way to the door, hoping to be the first there. They were!

### Men's Committee

A few minutes later, two men who had come over from Spokane the night before in order to be there first in the morning walked in and were abashed to find the two somewhat smug league members already transacting business.

The women now have Initiative 211, and a citizens committee of 46 representative men from all over the state working with them to get the 110,000 required signatures. They're confident Initiative 211 will be on the ballot in the fall and they're ready to protect it once it has been accepted by the voters.

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AMORY H. BRADFORD, *Vice President*  
FRANCIS A. COX, *Treasurer*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1960.

## The League of Women Voters

Founded in 1920, the League of Women Voters celebrates its forty years of service with a record of usefulness to the American people hard to match among civic organizations. There are 1,097 local leagues throughout the fifty states and the District of Columbia. They spend \$1,500,000 annually in the promotion of effective citizenship. But, because of the extraordinary willingness of members to do volunteer duty, this money's productivity is multiplied, and one dollar does the work of five. In the New York City league 3,270 members gave 200,000 hours of volunteer work in a year.

The league is a non-partisan organization promoting participation of citizens in government. It seeks to inform people of the issues of the day. It encourages registration and voting by widely disseminating information about election law, is invaluable through its telephone service to people, including new voters, who are puzzled about questions of eligibility, location of polling place, district lines, and so on. The league does not endorse candidates. It does bring facts to voters, notably on issues of national, state and local importance, so that the electorate will be informed. Its publication, *Facts for Voters*, will be in the hands of 1,500,000 persons in New York State by Election Day. Meetings are sponsored where candidates for office, of all parties, may be seen and heard by prospective voters.

Mayor Wagner in a tribute to the work of this organization of devoted women declared it was "without peer." We join in admiration for an example of citizenship at its best, and urge New Yorkers, as individuals and businesses, to support it with contributions. The modest budget of \$64,400 now being sought helps support the work of state and national leagues as well, for all funds are raised locally. The league's office is at 461 Park Avenue South, New York 16.

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# The Washington Post Times Herald

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1955

By Malvina Lindsay

Staff Editorial Writer

## 9 Ballots, and Women Haven't Ruined Us Yet

This does not go out on Standing Orders or  
on the Publications Service.

IN the fall of 1920, a gasp of relief from devotees of the status quo swept the country. Women had voted for the first time on a Nation-wide basis in a presidential election and the Republic was still intact. Mom hadn't taken over as dictator.

However, this relief was mixed with uneasiness. The suffragists were no longer underfoot, but—here was this new League of Women Voters! What would it be up to?

A New York governor expressed the fears of many politicians when he called it a "menace to our institutions," a threat to the two-party system, because it proposed to work for political reforms outside political parties.

Now as the time approaches when women will vote for the 10th time in a presidential election, the League is taking stock of its 35-year record and planning its directions for the next two years.

### It's Growing Younger

IT IS still rigidly nonpartisan and the two parties haven't been undermined. Rather, it has strengthened them by extending understanding of their functions, by encouraging its members to go into politics and by contributing many alumnae to political party activity.

Though veteran of many a war—and currently the target of new attacks—it is neither weakened nor battle-scarred. During the last decade particularly it has grown much stronger and even younger. Much of its new membership has come from the many young married women with small children that the postwar era produced.

While the average Democrat or Republican isn't worrying much yet about what kind of a platform his party will adopt next August, the League's 127,000 members are just winding up several months of soul-searching decision over their next two-year agenda.

To which dilemma of the world, and which dilemma of the Nation (the national program is limited to two projects, one international, one domestic), shall

they devote their study, thought and action? Shall they grapple with the bomb race, foreign aid, East-West trade, tariffs, farm supports, the perpetual problem of taxes or with other perplexities the Nation faces?

### A Grassroots Program

THE local league's selections of issues are sent to the national League's board in Washington. Next month the board will make a choice from these lists to be presented for final decision to the biennial convention at Chicago in April.

In the 1954 convention, the international topic selected for study was world trade; the domestic one, individual liberties as provided in the Constitution. For six years prior to that convention, local leagues had been requesting that a study of the state of political freedom be put on the national agenda. It was decided to carry this out through a Freedom Agenda program sponsored by the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, an educational and research foundation established by the League in 1947.

The Freedom Agenda Committee, a group of prominent men and women headed by Anna Lord Strauss, former League president, organized a series of grassroots discussions which are now under way in about 500 communities with civic, educational and religious groups cooperating.

### A Fund Beneficiary

THIS again precipitated the League into controversy, largely because the Freedom Agenda program has received a financial grant from the Fund for the Republic, now under attack by some extreme nationalistic groups. Recently Mrs. John G. Lee, president of the League, announced that the organization would continue to back the program and would "not yield to intimidation, oppression or false charges."

The League program record of the last 35 years includes such concrete achievements as getting out the vote, helping to improve voting procedures and promoting trade agreements, international cooperation, better schools, child welfare and public sanitation. But its most far-reaching influence has been in the development of individuals for more effective citizenship.

It started with strong leadership, having as its founder Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, brilliant general of the final suffrage fight and one of the great women of the century. Its early day leaders included Mrs. Maude Wood Parke, its first president, Miss Belle Sherwin, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Miss Julia Lathrop, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach and other veterans of the suffrage wars.

Later it became a training school for many of the first women to be influential in political parties and to hold public office. Seven of the 14 members of the present Congress are League alumnae.

### Tea-less Workers

BUT the League largely attracts women not interested in partisan activity but wanting political education. Since it prides itself on being a working organization with little emphasis on social activities, many women who do not care for the luncheon and tea approach to club life become Leaguers.

In a recent symposium on "Why I Joined the League," the answer of one board member well expresses the attitude of the modern Leaguer:

"I wanted," she said, "to have something interesting to think about while washing dishes and doing the household chores. It relieved my feelings of frustration about affairs in my community and the world because it not only helped me to learn the facts but gave me a channel for constructive action."



## JUST WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS?



**O**n Election Day, there's usually one thing that the Republican and Democratic parties can agree on: millions of people will be better informed voters because of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

Although it's vigorously nonpartisan insofar as individual candidates and parties are concerned, the league has had important influence on legislation at almost every governmental level. This ranges from a purely local matter, such as campaigning for improved school facilities, to its opposition to a proposed constitutional amendment that would curb the treaty-making power of the President.

About 130,000 women belong to the league, which was founded in 1920. Its activities are carried on the year round in more than 1,000 local leagues located in every state. A good example of how a league functions in a community is provided by the League of Women Voters of Montclair, New Jersey, the oldest and largest (about 475 members) in that state.

Although the league basically seeks to promote wider participation by more people in government, you don't have to be a political professional in any sense to belong to the Montclair league. Some Montclair members, for example, have little direct participation in the league's activities. However, they believe in what the league tries to do and want to support it by paying dues and keeping informed through its bulletins about the league's position on various public questions. Others spend many hours on league work, attending several committee and group meetings a month.

### MEMBERSHIP OPEN TO ALL

Regular membership in Montclair is open to any woman 21 years of age or older. Women under 21 and men may join as associate members but have no voting rights. Dues are three dollars a year. To help finance its budget, the Montclair league has an annual fundraising drive to which members frequently contribute. About half the current \$5,400 budget goes to support the New Jersey state league and the national league.

The Montclair league's activities are based on a three-part program: *current agenda* (matters receiving immediate, concentrated attention); *continuing responsibilities* (items from previous current agenda the league believes require further attention); and *principles*, the basis for any league decisions. Among the principles are those supporting "representative government and individual liberty established in the Constitution" and "a system of government which is responsible to the will of the people."

There are separate national, state, and local programs. The scope of interest is demonstrated by Montclair's current program. On it are five items—two na-

tional, two state, and one local. There are also several items designated as continuing responsibilities. Locally, the league seeks establishment of more recreational facilities for all age groups in Montclair. On the state level, it—and all leagues in New Jersey—is studying New Jersey's need for an expanded higher-education system. Nationally, the agenda includes an evaluation of current United States foreign policy and water policies.

### CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION BEFORE ACTION

The league prides itself on taking considerable time to discuss and study an issue before announcing its support or opposition. After a decision has been made, though, the league has shown persistence in campaigning for what it believes is right. For instance, the town of Montclair recently approved a revised and consolidated housing ordinance for the community—an action the league had advocated for almost 20 years. Many leagues throughout the country have similar records of persistence that have resulted in improved health services and school systems and in tax and other municipal reforms.

The Montclair league is divided into ten discussion units that meet monthly at members' homes. Each unit has a leader, who is supplied material for discussion by the league's program division. The subject is usually an agenda item. After the meeting, in a report to the board of directors, unit leaders summarize the group's ideas, recommendations, and questions.

In addition to monthly discussion-unit meetings, there are at least four general-membership meetings a year. Anyone can attend, but occasionally there's a "town meeting," which specifically encourages attendance by nonmembers. Early this year, Thomas K. Finletter, a former secretary of the Air Force, appeared at such a town meeting and spoke on foreign policy.

### NONPARTISAN ACTIVITY IN ELECTIONS

The league helps register voters in Montclair and also tries to produce a big vote turnout on Election Day. Through its voters service, it circulates information about candidates and issues on a ballot, often by publishing answers to searching questionnaires submitted to candidates or by sponsoring meetings at which candidates speak and answer questions from the floor. And as stated, the league frequently supports legislation it believes is in the public interest.

It's accepted, even encouraged, that members belong to Democratic and Republican clubs and run for office. However, if a member or her husband is active in a political party, she cannot be a league officer or a member of the board of directors. ♦