

Adlai Stevenson III

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By Adlai E. Stevenson III

IN 1954 the United States began, innocently enough, to share its nuclear resources with the world. Since the start of the Atoms for Peace program we have supplied nuclear technology and materials to 29 countries in an effort to extend the benefits of peaceful atomic power to all mankind. In the intervening years, other nations have developed their own nuclear capabilities, or have received assistance from U.S. licensees in other countries, such as France, or through sharing arrangements such as Euratom and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). All told today, over 500 nuclear reactors are in operation in 45 countries. By 1985, the number of operating power reactors throughout the world is expected to quadruple.

The implications for world peace and stability are momentous. Atoms intended for peace can also be used for war. A nation with a functioning nuclear reactor and a reprocessing facility can produce plutonium for the manufacture of explosive devices. Small reprocessing plants for weapons-grade plutonium can be built fairly quickly, at moderate expense, and are difficult to detect. The weapons technology is readily available, and once plutonium is acquired nuclear arms can be fabricated with relative ease. According to some estimates, by 1980 the world's nuclear reactors will have produced 300,000 to 450,000 kilograms of plutonium. As little as five or six kilograms is required to make a bomb with a destructive force of 10 to 20 kilotons of TNT, which was the size of the two bombs that devastated Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

The nuclear club, which recently counted only the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China among its members, is already losing its exclusivity. The recent Indian explosion, despite its "peaceful" label, has set its doors ajar. Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Italy, South Africa, Spain and West Germany are either near, or perhaps, like Israel, already inside. Australia, Austria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Iran, Japan, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland and Taiwan have it within their technological means to enter the club in the near future.

The further spread of nuclear reactors seems inevitable and could be desirable. The world's energy demands will intensify; fossil fuel resources are depleting. Particularly in the last year, oil costs are adding billions to balance-of-payments deficits and causing widespread shortages. Nuclear power offers a source of energy, independent of foreign oil supplies. For countries like India, oil imports consume foreign-exchange earnings needed for such essential imports as food. Understandably, nations seeking reliable alternatives to expensive oil see nuclear power as the answer.

They are aided and abetted by the nuclear-exporting states, which are scrambling to pay their own oil bills. Salesmen from Canada, West Germany, the United Kingdom, France and the United States are busy making their rounds. The competition is intense. Businessmen see the opportunities and seek new markets. Westinghouse and General Electric reactors know no national boundaries. Through a French venture, Westinghouse reactors find their way to Iran and wherever else the French can make a sale.

The momentum becomes self-generating. Chastened by the oil embargo, nations realize that possession of nuclear reactors without control over nuclear fuel gives only illusory energy independence. Independent and diversified sources of nuclear fuel are, therefore, sought.

At present the dominant reactor type in the world market remains the American light-water design, fueled by enriched uranium—of which the United States is almost the sole present source. As a result of rapid growth in demand, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission may no longer have the capacity for long-term supply commitments to all customers; when contracts were entered into to supply the newly promised 600-megawatt reactors to Egypt and Israel last June (not to be completed till the mid-1980s) new contracts for traditional European customers had to be delayed. Partly because of foreseeable limitations of American supply and partly to get away from the cost and political strain of dependence on the United States, efforts to produce enriched uranium elsewhere are going forward rapidly. Already, two European consortia, Eurodif and Urenco, are starting construction of factories to supply Europe's enriched uranium re-

quirements and to compete with U.S. (and Soviet) output. Thus, competition to sell reactors expands to include competition to sell fuel.

The same striving for independence has contributed to the growing popularity of heavy-water reactor designs, notably the Canadian Candu, which rely on relatively abundant and widely dispersed natural uranium for fuel. One reason India took the heavy-water reactor route may have been to free itself from dependence on foreign fuel suppliers.

The spread of nuclear reactors has thus taken on a wholly new dimension. We face a new era in nuclear power, totally different from the situation as recently as ten years ago. As nuclear power spreads, the danger that nuclear weapons too will spread and come into new hands has grown and intensified as well.

The risks of accident and theft—already significant even within the United States—will inevitably be heightened. While accidents do not usually have international consequences (the local damage may be enough to worry about!), theft or diversion into private hands is both a national and an international problem. The wide publicity this danger has received is not, I am convinced, overdrawn. Determined terrorist groups or criminal elements with access to nuclear materials would have unlimited capacity for blackmail. Primitive delivery systems would suffice. Under certain circumstances, plutonium could be used as a poison, as well as for nuclear explosives.

Against the risk of private diversion, existing control systems in the major nuclear nations, including the United States, are not adequate. What, then, could the risk become in nations that lack our technological and security resources and experience?

Location of nuclear reactors in politically unstable nations adds another dimension. Their control can shift radically as governments change hands. The ability to pinpoint responsibility and impose accountability becomes almost impossible.

As nations acquire nuclear materials and technology, the temptation to develop explosives will intensify. Nuclear capability tends to be viewed as a measure of power and prestige. By a recent poll, a majority of Indians now favor that nation's acquisition of the nuclear weapon. The timid international reaction which India's action generated cannot have gone unnoticed by other nations which may be moving toward nuclear capability.

As the nuclear-weapons potential spreads, destabilizing in-

fluences will become more pronounced. Nations will find it difficult to exercise self-denial for long when traditional enemies start down the nuclear path. Confronted by nuclear India, Pakistan cannot help but feel anxiety. Indeed, it is now seeking a reprocessing plant, and if successful, will acquire its own source of plutonium. Iran, although it is a party to the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), may also be moving in that direction. Its plans for accumulating reactors appear to exceed any realistic energy requirements. Iraq in time could follow suit. Israel and Egypt, as well as others on the nuclear threshold, may be tempted to follow.

And momentum has been added by the feeble Test Ban Agreement reached at the recent Moscow summit. The 150-kiloton threshold, the 1976 effective date, and the total exemption of explosions for "peaceful" purposes all imply—even proclaim—that the United States and the Soviet Union are not very serious about stopping proliferation. "Peaceful" nuclear explosions are indistinguishable from explosions for non-peaceful purposes, a point brought home forcefully by the Indian detonation last May. If the superpowers are unwilling to exercise restraint themselves, they cannot expect restraint from others.

III

Against this background of ever-widening nuclear capacity and temptation stands the Nonproliferation Treaty. Signed in 1968, it is a testament to the anxieties aroused by the French tests that began in 1960 and the Chinese tests that began in 1964. A startled world then awakened to the reality that nuclear weapons were no longer the province of the few.

The treaty has 83 parties. It has 23 additional signatories which have so far withheld ratification. Both China and France have steadfastly refused to join. Also missing are Argentina, Brazil, India, Pakistan, Israel and South Africa. South Korea, Japan, West Germany and Egypt have signed but not yet ratified.

The treaty remains just that: an agreement to be observed by those willing to join and for so long as it suits their purposes, with two powerful nuclear states, as well as many potential nuclear states, on the outside. It is a mighty gesture, but it falls seriously short of coping with today's realities.

The treaty is shot through with potential contradictions. It prohibits the transfer of weapons on the one hand, but it en-

courages the exchange of nuclear materials and technology on the other. It puts nuclear assistance under safeguards, but requires that such safeguards not interfere with international nuclear exchange. It requires safeguards on a recipient's nuclear facilities, but it does not forbid assistance to a nation which has refused to join the treaty. It imposes limitations on transfers by nuclear-weapons states, but makes no provision whatever for subsequent transfers by recipients to third countries. And, at bottom, it contains no sanctions.

Woven throughout the NPT is an assumption that safeguards can prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. But that assumption is open to question. When the NPT was concluded, there was no agreement on the safeguards to be imposed. Instead, the matter was left open for inclusion in subsequent agreements which each party would negotiate with IAEA. Failure to reach agreement at the time on the fundamental standards which would underlie the NPT is a significant commentary on the lack of international consensus.

As IAEA safeguards have developed, it is clear that they are unsuited to the present task. They consist of little more than an inventory accounting system. They can detect diversions after, or as, they occur; but they are powerless to prevent them from happening. They neither impose nor require security to prevent diversions, so that either real or feigned theft of plutonium is a possibility. Once the diversion has occurred, a recipient nation can confess, but the international community is unprepared at present to invoke meaningful sanctions. And IAEA safeguards, of course, do not even apply to nations, including the United States, which are classed as nuclear-weapons states under the treaty, although the United States and the United Kingdom have voluntarily offered to apply IAEA safeguards to a broad range of their facilities.

IAEA safeguards are, moreover, insufficiently adaptable to changing technologies. The Canadian heavy-water reactor and the West German reactor in Argentina are particularly disturbing in this respect. They operate on raw or lightly enriched uranium and produce large quantities of plutonium. Diversions from these reactors are more difficult to detect than diversions from light-water reactors.

Other technological developments will intensify the problem. The variety of reactors is increasing. While the American light-

water reactor normally requires enriched uranium, a material not now freely available, new technologies such as the centrifuge, laser technology, and a secret technology reportedly being developed in South Africa could in time make enriched uranium readily available. Additional problems will be created by the high temperature gas reactor (HTGR) which, while it has certain safety advantages, requires uranium so highly enriched that it can be used directly for weapons manufacture. Also, the new fast-breeder reactors, just becoming practicable, use plutonium as fuel and produce still more plutonium.

Keeping up with changing technology will on the face of it require vastly more resources than have been committed to the task so far. Presently, IAEA has budgeted only \$200,000 for research on safeguards for the entire international community. The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) will spend at most \$474,000 on safeguards research in fiscal 1975—down from the \$785,000 budgeted back in 1969. Along with some research within the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, this appears to represent the entire worldwide effort on international safeguard research. Moreover, there is no established procedure for translating American national safeguards into international safeguards.

Apart from its limited charter, IAEA itself has deficiencies that reflect the interests which it serves. And the interests served are those which favor proliferation of nuclear capacity. Such proliferation is implicit in the NPT, with its emphasis on widespread sharing of nuclear materials and technology, and implicit too in the purpose and structure of IAEA.

Founded in 1957 to foster international nuclear cooperation, IAEA exists to promote the international development and use of atomic power. As with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, service to its constituency is an overriding goal. Its 104 members overwhelmingly reflect the interests of recipients. They, not the supplier nations, retain ultimate control, although admittedly the United States has leverage both politically and because of its budgetary contributions. When questions of safeguards, security, sanctions and research arise, answers which interfere with access to nuclear power may not enjoy much support.

Many critical questions are now pending before IAEA. Among them is the question of whether "peaceful" nuclear explosions should be permitted, and, if so, under what conditions.

Here the United States whetted the appetite of some with Project Plowshare. The NPT imposes obligations on each party to the treaty to make the benefits of "peaceful" explosions available to all. Should the questions which such peaceful explosions raise be resolved by the recipients through IAEA or by the suppliers?

Under the present circumstances, it appears that neither has the necessary perspective to provide final answers to this and to the many other questions raised by the spread of nuclear power. Nationalistic expectations will go on rising. Potential recipients will continue to see immediate gains in the acquisition of a nuclear capability. Limitations on freedom of action will be resisted. Nuclear-exporting nations will be reluctant to forgo the opportunity they now see to serve their immediate self-interest in new and bigger markets. And down the road other nations, seeing the profit to be gained from sales of nuclear materials and technology, will hope that they too, in time, can share in those profits. The nuclear-sharing agreement entered into by India and Argentina just six days after the Indian explosion highlights the possibility. For a long time to come, the need for power and the desire for profit will dominate national nuclear policy—unless perceptions of self-interest change.

IV

This is where the United States must take the lead. The self-interest of all nations is served by controlling the nuclear menace. If that self-interest were now clearly perceived, this alone might produce restraint and caution throughout the world. We can hope so—but we dare not depend on it. The policies of governments are not always the creatures of enlightened self-interest, particularly when the benefits of one course of action are immediate and the benefits of another are remote.

The dangers of nuclear proliferation require an intense re-examination and a major new international effort to contain them. All nations must be made to see the seeds of destruction in the rush to extend nuclear capability throughout the world without adequate safeguards. That effort will be led by the United States or not at all.

The conventional wisdom argues that the United States should accelerate its nuclear sales efforts. If the United States doesn't, it is argued, others will; and the result will be expanded sales by countries which do not insist on adequate safeguards, as well as

the spread of reactors, like the heavy-water reactor, which are more difficult to police and more susceptible to plutonium diversion.

The conventional wisdom is a prescription for the escalation of proliferation. Aggressive promotion by the United States can only induce others to follow suit. And like lemmings, nations will then surge toward the sea, drawn by little more than the short-term prospect of energy and profit.

I suggest that instead of surging ahead, the United States declare a conditional one-year moratorium, make no sales of nuclear reactors except to countries which submit *all* their facilities to IAEA safeguards, and immediately begin an intensive effort through concerted international action to develop and implement improved safeguard and security systems. The moratorium should be imposed on the supply of fuel, technology and nuclear-related materials—with an exception only for commitments under existing contracts. In addition, the moratorium should apply to all countries which refuse to subject their re-exports to acceptable safeguards.

Such an act would offer the world an example—and time. It would demonstrate that the United States is in deadly earnest. It would reduce the competitive pressures to export. It would offer a breathing spell during which supplier nations, and recipients as well, could re-examine the dangers which they all confront from unpoliced and vulnerable nuclear facilities. If other supplier nations did not join the effort, we could resume. But there is a basis for believing that perceptions of the danger are beginning to stir and that American leadership would evoke a favorable response from the supplier nations, including the new government of France.

In the late 1950s the United States came to realize that the world was headed for disaster if it continued poisoning the environment with nuclear tests. Taking the lead, the United States ceased atmospheric testing. By its gesture, it sparked a better understanding of the danger. The Limited Test Ban Treaty followed in 1963.

A similar gesture is now in order. Our action could convince others that the problem is urgent and offer supplier nations relief from competitive pressures. It could spur efforts to attack the problem with effective and enforceable safeguard and security systems.

A moratorium will be useful only if it leads to significantly enhanced international safeguards and physical security systems. The task will not be easy. Extraordinarily complex and delicate international political issues will be raised. But the NPT review conference, scheduled to convene in May 1975, offers a forum. Careful preparation now could lead to a resolution of at least some of these issues at the conference.

V

A key element in developing adequate international safeguards is strict control over all materials and technology that can be used to make weapons or can otherwise be used for destructive purposes. At present, highly enriched uranium and plutonium fall into this category. Every step necessary must be taken to ensure that these materials do not fall into unauthorized hands once a nuclear facility is in place, and that no state which does not now have a weapons capability can divert sufficient quantities of these materials to make explosives.

This means that nuclear facilities should not be installed in any country unless there is assurance that plutonium and enriched uranium cannot be diverted for weapons purposes. At a minimum, therefore, no reprocessing plants should be allowed in such countries, for it is the reprocessing plant which makes possible the development of weapons-grade plutonium. All reprocessing should be done elsewhere, at first (as at present) by the supplier nations under newly agreed-upon terms and conditions, but ultimately under international auspices. Plutonium should be banned as an export to be used with natural uranium as a reactor fuel, notwithstanding the temptations to create fuel in this way.

There must be similar assurance that the enriched uranium fuel for light-water reactors goes directly into the reactor and that the spent fuel core is returned directly to the supplier. In addition, exports of materials such as computers, intended to be used for nuclear-weapons development, must be controlled. Provision must be made for the physical security of the reactor in order to prevent unauthorized access and theft by terrorist groups, criminal elements, or others, and for security in storage and in transit. The multinational corporations must be prevented from evading safeguards by licensing or otherwise establishing manufacturing or processing facilities in non-safeguarded na-

tions. And finally, effective sanctions must be developed, together with the means and willingness to enforce them.

Adequate sanctions require more than the withholding by individual suppliers of fuel, which is, or could become, available from other sources. Sanctions will require agreement among all fuel suppliers to withhold fuel from any non-safeguarded or non-complying nation. Such an agreement should also cover the supply of replacement parts and related equipment, including computers. Broad economic sanctions should be agreed to as a last resort.

An agreement on sanctions by the suppliers would enhance the authority of the IAEA. It has little bargaining power now, and if it negotiates a weak safeguard agreement with one nation, it sets a precedent for others. Under my formula IAEA safeguards would comply with supplier standards, and violations of the IAEA safeguards would invite sanctions from the suppliers.

Initially, all this will require that the supplier nations—the United States, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and West Germany—acting through arrangements such as the informal Zangger Committee of the IAEA, agree on uniform standards and be prepared to enforce them. The present institutional arrangements, which include both suppliers and recipients, are too heavily biased in favor of recipient nations to expect anything but minimal standards. Membership in the supplier club should not be left open lest it encourage applications.

Consensus among all nations—suppliers and recipients alike—is desirable and should be the goal. But the short-term objective must be immediate action. The longer we wait, the longer the list of supplier nations will grow and the greater will be the difficulty in securing agreement.

In taking these first steps, the supplier nations must be prepared for resistance from recipients, at least initially. Safeguards which preclude recipient-nation control over the reactor by-product or over sources of fuel cannot help but be unpalatable. There will be resistance to an ongoing presence at nuclear facilities which cannot be policed by periodic inspection or by remote control devices. There will be concern over continued dependence on supplier nations for fuel and fuel reprocessing. But because the dangers of proliferation are so great and because the failure to halt it now may make it impossible to halt it at all, supplier nations must take all steps necessary, however unpalat-

able they may be to recipients.

Over the long run, international control can be made more attractive and should come to be seen as a great benefit. Arrangements which provide recipient nations with assurances against arbitrary termination of nuclear-sharing agreements would help. An international nuclear bank from which fuel could be drawn on prescribed terms and conditions would remove understandable anxieties about dependence on other nations. A common financing arrangement to help recipients bear the start-up costs of nuclear power installations would provide strong incentives to cooperate. And insurance against unauthorized access can give the governments of recipient nations greater assurance against terrorist revolutionary activities.

VI

None of these measures will be easy to achieve. But the breathing spell provided by a moratorium would provide an opportunity for all to embark on the serious efforts required.

There are other steps which the United States should initiate. One is a concerted effort to bring all nations into the NPT. Another is expansion of the transfer restrictions in the NPT to include re-exports of nuclear materials and technology by recipients. A third is a prohibition on transfers of nuclear materials or technology to non-NPT nations. A fourth is acceptance of internationally agreed-upon safeguards on the non-safeguarded nuclear facilities of supplier nations. Fifth, we should encourage an adequately funded international safeguard research effort, starting at once with adequate funding for current IAEA safeguard activities.

These many steps require international agreement. There are other steps which the United States can take on its own.

Internal institutional arrangements must be clarified. At present, the lines of authority between the AEC, which controls certain nuclear exports under the Atomic Energy Act, and the Department of Commerce, which controls all other exports under the Export Administration Act, are not clearly delineated. Once a cooperation agreement for the export of nuclear reactors and fuel is entered into, little careful scrutiny is given to exports of replacement equipment and nuclear-related materials such as computers. U.S. export-control procedures need to be harmonized to ensure that there is an opportunity for consultation with

the agencies best equipped to gauge the political, military and nuclear proliferation consequences of a given export. As it now stands, the AEC may have the technical competence to assess the adequacy and workability of safeguards. But institutionally we have little assurance that the political consequences and the enforceability of such safeguards have been adequately assessed. A better institutional framework would include a joint State and Defense Department committee with the clear responsibility for the review and approval of all exports of nuclear equipment, fuel, related equipment and licenses.

Congress, too, should have a greater voice. All bilateral cooperation agreements should require affirmative congressional approval. The judgment of the Congress is not necessarily wiser than the collective judgment of the executive branch. But it can at least act as a check, and each cooperation agreement could become the occasion for discussion.

The United States itself can do much to reduce proliferation incentives. The AEC Plowshare program to develop nuclear explosives for peaceful applications should not be reactivated. The United States should stress the limited military utility of nuclear weapons, or to put it differently, make the nuclear option less tempting, by emphasizing conventional defenses. In areas where the weapons do not now exist, reliance on the concept of nuclear deterrence should be de-emphasized and nuclear free zones sought. In dealings with China and the Third World, economic development should be promoted as an alternative to military measures to achieve national power. We should pull back nuclear weapons stationed abroad and publicly disavow new deployments, except in areas dependent on the U.S. nuclear shield. In that regard, it would be difficult to conceive a more counter-productive move at the moment than to position nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean on the island of Diego Garcia, a development at which Defense witnesses appeared to be hinting last spring when they spoke of stationing B-52s there.

To decelerate the race to manufacture and sell fuel, the United States should re-establish its reliability as a supplier. To do so, it must resolve the controversy over private versus public ownership of reprocessing plants. Only the government can do the job. If private-sector participation is desired it could be obtained through investment in a government corporation, along Comsat lines. The corporation could later become the U.S. par-

ticipant in an international organization for the supply and control of fuel.

The United States might also support the seating of non-nuclear powers on the U.N. Security Council as a means of loosening the connection between nuclear power and international influence. Probably as much as anything, a realistic SALT agreement with the Soviet Union would help to diminish the significance of nuclear arms. In its every action, the United States should carefully weigh the consequences of nuclear proliferation.

After 20 years of somnolence, Indira Gandhi and Richard Nixon have awakened the United States, if not the world, to the perils of nuclear proliferation. However inadvertently, the explosion in the Indian desert and the offers of nuclear assistance in the Middle East have sparked a long overdue reexamination of "peaceful" nuclear proliferation. Among scientists and civil servants, there is a growing realization that the cows have started out of the barn—and may soon be gone. The peace and stability of the world may well depend on how earnestly we face up to the implications.

CAN PROLIFERATION NOW BE STOPPED?

By George H. Quester

INDIA detonated a nuclear explosive below the surface of the Rajasthan desert on May 18 of this year. If we were hoping that the world's nuclear club could be limited to the five nations that have possessed the bomb since 1964, that possibility is thus now gone.

One should not base too many hopes on the fact that the Indian explosive was portrayed as intended for nonmilitary uses. Indian politicians have been releasing trial balloons for years now about a "peaceful nuclear explosive," while often more jocularly and candidly referring to it in New Delhi and Bombay as the "peaceful bomb." By detonating its explosive as it did, the Indian government avoided violating the aboveground Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which it had signed and ratified. By defining the explosive as peaceful, the government could also argue that it did not violate its agreement with Canada on the reactor at Trombay, an agreement which merely required use for "peaceful purposes." The "peaceful explosives" euphemism was moreover likely to hold back some hostile foreign reactions, although newspaper editorials the next day could note that such an explosive was practically indistinguishable from a bomb. By detonating underground, the Indians indeed demonstrated that they had more than some huge and crude device; since it was small enough to be gotten down a deep shaft, it was probably small enough to be carried aboard an airplane.

Can the further spread of nuclear weapons now still be contained after the Indian explosion, or must we reconcile ourselves to a seventh and a twelfth and a twentieth state with nuclear explosives? Is there even any good reason to devote much effort to trying to curb proliferation; is nuclear proliferation necessarily so bad?

Proliferation is indeed still bad for the world. The spread of nuclear weapons in some cases may make war more likely, because such weapons temptingly suggest preemptive strikes by the air forces of a region. And in most cases the spread of nuclear weapons will make war enormously more deadly and destructive, as entire cities become vulnerable to the strike of a single bomber.

Richard Nixon. He had no difficulty capturing the traditional Republican vote, took a stunning 70% in the Chicago suburbs—which now cast 275,000 more votes than the city itself—and ran about even with his Democratic opponent in the South Side black ghetto.

Percy's percentage, a record, was topped in 1974 by his Democratic colleague, Adlai Stevenson III, when he won his first full term by a 63-37 margin. Stevenson had captured the seat four years before, after it was held for a matter of months by a conservative Republican appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Dirksen's death. Stevenson had been the target of a Nixon-Agnew brand law 'n' order campaign, complete with charges that the Democrat consorted with the likes of Yippie Jerry Rubin; Stevenson retaliated by hiring the prosecutor of the Chicago Seven as his campaign manager, wearing a flag pin in his lapel, and winning 58% of the vote. In 1974, several well-known Republicans, including Attorney General Scott and House Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson declined to run against him (actually they had to make their decisions in 1973; since Illinois's filing date is in December, the earliest in the nation.) With token opposition from an unknown and unfinanced Republican, Stevenson swept the state, winning 58% of the vote Downstate and 53% in the suburbs—to go with his 81-19 margin in the city of Chicago.

Stevenson is a quiet Senator who nonetheless takes strong positions on matters like ending military aid to Vietnam; he worked hard on issues like congressional and campaign reform. His speaking style, at first very hesitant, has improved during his political career, but he still lacks the homespun polish his father had. On the Banking and Commerce Committees, he is considered a reliable voice for consumer points of view, but not a major shaper of legislation.

In presidential elections, Illinois is one of our bellwether states; it has supported every winning candidate since Warren G. Harding in 1920. But the Illinois presidential primary has never been decisive in choosing either party's nominee. One reason is the early filing date, which scares off a lot of candidates, who want more time to make up their minds; another reason is the fact that the party machines have traditionally had the strength to elect the delegates they select. The preferential poll is just a beauty contest, imposing no obligation on delegates to support any candidate; in 1972, it was the scene of Edmund Muskie's only really solid victory, but no one much cared. For 1976, the delegates chosen on the Republican side are likely to be mainly conservative organization types (the Illinois delegation wouldn't back Percy on the question of delegate apportionment in 1972).

As for the Democrats, Richard Daley is likely to have less to say than might be expected. Even in 1972, Muskie and McGovern candidates carried most of the suburban congressional districts, and there is plenty of reason to believe organizational choices can be beaten Downstate. That leaves the seven Chicago districts, and two of these—the Lake front 9th and the South Side 1st—are sure to elect independents, leaving the Daley organization just five districts worth. It is unlikely that the Daley people will be thrown out again as they were in 1972, which was done only because they insisted on opposing the McGovern forces on the California challenge. But Daley will no longer control 100-plus delegate votes as he did in the 1968 convention.

Census Data Pop. 11,113,976; 5.49% of U.S. total, 5th largest; Central city, 37%; suburban, 43%. Median family income, \$10,957; 7th highest; families above \$15,000: 26%; families below \$3,000: 8%. Median years education, 12.1.

1974 Share of Federal Tax Burden \$17,113,397,000; 6.39% of U.S. total, 3rd largest.

1974 Share of Federal Outlays \$12,094,107,000; 4.48% of U.S. total, 5th largest. Per capita federal spending, \$1088.

DOD	\$1,360,544,000	16th (1.99%)	HEW	\$4,934,489,000	4th (5.32%)
AEC	\$169,849,000	6th (5.57%)	HUD	\$71,255,000	2d (7.31%)
NASA	\$7,551,000	20th (0.25%)	VA	\$590,557,000	7th (4.32%)
DOT	\$308,118,000	6th (3.64%)	EPA	\$114,903,000	6th (3.65%)
DOC	\$17,375,000	16th (1.08%)	RevS	\$310,504,000	4th (5.11%)
DOI	\$25,947,000	23d (1.05%)	Int.	\$676,427,000	4th (3.29%)
USDA	\$560,191,000	4th (4.50%)	Other	\$2,946,397,000	

Economic Base Finance, insurance and real estate; machinery, especially construction and related machinery; electrical equipment and supplies, especially communication equipment; fabricated metal products; agriculture, notably corn, soybeans, hogs and cattle; food and kindred products; printing and publishing, especially commercial printing; primary metal industries, especially blast furnaces and basic steel products.

Political Line-up Governor, Dan Walker (D). Senators, Charles H. Percy (R) and Adlai E. Stevenson (D). Representatives, 24 (12 D, 11 R, and 1 vac.) State Senate (33 D and 26 R); State House (101 D, 75 R and 1 vac.).

The Voters

Registration 5,905,633 Total. No Party Registration.
 Median voting age 43.
 Employment profile White collar, 49%. Blue collar, 37%. Service, 12%. Farm, 2%.
 Ethnic groups Black, 13%. Spanish, 3%. Total foreign stock, 20%. Germany, Poland, 3% each; Italy, 2%; UK, 1%.

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	2,788,179	(59%)
	McGovern (D)	1,913,472	(41%)
1968	Nixon (R)	2,174,774	(47%)
	Humphrey (D)	2,039,814	(44%)
	Wallace (AI)	390,958	(8%)

1972 Democratic Presidential Primary

Muskie	766,914	(63%)
McCarthy	444,260	(36%)
others	13,970	(1%)
preference only		

1972 Republican Presidential Primary

Nixon	32,550	(97%)
others	1,019	(3%)
preference only		



Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) Elected 1966, seat up 1978; b. Sept. 27, 1919, Pensacola, Fla.; home, Wilmette; U. of Chi., B.A. 1941; Christian Scientist.

Career Corp. Exec., Bell & Howell, Co., Pres. and Chf. Exec. Officer, 1949-61, Bd. Chm., 1961-66; Navy, WWII; Rep. of Pres. Eisenhower to pres. inaugurations in Peru and Bolivia, 1956; Repub. nominee for Gov., 1964.

Offices 1200 DSOB, 202-224-2152. Also 219 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1860, Chicago 60604, 312-353-4952, and Old P.O. Bldg., Rm. 117, Springfield 62701, 217-525-4442.

Committees

Government Operations (Ranking Member). Subcommittees: Oversight Procedures; Reports, Accounting and Management; Permanent Subcommittees on Investigations.

Foreign Relations (5th). Subcommittees: Far Eastern Affairs; Multinational Corporations; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Joint Economic Committee (2d, Senate Side). Subcommittees: Consumer Economics; Economic Growth; International Economics; Priorities and Economy in Government; Urban Affairs.

Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	LWV	RIPON	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
1974	82	78	100	100	69	93	55	33	44	19
1973	67	75	100	100	69	-	58	-	-	17
1972	60	88	100	100	89	57	100	55	44	41

Key Votes

1) No-Knock	AGN	8) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR	15) Consumer Prot Agy	FOR
2) Busing	ABS	9) Cut Mil Brass	FOR	16) Forced Psych Tests	ABS
3) No Fault	FOR	10) Gov Limousine	FOR	17) Fed Campaign Subs	FOR
4) F-111	FOR	11) RR Featherbed	FOR	18) Rhod Chrome Ban	FOR
5) Death Penalty	AGN	12) Handgun License	FOR	19) Open Legis Meetings	FOR
6) Foreign Aid	FOR	13) Less Troop Abrd	AGN	20) Strikers Food Stmps	ABS
7) Filibuster	AGN	14) Resume Turk Aid	AGN	21) Gov Info Disclosure	FOR

Election Results

1972 general:	Charles H. Percy (R)	2,867,078	(62%)	(\$1,408,822)
	Roman Pucinski (D)	1,721,031	(38%)	(\$335,482)
1972 primary:	Charles H. Percy (R), unopposed			
1966 general:	Charles H. Percy (R)	2,100,449	(56%)	
	Paul H. Douglas (D)	1,678,147	(44%)	



Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) Elected 1970, seat up 1980; b. Oct. 10, 1930, Chicago; home, Chicago; Harvard U., A.B. 1952, LL.B. 1957; Unitarian.

Career USMC, Korea; Clerk to Ill. State Supreme Ct. Justice, 1957-58; Practicing atty.; Ill. House of Reps., 1965-67; State Treasurer of Ill., 1967-70.

Offices 456 RSOB, 202-224-2854. Also 230 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 60604, 312-353-5420, and Fed. Bldg., Rm. 108, 600 E. Monroe St., Springfield 62691, 217-525-4126.

Committees

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (6th). Subcommittees: Financial Institutions; International Finance (Chairman); Oversight; Production and Stabilization.

Commerce (11th). Subcommittees: Aviation; The Consumer; Environment; Foreign Commerce and Tourism; Surface Transportation; Special Subcommittee on Science, Technology, and Commerce; Special Subcommittee to Study Transportation on the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway; Special Subcommittee on Oil and Gas Production and Distribution (Chairman).

The District of Columbia (3d).

Group Ratings

	ADA	COPE	LWV	RIPON	NFU	LCV	CFA	NAB	NSI	ACA
1974	100	73	100	57	94	79	100	33	0	11
1973	89	82	100	65	100	-	85	-	-	7
1972	80	89	100	80	100	96	100	27	20	10

Key Votes

1) No-Knock	AGN	8) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR	15) Consumer Prot Agy	FOR
2) Busing	FOR	9) Cut Mil Brass	FOR	16) Forced Psych Tests	FOR
3) No Fault	FOR	10) Gov Limousine	AGN	17) Fed Campaign Subs	AGN
4) F-111	AGN	11) RR Featherbed	FOR	18) Rhod Chrome Ban	FOR
5) Death Penalty	AGN	12) Handgun License	FOR	19) Open Legis Meetings	FOR
6) Foreign Aid	FOR	13) Less Troop Abrd	FOR	20) Strikers Food Stmps	FOR
7) Filibuster	AGN	14) Resume Turk Aid	AGN	21) Gov Info Disclosure	FOR

Election Results

1974 general:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	1,811,496	(63%)	(\$757,329)
	George M. Burditt (R)	1,084,884	(37%)	(\$488,556)
1974 primary:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	822,248	(83%)	
	W. Dakin Williams (D)	169,662	(17%)	

1970 general:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	2,065,054	(58%)
	Ralph Tyler Smith (R)	1,519,718	(42%)



Gov. Dan Walker (D) Elected 1972, term expires Jan. 1977; b. Aug. 6, 1922, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Naval Acad., B.A. 1945, Northwestern U., LL.B. 1950; Methodist.

Career Navy, 1945-47, Korea; Law Clerk, U.S. Supreme Ct. Chf. Justice Fred Vinson, 1951; Admin. Aide to Gov. Adlaie E. Stevenson II, 1952; Practicing atty., 1953-66; Dir., Pioneer Trust & Savings Bank, and Montgomery Ward Life Ins. Co., 1966-71.

Offices Springfield 62706, 217-782-6830.

Election Results

1972 general:	Daniel Walker (D)	2,371,303	(51%)
	Richard B. Ogilvie (R)	2,293,809	(49%)
1972 primary:	Daniel Walker (D)	735,193	(51%)
	Paul Simon (D)	694,000	(49%)

FIRST DISTRICT

In the spring of 1972, police beat up two black men on the South Side of Chicago. It was not the first time such a thing had happened without justification nor, assuredly, would it be the last. But this particular gratuitous act would turn out to be one with major consequences for Chicago politics, more profound perhaps than those which flowed from the police riot outside the Conrad Hilton in August 1968. For the two black men who were beaten happened to be well-to-do dentists, prominent in the community. Quite naturally, they complained to their old friend, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe of the 1st district of Illinois—the recent successor to William L. Dawson, and the undisputed leader of the black portion of Richard J. Daley's Democratic machine.

Metcalfe was appalled. He was by no means a maverick or a militant, not after 16 years of loyal service on the Chicago City Council and his selection as Dawson's successor. At 62, he was still best known from his days as an Olympics sprinter, when he finished just behind Jesse Owens in the 1936 games in Berlin. But these beatings were just too much for Metcalfe to stomach. The Congressman demanded a meeting with Mayor Daley—at his, Metcalfe's, office. The Mayor refused to come. And so began Metcalfe's break with the Daley machine.

Like any medieval monarch, Daley is not in the habit of responding to summonses to appear at other people's courts, but in Metcalfe's case he might have been wise to do so. For as the clear political leader of the South Side, Metcalfe held—and holds—a position of key importance to the Chicago machine. The South Side is the largest black ghetto in the United States, larger than Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant. And voters here come out and vote in much larger proportions. In the early sixties, when Daley faced a strong challenge from the Republicans and was losing most of the city's white wards, it was the solid vote from the South Side that kept him in office. And until 1972, the South Side had remained strongly with the machine. Metcalfe himself, challenged by a well-known insurgent black Alderman, had won 71% of the vote in his 1970 primary and 91% in the general election. And in the 1972 general election, as in 1968, the 1st district provided a higher Democratic percentage and majority than any other congressional district in the nation.

But even before the dentists were beaten up, the South Side—and Metcalfe—were growing restive with the machine. In 1972, Daley had first endorsed State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan for renomination. The black community hated Hanrahan for his role in a raid that left two Black Panther leaders dead. Metcalfe balked, and Daley—fearful of losing the South Side majorities for his other candidates—withdraw the Hanrahan endorsement. Hanrahan won the primary anyway; but in the general election, he lost most of the South Side wards to the winner, Republican Bernard Carey.

The same wards also went for Republican Senator Charles Percy over his challenger Roman Pucinski, whose campaign catered to the backlash, antibusing vote. During that campaign,

Key Votes

1) Foreign Aid	AGN	6) Gov Abortn Aid	NE	11) Pub Cong Election \$	NE
2) Busing	NE	7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN	12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NE
3) ABM	NE	8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE	13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR	9) Pub Trans Sub	NE	14) Strip Mine Veto	ABS
5) Nerve Gas	NE	10) EZ Voter Regis	NE	15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Election Results

1974 general:	George V. Hansen (R)	67,274	(56%)	(\$120,923)
	Max Hanson (D)	53,599	(44%)	(\$20,982)
1974 primary:	George V. Hansen (R)	22,114	(52%)	
	Orval Hansen (R)	20,109	(48%)	

ILLINOIS

As any reader of license plate slogans knows, Illinois is the "Land of Lincoln." More to the point, Illinois is also a land of tough, patronage-minded politicians, the home of Richard J. Daley's Democratic machine and the equally fearsome apparatus of the state's conservative Republicans. Not that this is the image one obtains from the roster of top statewide officeholders. Both parties have traditionally slated blue-ribbon candidates for the top slots; giving the nation such leaders as Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas in 1858 and, more recently, Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas in 1858 and the state's current Senators, Republican Charles Percy and Democrat Adlai Stevenson III.

Such men are above any suspicion of dishonesty. But they are in that respect scarcely typical of Illinois politicians, or at least the public's view of them. Among most pols here, patronage is a way of life, and between elections the leaders of both parties can live together quite comfortably, sharing the spoils. Outright thievery exists, too: in the 1950s a Republican state Auditor stole \$150,000, and in 1970 the Democratic Secretary of State died leaving \$800,000 cash in shoeboxes in his dingy Springfield hotel room. The most widespread corruption exists probably in Chicago and Cook County. In the last few years, aggressive Republican prosecutors have won convictions against such major figures in the Daley machine as County Clerk Edward Barrett and City Council President Thomas Keane, and former Governor and Federal judge Otto Kerner. State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, indicted for obstruction of justice in connection with the death of two Black Panther leaders, was acquitted but defeated by the voters in 1972, and his political career is over. (See Sixth District) Forty indictments for vote fraud in the March 1972 primary and intensive poll-watching have just about eliminated what Republicans claim was a pattern of massive vote fraud, especially in the West Side Chicago wards. But even Mayor Daley has been called on for explanations: he has admitted, for example, that he channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars insurance contracts to a firm that employs one of his sons.

In short, Mayor Daley's machine—the last major patronage-oriented, old-fashioned ward-based political organization in the country—is in bad shape. Daley himself, to be sure, was renominated for an unprecedented sixth term as Mayor in early 1975, but that victory shows the weakness, not the strength, of the machine. Daley, after all, has the reputation of being one of the few Mayors who can actually make a city work, who can get big labor and big business to make peace, and can control the city budget and the city tax rate. And if Chicago's city services are not as good as that view suggests, they are at least the equal of those in large cities under supposedly more enlightened management. Certainly Alderman William Singer, the young maverick Alderman who was Daley's main competitor, could not claim similar expertise. Yet with all these advantages, the 73-year-old Daley received only 58% of the vote. It was a solid 2-1 win over Singer, but scarcely the kind of unanimous endorsement he must have wanted: more than four out of ten Chicago Democrats voted for someone else.

So it should not be so surprising, at least now in retrospect, that Daley's choice for Governor was beaten in the 1972 Democratic primary. There were a number of ironies here. The machine choice was then Lieutenant Governor Paul Simon, who had built his career as an authentic Downstate reformer; his strong backing from organized labor and favorable name recognition virtually forced the machine to endorse him. (See Twenty-fourth District) And Walker, though an out-and-out rebel who had written the report charging a "police riot" at the 1968 Democratic convention, was not the kind of programmatic liberal so many of his articulate supporters assumed. Once he got the nomination, the main theme of this former West Pointer and six-figure executive at Montgomery Ward was that the state budget must be cut. He attacked Republican incumbent Richard Ogilvie for supporting a new state income tax, and became a kind of populist folk figure. He made only a mediocre showing in Chicago and its suburbs (outer Cook County and five surrounding counties), but actually carried usually Republican Downstate Illinois for a 51-49 statewide victory.

In office Walker has been engaged in a series of feuds with both parties in the legislature as well as with Mayor Daley. His adversaries consider him a grandstander, a man who poses as an economizer while fattening his own payroll with political appointees. He, apparently, considers himself a kind of tribune of the people, seeking to end the arrangements that have made it so comfortable to be a politician or a bureaucrat in Illinois, and not barred from using a wily politician's device to accomplish these ends. People around Walker have made it no secret that they consider their man fit to be a candidate for the Presidency in 1976; they have even had made thousands of copies of a record called "A Winner Walkin Home", which extols the Governor in a hillbilly twang. It seems unlikely at the moment that Walker can win any significant support within the professional political (or journalistic) community; if he has any desire to advance, it must be in the primaries. What about his chances if he decides to run for reelection in 1976? Probably good: he helped to elect a fair number of new state legislators in 1974. Possible opponents include state Attorney General William Scott, a conservative Republican, and Lieutenant Governor Neil Hartigan, a smooth youngish Daley Democrat. But Scott passed up the 1974 Senate race and Hartigan is the kind of politician who likes to wait for the sure things to come to him—which may well happen.

Governor and Mayor have always been the positions most Illinois pols care about; that's where the patronage and all the big contracts are. The two Senate seats are held, usually, by the blue-ribbon candidates both parties like to put up to attract independent voters. For more than 15 years they were held by Paul Douglas and Everett Dirksen, an odd couple if there ever was one, and as an example of how the same state can continually reelect entirely different Senators. Douglas was an economics professor idealist, a liberal who battled against the filibuster and the oil depletion allowance in the days when the Senate, led by Lyndon Johnson, overwhelming supported them; he had the pleasure of seeing both seriously injured, if not killed, in 1975. Dirksen, the Senate Minority Leader when he died in 1969, was a natural deal-maker, a man who could shift stands on issues like civil rights adroitly enough to be hailed for statesmanship, a man who loved to orate floridly about the virtues of the marigold, but whose tiny Downstate law office at the same time was collecting fat fees from many of the nation's leading corporations.

Illinois' current Senators are more in the Douglas than the Dirksen mold: liberal on the issues, more pragmatic than the old professor but still not the leading movers and shakers in the Senate. Charles Percy was, in fact, a student of Douglas's at the University of Chicago before World War II. He rose quickly: president of Bell and Howell at 30, head of the Republican platform committee at 41, Senator at 47. With his blond hair and unwrinkled face, Percy is still described as young by some journalists, though he is nearing 60; he is still regarded by some as a sort of liberal Republican boy wonder, though he has not yet done what everyone has expected him to do for years—run for President. He was planning the groundwork for a serious, grueling campaign when Gerald Ford's accession to the Presidency seemed to sew up the Republican nomination for 1976; with the selection of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President, the only wing of the party to which Percy appeals probably already has its candidate whenever Ford retires. In order to win, Percy would have had to effect a kind of revolution in the Republican Party; it would not have been enough to win primaries, but he would have had to oust conservative party officials all over the country and install people closer to his own views.

And those views, generally, are probably closer to those of most liberal Democratic Senators than to Republicans like the late Everett Dirksen. But all that can be overstated: though he was often an adversary of the Nixon Administration, he attempted in 1975 to come to the rescue of the Ford Administration's Cambodia policy by fashioning a compromise in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What is not in doubt about Percy is his ability to win general elections in Illinois. Running for a second term in 1972 he won with 62% of the vote—significantly ahead of

Ralph Nader Congress Project
Citizens Look at Congress

**Adlai E.
Stevenson, 3d**

Democratic Senator
from Illinois

written by Mark Gruenberg

"Policies which become divorced from their intent can acquire their own capricious and destructive momentum."¹

Although Illinois' junior senator, Adlai Stevenson III, directed that remark specifically to the war in Vietnam, it serves to depict his general attitude toward much in United States government, including fiscal policy, the Kleindienst nomination, impoundment of funds by the Office of Management and Budget, and the expansion of power of the executive branch.

However, Stevenson is not an advocate in the tradition of William Jennings Bryan, or Robert La Follette. Before taking a position, he weighs his words carefully and examines the issues. He stresses cooperation rather than confrontation between the executive branch and the Congress. He places research above dogma or opinion when taking a stance, and he notes that Congress's work--and most of its failings--come behind the scenes, in caucus and in committee.²

Both on the floor and in committee, he has a liberal voting record. He has voted with liberal majorities on the key votes in all four of his committees. Rating his floor votes, the liberal Americans for Democratic Action gave him a 100 percent rating. (See Table 4: Interest Group Ratings.) Yet he does not follow the accepted liberal line on at least one key issue--the filibuster. "The senate is the last bastion of minority representation in this country. The leadership of this country being what it is not supposed to be, we need to hold the line . . . for reason to prevail."³ Although Stevenson believes that the filibuster had gotten a bad reputation for being used to block civil rights legislation, he can foresee its possible necessity in saving civil rights bills.

THE STATE OF THE STATE

The competition between Democratic and Republican parties in Illinois (population 11,113,976) is fierce. Few statewide candidates ever win by a huge majority. However, in the three times he has run for statewide office, Adlai Stevenson III has been the exception.

Political offices and affiliations in Illinois are divided between the two parties. Governor Ogilvie is Republican, Lt. Governor Simon a Democrat. The state's other senator, running for reelection with Ogilvie, is Republican Charles Percy. The state legislature and the congressional delegation are evenly split, although the congressional representation is due for a redistricting to be laid out according to a plan originally pushed by House Speaker W. Robert Blair (R-Park Forest).⁴

On the famous "long ballot" in the 1964 election, when all candidates were at-large for the House of Delegates, the top 177 winning, Stevenson led the field.⁵ In 1966, a Republican year, Stevenson bucked the tide and won the post of state treasurer by a healthy 40,000 margin.⁶ In the 1970 Senate race, Stevenson swamped Ralph Tyler Smith 2,065,054 to 1,519,718. (See Table 1.) His margin, 545,336--was the second highest in Illinois history, beaten only by his father in the 1948 gubernatorial race.⁷

Yet other recent political races in Illinois have been very close. In 1968 Nixon scraped by Humphrey with 47.1 percent of the vote to Humphrey's 44.2. Considered unbeatable, Everett Dirksen, Senate Majority Leader, faced state Attorney General William Clark that same year. But Clark frightened Dirksen in that election, and without much help from the Chicago Democratic organization, still only lost with 46.6 percent of the vote to Dirksen's 53 percent. It was Dirksen's last race. He died two years later, and Ogilvie appointed Smith as his successor. But Stevenson beat Smith for the remaining four years of Dirksen's term. He will again face Illinois voters at the polls in 1974.

Ogilvie, favored heavily to win over lackluster Democratic incumbent Samuel Shapiro in 1968, won with a mere 51.2 percent to Shapiro's 48.4 percent. The previous 1964 gubernatorial election saw Percy lose to Otto Kerner. In 1962, though almost no one noticed, Chicago Congressman Sidney Yates (D-9th District) ran a better race against Dirksen than Clark did six years later. Dirksen won 52.9 percent of the vote, Yates 47.1. And, of course, closest of all was the 1960 presidential race where Kennedy outran Nixon by less than 9,000 votes out of 4,700,000 cast.⁸ It was that race which focused attention on the power of the Chicago Democratic organization to swing elections.

But ten years later, the power had passed away. The dominating factor in Illinois politics today, as Stevenson proved in his race for the Senate, is no longer Chicago but its suburbs. Racking up an enormous margin in the suburbs, Stevenson swept to victory over Smith. The suburb of Evanston is typical. Although it usually votes Republican, Stevenson took the town by 3-1.⁹

Of Illinois' population, 43.4 percent now live in metropolitan areas. Outside of the nine central cities, 36.7 percent live in the major cities, while 19.9 percent live outside the metropolitan areas.

Illinois is slowly turning from a blue-collar to a white-collar state--from 42.3 percent white collar in 1960 to 43 percent in 1970. Roughly 26 percent of all workers in Illinois are engaged in manufacturing. The state's unemployment rate has increased from 3.6 percent in 1970 to almost 5.0 percent in 1971. Despite the unemployment increase, Illinois' per capita income ranks eighth highest in the nation, with a 1970 figure of \$4,516.¹⁰ (See Table 2 for additional state census data.)

Illinois lags behind the rest of the nation in federal aid per person. Nationwide, the amount of federal aid per capita is \$1,019; in Illinois, the amount of aid per capita (in 1971) is \$725.25. This situation is made worse because the average Illinois resident pays \$1,174.63 in federal income taxes. In Chicago alone the situation is not much better in terms of aid. One out of every three federal aid dollars earmarked for Illinois goes to Chicago, making the amount per capita \$763.51. Of that sum, \$94 goes to cover the expenses of the hulking building at Jackson and River--the Post Office.¹¹

Answering the Congress Project questionnaire, Stevenson identified his acquisition of federal grants and programs as a major accomplishment for Illinois. Stevenson cited increasing shares of federal spending in most categories except defense as an indication that efforts were beginning to pay off.¹² Our own data, culled from Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) computer tapes for fiscal year 1971, affirms Stevenson's judgment. Illinois has been increasing its share of the federal dollar. But the share is still low. For example, for the first 13 congressional districts, covering 5.5 million people, federal spending amounted to just over \$4 billion or \$759 per person. The U.S. average is \$1,019 per person. Only two of the other districts are above \$900 per person. Illinois is taking its share of welfare money, with Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and OEO outlays just about at or above national averages. But Illinois receives very little from the Departments of Transportation (receiving one-seventh the national average), Agriculture (one-half), Defense (one-fourth), and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (one-tenth).

State Voting History

	1966			1968			1970		
	Name	%	Vote*	Name	%	Vote*	Name	%	Vote*
Senate Democratic Primary	Douglas	Unopposed		Clark	Unopposed		Stevenson	Unopposed	
Senate Republican Primary	Percy	91	606	Dirksen	92	623	Smith	59	414
	Doyle	6	39	Johnson	8	53	Rentschler	39	272
Senate General Election	Percy (R)	42	538	Dirksen (R)	53	2,358	Smith (R)	42	1,520
	Douglas (D)	56	724	Clark (D)	47	2,073	Stevenson(D)	57	2,065
	Other	2	21	Other	.4	18	Other	.4	15
Gubernatorial Election	No election held			Ogilvie (R)	51	2,307	No election held		
				Shapiro (D)	48	2,180			
Presidential Election	No election held			Nixon	47	2,175	No election held		
				Humphrey	44	2,040			
				Wallace	9	391			

* figure in thousands

Sources: "1966 Elections", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXIV (November 11, 1966); "Complete Returns of the 1968 Elections by Congressional District", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XVII (June 6, 1969); Politics in America, IV (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1971); Richard M. Scammon, America Votes (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1966, 1968, and 1970).

Stevenson appears to be particularly concerned about three areas with special needs: Cairo, East St. Louis, and Woodlawn. The major projects follow: increased Bilingual Education funding (\$765,000 over two years); Small Business Administration help for the Caehe River Lumber Company (\$268,880); East St. Louis HUD planned Variations Grant (\$3.8 million); East St. Louis Riverfront Relocation Study (\$465,000); North Lawndale Development Corporation (\$5 million over 2 years); Clavey Road Sewage Treatment Plant in Highland Park (\$23 million); 4 other sewage projects in Williamson County, Galatia, McHenry, Spring Valley; Provident Hospital Expansion in Chicago (\$15.5 million); preservation of the Lincoln Home in Springfield (\$6.2 million); East St. Louis Low Income Housing (\$32 million); Carbondale Model Cities (\$2.8 million); Torrence Park Urban Renewal (\$620,000); East St. Louis Planned Variations Grant (\$3.8 million); East St. Louis Emergency Employment (\$5.6 million); Indiana Dunes Development (\$2.6 million over two years); McKee Creek Flood Control and Recreation Project (\$14.3 million); Kaskaskia Navigation Project (\$36 million over two years); Lincoln and Oakley Reservoirs (\$3.7 million over two years); Lincoln Foster Grandparents Program (\$10.5 million); and numerous minor projects.

THE 1972 ELECTION

Even before the selection of Sargent Shriver (former president of the Chicago Board of Education, among other posts) as vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic party, Stevens stated in no uncertain terms that he did not want to run. "I made my views known before the convention--even to Muskie before he withdrew,"¹³ he emphasized. To insure that no one would miss the point, he also stated them on national television during the convention, telling Roger Mudd of CBS he did not want the nomination.¹⁴ The possibility of taking the nomination were offered by Senator George McGovern did not concern him as much as it worried Illinois' other Senator, Republican Charles Percy. Considering that move's impact on his opponent's voting strength, Percy commented: "If Adlai Stevenson is selected as the vice-presidential nominee, it would have a great effect on my campaign."¹⁵ Meanwhile, Stevenson was saying, "I'm not going to be selected."¹⁶

The vice-presidential tumult over, Stevenson intends to spend his time "helping Senate candidates any way I can" around the country. He plans also to do likewise for the Democratic ticket in Illinois, with one exception. "The Illinois Democratic leaders assumed that as a Democrat, I'll endorse the ticket. And I'll do that--except in the case of Hanrahan."¹⁷ Stevenson's 1970 campaign manager, Dan Walker, is now the Democratic candidate for governor opposing Ogilvie. Stevenson intends to cover the state, endorsing the ticket by making speeches, opening headquarters, and performing other campaign services. He was to have chaired a dinner called to help pay off the campaign debts incurred by Muskie in winning the Illinois primary¹⁸ but sent a letter out instead. Having spent much time working in the Muskie campaign before the convention, he is presently involved in Campaign '72, "a large mailing which parcels out the money it receives to candidates it supports" for the Senate. It is co-chaired by Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) and by Stevenson. "It always nags my conscience about the priorities, fearing that you're devoting your time to the least important things."¹⁹

CAMPAIGN AND PERSONAL ETHICS

Although Stevenson is concerned about and takes a liberal stance on the war, the growing power of the executive branch, and the impoundment and lack of spending on health and welfare programs, the one area in which he has taken leadership is that of campaign and personal finances. "As a legislator, almost everything could be a conflict of interest," he says. "And almost anything you could do could be perceived as a conflict of interest, and that is what I am concerned about. That is what full disclosure is for. The appearance of conflict is just as damaging as actual conflict. It is a Caesar's wife proposition."

He recalled that while serving in the Illinois legislature, he and fellow legislator Abner Mikva, now a congressman from the North Shore suburbs of Chicago, "probably put together the most thoughtfully-drafted conflict of interest law introduced." Realizing that investments could potentially create conflict of interest, the bill said that when a conflict arose, "we had two options in such a situation, (1) abstain and (2) disclose and vote." Stevenson told us he chose between those same options when a proposal to exempt newspapers from Phase II came up in the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee upon which he sits. He has an inherited investment in a small Illinois paper, the Bloomington Daily Pantagraph. He disclosed his interests "and then voted against the papers."²⁰

Not stopping there, in early 1971 he introduced a bill (S 343) with New Jersey Senator Clifford Case providing for full public disclosure of "the amount and sources of all income . . . the value of all assets, all dealings in securities and all purchases and sales of property" by

*A conflict of interest is a question concerning action by a member of Congress that would advance his or her own private interests, especially financial interests, against a public interest.

State
Facts

	1960	1970	USA Avg.
Total population	10,081,158	11,139,976	478,070
White	89.4%	86.4%	87.5%
Negro	10.3%	12.8%	11.1%
Other	.3%	.8%	1.4%
Urban	80.7%	83.0%	73.5%
Rural	19.3%	17.0%	26.5%
Median age	31.2%	28.8%	28.3
Median school years	10.5%	10.5 *	12.2
Per capita income	NA	\$4,516 *	\$3,688
Civilian unemployed	4.5%	4.8%*	4.9%
Total housing units/1000	324.9	333.2	335.0
% Unoccupied	3.0%	5.4%	8.8%
% With more than 1.01 persons/room	9.5%	7.4%	8.2%
Median value, owner occupied	\$14,700	\$19,800	\$17,000
Median monthly rent	\$85	\$107	\$90

Sources

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book: Districts of the 88th Congress (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data, Districts of the 92nd Congress, by state (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1971).

*Morris Harth, ed., The New York Times Encyclopedia Almanac, 1972 (New York Times, 1971).

any federal employee or officeholder making \$18,000 per year, and any candidate for office. The penalty for failing to make records public or submitting false records would be a \$2,000 fine, five years in jail, or both, on a conviction of perjury.²¹

Meanwhile, he has disclosed his individual assets on the Senate floor via quarterly updates in the Congressional Record. The most recent available list giving his debts, assets, and holdings is of January 1972. It lists his assets as \$776,784 and his debts at \$115,284.²²

Among the assets are a \$90,000 home in Chicago and a \$125,000 home in Washington; interests in two farms in Illinois (\$70,000); three buildings--one each in Washington, San Francisco and Amarillo, Texas--together making a sum of \$35,200; and other pieces of real estate. He held stock in ITT (427 shares, worth \$26,226), IBM (68 shares valued at \$22,382), Xerox (150 shares at \$18,788), Harris Intertype (492 shares at \$25,338), Mesa Petroleum (200 shares at \$12,950), and Evergreen Communications (12,640 shares at \$160,000). The latter had caused him a conflict of interest with the newspaper bill, for Evergreen owns a number of small papers and a cable television franchise. He holds \$81,325 worth of municipal bonds in Baltimore and cities of New York State, \$5,000 worth of R. R. Leaseholds, Inc., \$500 worth of a development corporation in Tel Aviv, and \$48,000 in cash and personal property.

His reported liabilities included an outstanding value on the mortgages on both homes totaling \$98,084, a debt of \$5,200 owed to Charles Whalen, and \$12,000 owed to Stevenson's father-in-law, Wardwick Anderson. Stevenson explained the reason behind his financial disclosures:

I came to the conclusion in the old days with Ab [Mikva] that there really wasn't a whole lot you could do about the conflicts of interest except to come down very hard for full public disclosure, then leave it to the public to decide accordingly whether your votes are influenced by your interests.²³

The intended victim of a smear campaign linking him with hippies and radicals in 1970 Stevenson feels something has to be done about the way money is spent for television time. "I ought to outlaw all television and radio spots of less than one minute. By doing that, it forces you to say something. In our campaign, at the end, we had five-minute spots . . . sensible thinking is needed for those. You can't insult the voters for five minutes."²⁴ Stevenson introduced an amendment to the campaign spending bill attempting to outlaw the 10-, 20-, and 30-second blurbs, arguing simply "I need not recall for my colleagues the political pornography employed in the 1970 campaign."²⁵ However, the amendment was tabled by a vote of 74-17.²⁶ The "political pornography" Smith used against Stevenson backfired, because Smith "underestimated the decency and intelligence of the people of Illinois," Stevenson explained.²⁷

He also raised an interesting problem concerning federal campaign contribution disclosure. Saying that the federal law was "good and tight," he wondered "why you still have state and local committees, and many states, especially Illinois, uncovered. What is to prevent a state and local committee from taking money and using it for federal candidates? And how about joint committees? Someone ought to look into that."²⁸

His remedy, should it ever pass on the state and local level, is the same as that he proposes for personal finances--full public disclosure of all contributions and expenditures

True to his word, Stevenson submitted to the Congress Project a list of major contributors. Stevenson lists his top 6 contributors in order as follows: 1970 campaign fund; National Committee for an Effective Congress (a Washington-based liberal, reform minded group); Democratic party of Chicago; United Auto Workers Illinois Political Action Fund; Phillip Klutznick (head of the Urban Investment and Development firm); and the Committee on Political Education (of Illinois, affiliated with labor's AFL-CIO). Other contributors include members of his family (John Fell Stevenson, Borden Stevenson, Mrs. Ernest Ives), personal friends, whom he estimates gave him 20 percent of his total, including Klutznick, Irving Harris, and Angelo Geocarlis of Chicago. About 9 percent comes from outside Illinois, according to Stevenson, with Stephan Lemann of New Orleans the largest contributor. Stevenson's principal fund raisers have been Klutznick, M. L. Fisher, a Chicago attorney, the late Samuel W. Block, and Mrs. Edison Dick of Lake Forest, Illinois.

THE INDOCHINA WAR AND FOREIGN POLICY

One of Stevenson's main concerns in the field of foreign policy was the 1971 South Vietnamese presidential election. Concerned that the United States government might be aiding President Thieu in his reelection, he rose on the Senate floor six times to call attention to the situation. When reports reached him that the American CORDS program (a pacification movement) had been taking public opinion surveys and handing them over to Thieu, he moved to do something about it.

Laying the blame at the feet of the Nixon Administration, he introduced an amendment to the military procurement bill which would have created a congressional commission of three Democrats and two Republicans from each House of Congress to travel to Vietnam for the specific purpose of keeping an eye on American personnel there--to keep them "neutral" in the election. Arguing for passage of the bill, he said, "Instead of supporting the people of South Vietnam in their search for peace and freedom, we seem to be supporting a regime which is committed to prolonging the war . . . There is much evidence that the President is perceived in South Vietnam as supporting the reelection of Thieu."²⁹

When Stevenson tried to attach the amendment to the military procurement bill, the Senate had just passed, amidst a mass of confusion, the Mansfield Amendment to end the war within nine months. The confusion continued as Stevenson offered his amendment. Clifford Hansen (R-Wyoming) asked for the yeas and nays on Stevenson's measure before Stevenson had even explained it. "The yeas and nays on what?"³⁰ queried Senator Hubert Humphrey. Stevenson's amendment went down to defeat with Texas' John Tower suggesting that an electoral commission be appointed to study elections in Cook County, Illinois. ³¹

Stevenson maintains that the war in Indochina is useless and damaging to the United States. He believes Vietnam makes no difference whatsoever to our national security. "The area itself, a cockpit of violence and instability for two millennia, is about as essential to our prosperity and national security as the Lower Niger,"³² he commented upon announcing his support for the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment in 1971. On other key votes compiled by the Congressional Quarterly research service, he has been consistently liberal. He voted in favor of a bill to cut Department of Defense public relations appropriations, against a motion to kill the Church-Cooper Amendment, which would have prohibited spending on the Indochina war except for withdrawal and protection, and for an amendment which would have strengthened the War Powers Bill (limiting presidential war to 30 days), which he already favors. (See Table 5.) The Friends Committee on National Legislation, which monitors the anti-war votes in Congress, has rated Stevenson in favor of their positions 11 times in 1971 and against them only once. (See Table 4).

Although he supports the War Powers Bill, Stevenson does not see that as a remedy for Congress's eroding war-making power: "It gets back to the naive attitude that by passing a law you can solve a problem. In the case of the War Powers Bill, the President has the incentive now to make the commitment within 30 days, confident that Congress will go along. There is no easy answer." His proposed solution is to reverse the flow of power from the White House staff back to the State Department, but concedes the difficulty of such action.

Stevenson also decries executive privilege. Dismissing secrecy of facts in government as "greatly exaggerated," he notes that

in terms of facts, you can find out something just as easily as they can. I worked to get the facts on the Soviet fleet and I wound up getting more facts than Dr. Kissinger has--he was getting his facts from me. But try to get judgmental factors and they won't give them to you . . . There is not a country in the world that tolerates so little input from other areas--not even Moscow and Peking. The problem is accessibility to the men who make decisions.³³

Foreign relations is Stevenson's major concern when speaking on the floor. In 1971 he addressed the war 16 times and other foreign affairs issues 10 times, including the first instance of his now repeated call for the recognition of Bangladesh.³⁴

On October 26, 1971 he publicly chastised the right-wing for its reaction to the expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations. "Those who have done the most over the years to cause the expulsion of Taiwan--the China lobby--will now be the ones to most excitedly protest it . . . I deplore their posturing . . . they have caused enough humiliation." He concluded, "It would be better now if the hysterics on the right were disregarded and instead we calmly accepted our defeat."³⁵ Instead, the Senate refused his advice and voted to kill the fiscal year 1972 foreign aid bill for which he had voted.³⁶ On two other key votes on foreign aid, he voted against U.S. financing of police training, weapons and material for foreign police forces, following disclosures that U.S.-trained police were torturing people in Brazil, and he voted against cutting technical foreign aid and development loans. (See Table 5.)

Stevenson also refutes the security classification system and the abuse of the word "secret." "We ought to be sure that Nixon fulfills his promise to declassify papers. That will

slip away from us if we're not careful. And there ought to be restraint on military snooping--it needs to be confined to legitimate military concerns."³⁷

Stevenson knows the effects of military intelligence operations. When reports were first published in 1970 about the Defense Intelligence Agency surveillance of civilians, one of those identified in the files was Adlai Stevenson III.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Rehnquist and Kleindeinst. In taking positions on the nominations of William Rehnquist to the Supreme Court and Richard Kleindeinst as attorney general, Stevenson laid down his standards on confirming the appointment of a nominee to a high position in the executive branch. Speaking of Rehnquist, he first noted that it was both correct and necessary to question a Supreme Court nominee about his philosophy and use that as a factor in weighing the Senate decision to confirm. The nominee must also meet Stevenson's standards on conflict of interest and open-mindedness. Using these two requirements, Stevenson announced that he would vote in favor of Rehnquist for the Supreme Court. "I find nothing in the record to indicate that he would bring to the Court his past role as an advocate or as a political activist . . . [he has] demonstrated excellence in law, [and] unquestioned integrity and intellect which would not permit a mechanistic or political approach to the issues."³⁸

This was his justification for voting to confirm Rehnquist, dismissing unproven allegations that Rehnquist had indeed been involved in private deals for his party. Rehnquist had also authorized the no-knock and preventive detention provisions in the D. C. Crime Bill, and formulated the mass arrest policy of the May day demonstrations. He was a key figure in a Justice Department Stevenson accused of "becoming a fund-raising branch of Republican campaign headquarters" (this in June 1972, after the confirmation of Kleindeinst). Stevenson charged: "We have had the image of a Justice Department functioning as the arm of a political presidency."

Stevenson went on to recite a litany of complaints against Kleindeinst. One involved prominent Republican fund-raiser Robert Carson's offer to Kleindeinst of \$50,000 towards the reelection of President Nixon in exchange for Kleindeinst's getting "a friend" out of "trouble." Kleindeinst testified before the Judiciary Committee that at the time he did not perceive this offer to be a bribe. Stevenson also discussed the Steward affair in San Diego in which Kleindeinst had cleared the U. S. attorney of all blame for failing to subpoena a Mr. Thornton of San Diego for "an illegal fund-raising scheme" during the 1968 presidential campaign. The reason for the lack of the subpoena, according to California Senator John Tunney, who had joined in the discussion, was that Steward had stated to the FBI: "Mr. Thornton got me my job as U. S. attorney, and he may get me a federal judgeship. Therefore I do not want him subpoenaed." Stevenson noted that Kleindeinst cleared Steward. That Kleindeinst refused to permit the investigation of a Chicago advertising firm was a third complaint. This firm allegedly engaged in dubious campaign practices in the 1968 Republican campaign when Democrat Thomas Foran was the U. S. attorney. When Foran resigned, Stevenson said, Kleindeinst dropped the charges.

Last, Stevenson got around to looking at Kleindeinst's role in the ITT affair. Holder of 427 shares of ITT, Stevenson nevertheless blasted both the corporation and Kleindeinst for their conduct. He charged the Justice Department with suppressing the documents that had remained after the paper shredder's work in ITT's Washington office. He claimed Kleindeinst had refused to tell the Judiciary Committee about his meeting with ITT Director Felix Rohatyn, and had refused to disclose the reason antitrust division chief Richard McLaren had been kicked upstairs to a federal judgeship within 24 hours.

During the Kleindeinst-ITT affair Stevenson announced, "One newspaper has called this 'the dismal swamp of American politics' . . . I must urge the Senate to recommit the nomination to the Judiciary Committee with an understanding that the committee will get to the bottom of the swamp." Later, he decided that Kleindeinst should himself withdraw his name from

nomination.³⁹ When this failed to happen he voted for the motion to recommit the nomination and then against Kleindeinst's nomination two days later.

Lockheed, the SST and Other Federal Spending. Although Senator Stevenson believes Congress must take a more informed look at the federal budget to reverse its priorities, reversing priorities does not include bailing out large corporations.

In a floor speech on the SST (Supersonic Transport aircraft), prior to voting against it, Stevenson laid out what he felt should be the country's priorities, noting:

Millions--perhaps billions--of dollars spent in the future for development and production of SST's would be moneys diverted from schools, housing, health, mass transit and other real and immediate needs . . . we can be first in aviation, without this subsidy--besides, it is more important to be first in curbing infant mortality . . . in mass transit . . . in safe and livable cities. It is more important to clean the air than to fill it with poison and noise.⁴⁰

If the SST was not on his list of national priorities, neither has the Senate helped him to determine what those priorities should be. "One of the greatest concerns I've had--and I don't know how you solve it--is the institutional incapacity of the Senate to come to grips with our priorities, especially in appropriations," he told us.

The Administration has come in for some specific fire from Stevenson for its national priorities. As much as the war or the appropriations process, Stevenson saw the Nixon Administration as a guilty part to the underfunding of human needs. During the Lockheed debate, after unsuccessful attempts at tightening the terms of the Emergency Loan Guarantee Act,⁴¹ he lambasted the entire act as a distortion of national priorities. Steven charged: "It is not surprising that an administration which impounds funds for housing and mass transit, which vetoes emergency public works and manpower legislation, and which pushes the SST and the ABM, would be willing to divert \$250 million of credit away from deserving recipients and towards Lockheed."⁴² He then voted against the subsidy.

Stevenson also felt that national priorities, as determined by the national budget, were too much in the grasp of the Executive branch. However, he was unsure about what to do about the situation. "I first thought to suggest a Joint Committee on Priorities," he suggested. "But, as time went on, that seemed to become more and more impractical." He had worked on a special subcommittee studying the legislative process whose report recommended speeding up appropriations "but the report went nowhere, because it was opposed by some committee chairmen. It is hard enough to worry about authorizations, let alone every appropriation." He failed to mention the remedy suggested by Senator Percy--to combine the hearings on appropriations, with the hearings on authorization. Instead, his remedy was "more cooperation with the Office of Management and Budget." He pondered and rejected an idea to divorce OMB from the White House, noting that while that would increase Congress' access to the budget-making process and the setting of priorities which goes with the budget, it would be unconstitutional to rob the President of "his budget-proposing responsibility." He also dismissed as impractical a budget commission plan as there had been in Illinois, with half its members from each branch. "There was no accountability on either side under that. . . . We're just going to have to do our job better via the Appropriations Committee," he unhappily concluded.⁴³

In other sessions, while awaiting for Congress to get around to a more comprehensive view of the national budget and national priorities, he has voted against the "defense establishment" and in favor of more money and more programs which would help promote the health and welfare of the people in the U. S.

In 1970 he voted for the manpower training bill which President Nixon later vetoed. The bill would have authorized \$9.5 billion for manpower training and public service employment for

fiscal year 1971 to help reduce unemployment.⁴⁴ In addition to voting against Lockheed (the nation's prime defense contractor) and the SST, Stevenson also voted to slash the amount appropriated for "public relations" functions of the Defense Department from \$30.4 million to \$20 million.

In addition, when the poverty program came up while he was in the Senate, he voted for it both times. The first time was on a bill to provide \$5.6 billion for public works projects, development funds, and funds for Appalachia.⁴⁵ The second vote was on the controversial bill which extended the Office of Economic Opportunity. The controversy raged over the provision which set up a day-care program for the "working poor" as well as for those who were actually living below the government-defined "poverty-line," \$3,700 for a family of four in 1969. The day-care program was denounced by right-wing groups as "socialistic," according to Congressional Quarterly. Also, the Administration was unhappy with the provision establishing an amendment to the independent legal services provision, later accepted by the House, that said the governing board of the corporation was to be selected by independent organizations such as the Bar Association, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and had to include representatives from the poor whom the legal services corporation was designed to serve. President Nixon himself wished to nominate the board of directors of the legal services corporation. The Senate, with Adlai Stevenson voting yes, passed the bill, but Nixon vetoed it, saying the day-care program "undermined the American family."

One index of a senator's stance on domestic priorities is the rating which various interest groups give. Three of the groups are the Chamber of Commerce, which concentrates on federal tax breaks and measures favorable to big business, the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, and the National Farmers Union. The latest Chamber of Commerce ratings covered the 91st Congress, and Stevenson was sworn in November 16, 1970, as that Congress was approaching its end. But, in that time, there were four key votes according to the Chamber of Commerce; Stevenson voted against the businessmen's position all four times. In the 1971 ratings by COPE and the Farmers Union, however, he compiled the opposite record--11 votes which agreed with the Farmers Union position in 1971 and no votes disagreeing with them; and nine votes agreeing with COPE and three disagreeing. (See Table 4.)

Stevenson not only disagreed with the Administration on specific issues such as the SST, but on many issues in general. In 1971, according to Congressional Quarterly, the President took a position on 82 Senate roll-calls. Stevenson agreed with his position 40 percent of the time and disagreed with him 52 percent of the time. The average Democrat in the Senate and the House supported the President 40 percent of the time in 1971, and opposed him 44 percent of the time. (See Table 3.)

VOTING RECORD AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

On the thorny domestic issue of busing, the feelings of Stevenson's constituents run high, as judged by his mail. The first northern school district ever ordered to desegregate was South Holland, Illinois, in a 1965 ruling by Judge Julius J. Hoffman. Stevenson interpreted his constituent mail; " Oftentimes, the mail reflects the opinion of a well-organized minority, not reflecting public opinion, so you try to learn from the mail, but you vote your conscience and then try to shape public opinion." As for busing, "I kept voting for the Scott-Mansfield compromise despite the mail."⁴⁶ The compromise provided that there would be no federal funds to bus students, and that the federal government would not pressure local and state governments to use their funds for busing. It also added a "moratorium" on the implementation of court orders to bus children that had been already handed down, until those orders had been appealed all the way through the courts. (See Table 5.) The Scott-Mansfield amendment was designed to head off a stronger proposal offered by Minority Whip Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) which would have banned any funds being used for integration purposes. Stevenson voted against Griffin's

oting
atterns

		90th Congress (1967-68)	91st Congress (1969-70)	92nd Congress (1971)	
THE PRESIDENT	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	40	
	% Average Democratic support	55	46	40	
	% Highest Democratic support	76	67	68	
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	--*	--*	52	
	% Average Democratic opposition	24	36	44	
	% Highest Democratic opposition	39	58	66	
MAJORITY OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	77	
	% Average Democratic support	57	58	64	
	% Highest Democratic support	83	89	91	
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	--*	--*	14	
	% Average Democratic opposition	21	22	22	
	% Highest Democratic opposition	65	58	65	
BIPARTISAN MAJORITY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	60	
	% Average Democratic support	62	63	65	
	% Highest Democratic support	87	87	82	
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	--*	--*	22	
	% Average Democratic opposition	15	15	17	
	% Highest Democratic opposition	27	33	35	
CONSERVATIVE COALITION	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	14	
	% Average Southern Democratic support	62	67	70	
	% Highest Southern Democratic support	96	93	94	
	% Average Northern Democratic support	19	21	23	
	% Highest Northern Democratic support	71	77	78	
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	--*	--*	75	
	% Average Southern Democratic opposition	20	20	18	
	% Highest Southern Democratic opposition	73	70	73	
	% Average Northern Democratic opposition	61	65	61	
	% Highest Northern Democratic opposition	89	94	95	
	NORTHERN DEMOCRATS	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	11
	NORTHERN DEMOCRATS	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	--*	--*	75
TOTAL FLOOR VOTES	% MEMBER VOTED	--*	--*	85	
	% Democratic average	81	84	83	
	% Highest	100	100	100	
	% Lowest	49	47	51	

ources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92d Cong., 1st Sess., 1971 (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1972), p. 81 - 110; and Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969 (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1970), p. 1037 - 1070. Bipartisan majority recorded es are votes on which a majority of voting Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans agreed. Conservative coalition refers to a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress.

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Amendment, and for the Mansfield-Scott measure. He voted against a wide-ranging amendment by Connecticut Senator Ribicoff which would have provided \$2 billion per year for the next ten years to integrate schools in metropolitan areas all over the nation.

He voted against two attempts to emasculate the Equal Rights Amendment, and then voted for the amendment itself. He also voted against Senator Dominick's bill, introduced at the Administration's request, to deny cease-and-desist powers to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in cases of job discrimination by race or sex. The amendment did not pass.

And when an internal matter, involving the Senate and civil liberties, came up, he voted that the Senate side with Senator Gravel when the Nixon Administration tried to prosecute his aides by stripping them of the "congressional immunity" a senator enjoys, after they supplied Gravel with information gleaned from the Pentagon Papers.

Despite great opposition from his constituents in Illinois--he said his mail is "overwhelmingly opposed"--he has introduced S 3528, which provides for registration and licensing of hand guns. Encouraging his constituents to accept gun control legislation, even on handguns, was a long and painful process of voter education, he explained. Yet he is convinced there must be some type of gun control, in order to curb the rising crime rate.⁴⁷

In 1971 he cosponsored S 3, Senator Kennedy's National Health Insurance Program, and S 75, a bill which would have regulated the use of phosphates. Twice, with S 1485 in 1971 and S 3432 in 1972, he has cosponsored bills to establish a separate cabinet-level Department of Education. Also cosponsored have been bills about noise control (S 1566), farm credit and crop insurance (S 1156 and S 1483), the extension of the minimum wage to farm workers (S 2142) and the Consumer Product Safety Act (S 983), among others.

He has introduced a bill authorizing the secretary of state to make loans to Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel (S 3142 in 1972). It was later attached as an amendment to the foreign aid bill and has become law. He also cosponsored the War Powers Resolution, despite some misgivings, and introduced a bill to give most-favored-nation trade status to Rumania. Yet another bill, S 2224, was in effect an order demanding that the CIA inform Congress of its world-wide activities in support of various governments.⁴⁸

Stevenson's most prolific field of legislation does not affect his Illinois constituency at all. He explains, "Since I sit on the Senate District of Columbia Committee, I have two constituencies--my own in Illinois and the people of Washington, D. C."⁴⁹ The great volume of legislation here, however, is introduced by Stevenson "upon request" of local D. C. officials as a courtesy. As a result, he has introduced 22 bills dealing with the District and its problems. Many are also being introduced on a national-scale, such as no-fault insurance (which he also cosponsored on a national-scale bill) and a lowering of the court costs in estate settlements following an individual's death. There is also a bill to revise the D. C. tax code, which may be a precursor to similar reforms on the national scene. However, some bills deal exclusively with District matters, such as two bills for home rule for the city, both of which have passed the Senate.

According to the Congressional Quarterly, Senator Stevenson has consistently voted with the moderate-to-liberal bloc. Liberal organizations rate him quite high on their key vote tables. (See Table 4.) Correspondingly, he has received a low rating of 14 percent from the Americans for Constitutional Action, a conservative group which endorses a balanced budget, tough anti-crime controls, and the abolition of "big government," including the welfare system. One of the best indicators is his voting record with and against the so-called "conservative coalition," composed of the Republicans and southern Democrats. This coalition once completely controlled the Senate, but is now weakening. On 120 roll calls in 1971, Stevenson voted with the coalition 14 percent of 120 votes and opposed it 75 percent, less support than the average northern Democratic senator. (See Table 3.) Southern Democrats alone, according to Congressional Quarterly,

Interest Group Ratings

Interest Group	Member's Rating (%)		Year(s)
Americans for Constitutional Action	14		1971
	14		Cumulative
Americans for Democratic Action	100		1971
	100		Cumulative
League of Conservation Voters	--*		1970
American Security Council	--*		1969-70
	# Pro	# Con	
Friends Committee on National Legislation	11	1	1971
Chamber of Commerce	0	4	1969-70
National Associated Businessmen	--*	--*	1969-70
Committee on Political Education	9	3	1971
	9	3	Cumulative
National Farmer's Union	--*	--*	1969-70
Consumer Federation of America	NA	NA	1971

*Not elected to Senate

Interest Groups

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). A political action organization dedicated to the principles of "constitutional conservatism" and opposed to socialism and regimentation. Based on 29 votes in the House and 24 votes in the Senate in 1971. 955 L'Enfant Plaza S.W., Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20024.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). A political action organization of "liberals and the politically aware" dedicated to international cooperation, economic security and freedom. Based on 37 votes in the House and 27 votes in the Senate in 1971. 1424 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

League of Conservation Voters (LCV). An organization which compiles information about congressional votes in cooperation with the Friends of the Earth; both organizations are dedicated to the preservation of the earth's resources from exploitation and irreversible damage. Based on 10 votes in the House in 1970 and 17 votes in the Senate from 1955 to 1970. 324 C St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

American Security Council (ASC). A coalition of former military leaders, defense industry executives, and concerned citizens advocating a strong defense posture in order to deter war. Publishes the National Security Index (NSI). Based on 10 votes in the House and 10 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1101 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). A Quaker pacifist group dedicated to the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Based on 12 votes in the House and 13 votes in the Senate in 1971. 245 2nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Chamber of Commerce (CC). A representative of the numerous Chambers of Commerce throughout the nation composed of oil, construction, retail trade and the entire spectrum of business and industry; an advocate of a strong economic system. Based on 10 votes in the House and 10 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1615 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

National Associated Businessmen, Inc. (NAB). A coalition of financiers, bankers and businessmen dedicated to fiscal responsibility and minimal federal spending in government. Based on 12 votes in the House and 12 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1000 Connecticut Ave. Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20005

Committee on Political Education (COPE). A political arm of the largest federation of labor unions in the nation, the AFL-CIO. Based on 12 votes in the House and 12 votes in the Senate in 1971. 815 16th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.

National Farmer's Union (NFU). A coalition of operators of small farms. Based on 30 votes in the House and 31 votes in the Senate in 1969-1970. Suite 1200, 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Consumer Federation of America (CFA). A group of consumer organizations dedicated to protection of consumer rights and safety. Based on 8 votes in the House and 7 votes in the Senate in 1971. 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

*Cumulative votes cover at least fifteen years, up to or including 1971, depending on length of service in Congress.

took a bloc position on 157 roll call votes during 1971. Stevenson voted with them 11 percent, against them 75 percent--the highest figure in the Senate. (See Table 3.)

On the key votes compiled by Congressional Quarterly, he voted a generally liberal position in 1971 and 1972. He voted for an amendment offered by Indiana Senator Birch Bayh to lower investment tax credit* and tighten rules on equipment depreciation. Both the tax credit and the depreciation rules, which had been announced by the Treasury Department earlier that year, were estimated to be saving about \$10 billion in corporate profits from taxation a year, according to the Washington Post. On other economic matters, he voted in 1971 to extend and expand presidential wage and price controls in 1971, and voted for various consumer-protection measures, including one to let an independent consumer protection agency conduct studies of products without going to the White House (OMB) for authorization first.

LEGISLATIVE EXPERTISE AND IMPACT

The list of issues upon which Stevenson has focused most of his legislative attention is varied; foreign policies affecting Europe and Asia; education; housing and urban development; economic policies; military spending; rural America; and the fate of migrant farm workers. And then there are two specific bills outside even this broad grouping that Stevenson has been working for: no-fault auto insurance and gun control.

In his questionnaire for the Congress Project, Stevenson spelled out in some detail his legislative priorities and his difficulties in accomplishing goals in each area of concentration. He listed S Con. Res. 17 as the most important single measure he wanted to pass since 1970.

*The seven percent investment tax credit would reduce a company's taxes by seven percent of the cost of investments during the tax year. The primary purpose of the credit is to subsidize machinery purchases by business. When a business buys \$100 of new machinery, for example, it gets \$7 reduction in taxes that year.

It would have required U. S. neutrality in the last South Vietnamese election and set up an Election Commission to oversee and guarantee that neutrality. It did not pass. S 3777, suggested by Illinois educators, would have reformed the present method of education financing, according to Stevenson. Stevenson more successfully co-authored the Elementary and Secondary Education Act providing federal assistance to needy schools throughout the nation. From his experience on the Chicago Crime Commission in the early 1960s, he authored and pushed hard for S 3528 which required the registration of handguns and the licensing of owners. And fourth on his list of priority legislation, was the unsuccessful S 945, which would have set national standards for state no-fault auto insurance. Stevenson saw the "national standards" approach as the only solution to an impasse which had developed between no-fault adherents and the Administration, which opposed imposing national legislation on the states. (Stevenson had drafted a no-fault bill for the District of Columbia while on that committee.)

Stevenson revealed some of his major frustrations in each area of his special expertise. In the area of U. S. relations with Asia and Africa, Stevenson wrote he was interested in increasing the channeling of foreign assistance through international agencies, particularly the United Nations, and in reducing U. S. troop strength in Europe. But he apparently feels much frustration in the entire field of foreign affairs. Stevenson cited excessive Executive control of the foreign policy mechanisms of the government, overuse of the Executive privilege by Administration officials to insulate themselves from congressional scrutiny, and both congressional and public indifference to the entire subject except in times of major crisis. He sees the escalation of the war without full disclosure by the Executive branch and clandestine (and unauthorized) military operations in Laos as symptomatic of the weakening role of the Congress.

In the field of housing and urban development, Stevenson does not see any constituency capable of pressuring for desirable policies. He believes there is a lack of staff. He believes that the Congress-Executive impasse over revenue sharing is especially debilitating. Stevenson's frustrations were evident in two examples he used:

- (1) Chicago HUD makes no reimbursements for defective FHA housing, law notwithstanding.
- (2) It has been suggested that I vote for revenue sharing or get no mass transit funds for Chicago . . . as if OMB were the policy making branch of government.

The use of executive "impoundment" (or withholding of federal funds, particularly for mass transit) is the epitome of what Stevenson sees as Executive arrogance. And the use of OMB in a kind of political blackmail angers Stevenson greatly.

In economic affairs, Stevenson is particularly interested in measures for economic stabilization. But once again, he sees day to day control resting excessively with the Executive (via broadly-framed congressional delegation of powers through wage and price boards). He sees the appropriations process itself as dominated by the Executive as Congress has traditionally been forced to consider the budget in separate pieces--unable to set overall rational priorities. Once again he sees a shortage of staff and once again he cites an example illustrating a fundamental complaint: "Congress passed a law specifying that the low-income wage earner (according to Bureau of Labor Statistics definition) be exempt from pay and wage controls . . . the Pay Board ignored the law."

These same themes reappear again and again in Stevenson's extensive answers to questions concerning his policy views over a wide spectrum of issues. The war in Indochina is an area where policy is "dominated by the Executive" and "subject to the vagaries of public

opinion." In the area of health and social welfare, the major problem lies with the President.* In the area of tax policy, Stevenson is particularly upset about Accelerated Depreciation Range (ADR) breaks for business, which were originally imposed by Internal Revenue Service regulation without enactment of Congress.** In the area of law enforcement, although Stevenson sees major accomplishment in pollution control, toxic substance regulation and other areas, he faults the failure to reject Kleindeinst and to oversee the Executive branch handling of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

THE MECHANICS OF CONGRESS

Though Stevenson criticizes some of the procedures and practices of Congress, he is not an outspoken critic of the institution, for he sees some merit in some of the practices, and no remedy for some of the others. Therefore, he cautioned, "It is very hard for a lot of outside observers to understand that a certain amount of disorder and inefficiency is inevitable. There are lot of conflicting interests, all struggling to develop a consensus within an institution that reflects the diversity of society."

Besides, he continued in a smile, "from the viewpoint of the state legislature, Congress is very efficient."⁵⁰

However, there are problems with functioning in Congress, according to Stevenson, including the disarray in the appropriations process. Those problems are the impossibility of keeping up with everything, the lack of adequate staffing on various committees, oversight (or lack of it), public attitudes toward Congress, various parliamentary difficulties on the floor, and minor irritants.

According to Stevenson, the impossibility of keeping up with everything and the lack of staff are interrelated problems:

There ought to be a better system for retrieval of information. We should use technology to develop instant retrieval for researching issues and formulating positions instead of having to rely on our own staff. Also the access to staff in committees varies In the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, you can get a subcommittee chairmanship and staff even as a junior senator.

He cited his chairmanship of the Migratory Labor Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee as very helpful because "the staff is first-rate, even if there are not enough of them!" Stevenson went on to assess the congressional committee system:

The committee process has always been the most satisfying and fascinating part for me. Even when you cannot always be up to date, the staff is always here to keep you abreast. It is impossible to keep track of everything. It is hard enough to worry about authorizations, let alone every appropriation, not to mention the substantive issues we are called upon to deal with. I have a hell of a time just following all of those for Illinois, and except for appropriations, the GAO is not very helpful.

*Stevenson believes that the President's veto of the recent child development legislation is a major obstacle in this field. In addition, he cited the failure to pass welfare reform by the Congress itself and the tendency of Congress to treat symptoms in the field of health and welfare rather than causes, relying particularly on categorical grant-in-aid programs.

**Stevenson also places special blame on the political process in the Congress which responds over-solicitously to special organized interests seeking privileges. He cited the ADR, stock options, depletion and capital gains breaks, investment credits as special loopholes needing plugging.

All those reasons he cited as evidence for the fact that more staff is necessary.

He gave an example of what happened when a senator did have adequate staff: "There is only one fellow who has mastered the difficulty of keeping informed; . . . and that's [Jacob] Javits . . . he has the staff as ranking member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and he can do a better job of keeping in touch.

One method of overcoming the difficulty of getting information was an idea his father had tried. "He tried to set up an advisory committee on positions in 1952 and 1956, but Congress was too jealous of its prerogatives. It might succeed now. A systematic effort to get the best thinkers to formulate issues and partisan positions might help.

"Everything gets back to data again--we need more time and better facilities. Within the limits of our resources, we do a good job," he notes.⁵¹

Another major problem is lack of oversight (monitoring of the implementation of congressional measures) and the lack of attention it receives in the press. "Our failures are due to the limits on our time and to the attitudes of the press--they cover something only if it's sensational." Also the problem varies within committees. "The Banking Housing and Urban Affairs Committee has not paid as much attention to oversight as the Labor and Public Welfare Committee has," he criticized. "The Housing Subcommittee has not been holding oversight hearings and the problems are mammoth. Also, we have delegated a lot of responsibility to regulatory agencies and have not exercised much oversight over them," he added. "For instance, I've been involved in banking problems, and it seems that in oversight of the SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission), the Banking Subcommittee seems to have fallen down!"⁵²

Suddenly Stevenson seemed to discover solution in the course of talking, and he grew quite enthusiastic: "Maybe we need a new institution up here for oversight," he said. "For instance, the Securities Subcommittee gets involved only when there is a crisis in the securities industry. If that is their disposition, we may need a joint committee for oversight. We need subcommittees for oversight on the special regulatory agencies. Once we have that and they have findings, we could then go to a committee of Congress to demand action." He let the idea develop:

And we may not have to confine it to regulatory agencies. The Agriculture Committee, after a long period of time, and the Department of Agriculture both start to be responsive to the same agribusiness forces. I sent off a letter to Secretary Butz the other day on the research task force he was establishing--the members on it are one representative from the Agriculture Department, one from agribusiness, and a big farmer. There is no representation for consumer, environmentalists, or small farmers--but the Agriculture Committee doesn't complain. It takes me, a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, to complain.

This is a new idea which I haven't pursued but it strikes me as pretty worthwhile. We might expand the notion to include other departments and get them out of cozy committees.⁵³

To give a further example of the lack of oversight, he noted that he found out about the misuse of funds appropriated for poor schools in Chicago under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act from reading the Chicago papers.⁵⁴ He did not seem to mind, for the publicity caused him to take another look at the way the federal government funds education, and finding that similar abuses existed all over the nation and not just in Chicago enabled him to draft a new method of funding, which is now embodied in the recently passed Higher Education Act.

Still another problem with Congress, says Stevenson, is that the nation's legislators can sometimes be swayed too easily by public opinion. "Nobody knows it, but the liberals have

5 Key Floor Votes

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
WAR IN INDOCHINA		
1 1966 Vietnam war funds	---	Passed
2 No US troops in Laos or Thailand (1969)	---	Passed
3 No Cambodia war funds after 7/1/70	---	Passed
4 Ban defoliant chemical use	---	Failed
5 Policy to withdraw within 9 months pending POW release	Yes	Passed
6 Continue war spending	No	Passed
FOREIGN RELATIONS		
7 1963 nuclear test ban treaty	---	Passed
8 Non-proliferation treaty (1969)	---	Passed
9 No extra aircraft for Nationalist China (1969)	---	Passed
10 No military aid to Greece	---	Failed
11 No US aid to foreign police	Yes	Passed
12 Reduce technical foreign aid	No	Failed
DEFENSE		
13 No ABM deployment	---	Failed
14 Cut C-5A	---	Failed
15 Reduce DOD from \$71 to \$66 billion	---	Failed
16 Reduce DOD public relations fund 30%	Yes	Failed
17 Reduce US military in Europe	No	Failed
18 Military salary increase for volunteer army	---	Failed
19 Permit Presidential war even beyond 30 days	No	Failed
PUBLIC WORKS AND SPACE		
20 1963 Mass Transportation Act	---	Passed
21 \$10 billion over 12 years for mass transit	---	Failed
22 No space shuttle	---	Failed
23 Restore SST	No	Failed
SUBSIDIES AND SPENDING		
24 Poverty program cut (reduced vocational training) (1963)	---	Failed
25 State veto of OEO (poverty program) (1964)	---	Failed
26 Hospital care benefits for the elderly (1964)	---	Passed
27 No model cities (1966)	---	Failed
28 Cut HEW spending (education, libraries, air pollution, mental health, handicapped, vocational training)	---	Passed
29 Child care and development, independent legal services for poor, two year poverty program extension	Yes	Failed
30 Unemployment compensation for migrant farm workers	---	Passed
31 Project Headstart increase	Absent	Passed
32 Manpower training increase	Absent	Passed

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
33 Food stamp increase	--*	Passed
34 End tobacco subsidies	--*	Failed
35 No \$20,000/person limit to farm subsidies (1969)	--*	Passed
36 \$250 million loan guarantee to Lockheed	No	Passed
TAXATION		
37 Reduce oil depletion tax break (1964)	--*	Failed
38 Do not reduce oil depletion tax break even slightly (1969)	--*	Failed
39 Personal exemption increase (\$600 to \$800) (1969)	--*	Passed
40 Stricter depreciation rules, lower tax credit for business	Yes	Failed
41 Revenue Act of 1971	Yes	Passed
ECONOMIC REGULATION AND ANTITRUST		
42 Do not allow states to ban union shops (1965)	--*	Failed
43 Kill Nixon plan for compulsory arbitration of transport strikes	Yes	Passed
44 Extend and expand Presidential power to manage the economy (wage and price controls)	Yes	Passed
45 Sell government strategic stockpiles to "highest responsible bidder"	--*	Passed
46 Slaughter hens when egg prices drop to reduce supply and raise prices	No	Failed
47 Failing Newspaper Act (allowing exemption from antitrust laws for newspaper combinations)	--*	Passed
48 Independent federal agency to regulate credit unions	--*	Passed
49 Allow new independent consumer protection agency to conduct studies without prior White House approval	Yes	Failed
50 No consumer interest payments on portion of account already paid to merchant	Yes	Failed
51 No finance charges accrue for merchandise until delivered	Yes	Failed
ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT		
52 Permit mining and prospecting in Wilderness Areas until 1977 (1963)	--*	Failed
53 No federal water quality standards (1965)	--*	Failed
54 Delete \$18 million in Corps of Engineers water projects not in President's budget (1967)	--*	Failed
55 Reduce highway funds \$230 million over 3 years (1969)	--*	Failed
56 Increase HUD sewage funds from \$200 to \$500 million	--*	Passed
57 One year extension of deadline to auto industry for 90% reduction in current auto pollution	--*	Failed
58 DOD must file impact statements on effects of projects and weapons on environment	--*	Failed
MEDICAL CARE, HEALTH AND SAFETY		
59 Medicare (health insurance for aged, child-health care, assistance) (1965)	--*	Passed
60 Mine Safety Act (federal standards and enforcement) (1966)	--*	Passed
61 One year in prison and/or \$50,000 fine for knowingly violating the Traffic Safety Act (1966)	--*	Failed

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
62 \$16.5 billion for improvement and construction of hospitals	--*	Passed
JUSTICE		
63 Civil Rights Act of 1964	--*	Passed
64 Voting Rights Act of 1965	--*	Passed
65 Exempt houses from open housing (cover only apartments and condominiums) (1968)	--*	Failed
66 Equal enforcement of integration requirements in North and South, whether segregation de jure or de facto	--*	Passed
67 Remove cease and desist powers from Equal Employment Opportunities Commission	No	Failed
68 No federal court orders to bus for integration and no withholding of federal aid for not busing	No	Failed
69 No federal funds or pressure to bus	Yes	Passed
70 About \$2 billion a year over next 13 years to integrate all metropolitan schools	No	Failed
71 Equal Rights Amendment	Yes	Passed
72 Keep laws protecting and exempting women	No	Failed
73 Prayer in public schools (1966)	--*	Failed
74 \$3.8 million increase for Bureau of Prisons	--*	Failed
75 Delete "No-Knock" provision (police authority to enter homes without warning)	--*	Failed
76 Reduce federal marijuana penalties for first offense from one year and \$5,000 to six months and \$2,500	--*	Failed
77 Require court convictions before depriving students who allegedly are involved in campus-"disorders" of federal aid	--*	Failed
78 Confirmation of Carswell to Supreme Court	--*	Failed
79 Confirmation of Haynsworth to Supreme Court (1969)	--*	Failed
80 Confirmation of Rehnquist to Supreme Court	Yes	Passed
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS		
81 Delay 1-man-1-vote court ordered reapportionment for 6 months (1964)	--*	Passed
82 Senate may not change its rules by majority vote (1967)	--*	Passed
83 Do not restrict outside employment of Senate officers and employees (1967)	--*	Passed
84 Senators and employees do not have to file financial statements with GAO (1967)	--*	Passed
85 Senators and employees do not have to file financial statements with Secretary of Senate (or at all) (1967)	--*	Passed
86 To permit joint ventures by Senators and lobbyists and Senator receipt of lobbyist gifts valued at over \$100 (1967)	--*	Passed
87 Extend ban on corporate/union political money to dummies and affiliates (1967)	--*	Failed
88 Congressional members and candidates must disclose assets, liabilities, gifts, and other outside income (1967)	--*	Failed
89 End seniority, elect chairmen by whole party	--*	Failed
90 End seniority, elect chairmen by party in each committee	--*	Failed
91 Limit federal campaign spending on electronic media to 7¢ vote	--*	Passed
92 Friend of Court brief on congressional immunity for Senator Gravel (prosecuted for reading Pentagon Papers)	Yes	Passed
93 Do not repeal equal-time requirements for all federal candidates	Yes	Passed

* Not elected to Senate

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...tes occurred after January 1, 1970, unless otherwise indicated on Table 5. Each vote may be found in the Congressional Record.
 ...umbers for unbound issues are referenced with the initial "S". All other footnotes refer to page numbers in hardbound editions.

46. 3/22/66, 6462	24. HR 4955, 10/7/63, 18826	47. S 1520, 1/30/70, 2018	70. S 659, 2/29/72, S2893
49. 12/15/69, 39172	25. S 2642, 7/23/64, 16770	48. HR 2, 2/4/70, 2433	71. HJ Res. 208, 3/22/72, S4612
628. 6/30/70, 22251	26. HR 11865, 9/2/64, 21318	49. S 4458, 12/1/70, 39305	72. HJ Res. 208, 3/21/72, S4425
123. 8/26/70, 30079	27. S 3708, 8/19/66, 20051	50. S 652, 4/27/72, S6909	73. SJ Res. 144, 9/21/66, 23556
31. 6/22/71, S9718	28. HR 15931, 2/28/70, 5439	51. S 652, 4/27/72, S6918	74. HR 17575, 8/24/70, 29882
310. 10/28/71, S17075	29. S 2007, 12/15/71, S21293	52. S 4, 4/9/63, 5928	75. S 3246, 1/27/70, 1320
ty, 9/24/63, 17832	30. HR 14705, 4/7/70, S5267	53. S 4, 1/29/65, 1519	76. S 3246, 1/28/70, 1662
ty, 3/13/69, 6380	31. HR 18515, 11/20/70, 39325f.	54. HR 11641, 10/9/67, 28274	77. HR 15931, 2/28/70, 5432
S5149, 12/20/69, 40433	32. HR 18515, 11/20/70, 39327	55. S 3418, 7/1/68, 19548	78. Confirmation, 4/8/70, 10769
15628, 6/30/70, 22261	33. HR 17923, 7/8/70, 23315	56. HR 17123, 8/28/70, 30054f.	79. Confirmation, 10/7/70, 35396
12067, 2/4/72, S1216	34. HR 17923, 7/8/70, 23321	57. HR 17255, 9/22/70, 33088	80. Confirmation, 10/10/71, S2128
12067, 2/4/72, S1217	35. HR 11612, 7/7/69, 18473	58. HR 17123, 8/13/70, 28674	81. HR 11380, 9/24/64, 22758
17123, 8/12/70, 26455	36. HR 8432, 8/2/71, S12363	59. HR 6675, 7/9/65, 16157	82. S Res. 6, 1/18/67, 940
17123, 8/26/70, 30079	37. HR S363, 2/6/64, 2199	60. HR 6989, 6/23/66, 14174f.	83. S 355, 2/2/67, 2380
17123, 8/28/70, 30364	38. HR 13270, 12/1/69, 36229	61. S 3005, 6/24/66, 14252	84. S 355, 2/8/67, 2984
19590, 10/8/70, 40439	39. HR 13270, 12/3/69, 36676	62. HR 11102, 6/30/70, 22278	85. S 355, 2/8/67, 2984
11731, 11/23/71, S19516	40. HR 10947, 11/15/71, S18619	63. HR 7152, 6/19/64, 14511	86. S 355, 2/9/67, 3212
17123, 8/25/70, 29979	41. HR 10947, 11/22/71, S19309	64. S 1564, 5/26/65, 11752	87. S 1880, 9/11/67, 25095
2956, 4/6/72, S5593	42. HR 77, 10/11/65, 26551	65. HR 2516, 3/4/68, 4977	88. S 1880, 9/12/67, 25152
6, 4/4/63, 5658f.	43. SJ Res. 197, 2/8/72, S1451	66. HR 514, 2/18/70, 3800	89. HR 17654, 10/6/70, 35026
3154, 2/30/70, 2255	44. S 2891, 12/1/71, 19991	67. S 2515, 1/26/72, S562	90. HR 17654, 10/6/70, 35027
R 16516, 5/6/70, 14407	45. HR 16292, 4/2/70, 10114f.	68. S 659, 2/29/72, S2874	91. S 3637, 4/14/70, 11598
J Res. 468, 3/24/71, S3569	46. S 2895, 3/24/72, S4811	69. S 659, 2/29/72, S2874	92. S Res. 280, 3/23/72, S4754
			93. S 3178, 3/23/72, S4750

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CORDED IN SENATE BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
To extend until 10/1/71 Presidential wage and price control powers, voluntary credit controls; to give the executive branch power to fix flexible ceilings on savings deposit interest rates	Yes	Yes: 15 No: 0

Source: Review of committee reports. Votes are for 1971 unless otherwise indicated. Vote cited above occurred in response to: 1 HR 4246.

CORDED IN SENATE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
To establish a city government with elected officials	Yes	Yes: 7 No: 0

Source: Review of committee reports. Votes are for 1971 unless otherwise indicated. Vote cited above occurred in response to: 1 S 2652 (District of Columbia Home Rule for Elected Mayor and City Council).

6 Key Committee Votes

RECORDED IN SENATE LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

Yes Vote Means	Vote	Outcome
1 To amend the Public Health Service Act and establish an independent agency within the National Institutes of Health to conduct a national program for the conquest of cancer	Yes	Yes: 17 No: 0
2 To establish a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention to coordinate the federal government's efforts to curb drug abuse	Yes	Yes: 17 No: 0
3 To amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 and certain other education acts, in order that the 1965 Act be a single federal law including all higher education financial assistance programs	Yes	Yes: 17 No: 0
4 To amend provisions of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 to extend black lung benefits to orphans whose fathers die of pneumoconiosis	Yes	Yes: 17 No: 0
5 Substitute less potent and quick court enforcement for cease and desist powers for the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission	No	Yes: 2 No: 14
6 To further equal employment opportunities by giving the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission power to issue cease and desist orders (subject to court review), authority to deal with large scale patterns of discrimination and the jurisdiction over labor and corporate organizations of 8 or more members rather than the present 25 or more	Yes	Yes: 17 No: 0

Source: Review of committee reports. Votes are for 1971 unless otherwise indicated. Votes cited above occurred in response to the following motions or proposals: 1 S 1828; 2 S 2097; 3 S 659; 4 HR 9212; 5 Dominick amendment to S 2515; S 2515.

Federal Spending

STATE OF ILLINOIS
(POPULATION 11,113,976)

Fiscal 1971			USA 1971		
Agency*	Am't person	Am't/person	Agency	Am't/person	Am't/person
Agriculture	\$ 42.54	\$ 67.00	CSC	\$ 9.97	\$ 23.00
Commerce	.98	6.00	EPA	3.77	6.00
Defense	116.14	285.00	Home Loan Bd.	2.37	0.60
HEW	278.94	302.00	GSA	8.77	10.00
HUD	9.21	10.00	NASA	.88	15.00
DOI	.96	10.00	NSF	1.82	2.00
Justice	3.12	3.00	OEO	3.78	4.00
Labor	10.19	14.00	OEP	.04	0.70
Post Office	50.78	40.00	Rail Ret. Bd.	14.92	10.00
State Dept.	.20	2.00	SBA	.97	3.00
Transportation	28.78	38.00	TVA	7.84	5.00
Treasury	59.02	80.00	USIA	.07	0.60
AID	10.41	7.00	VA	40.63	53.00
AEC	17.10	13.00			
			TOTAL	\$725.25	1,019.00

Sources: Amounts computed from census data and fiscal 1971 computer tapes obtained from the OEO which approximately allocate federal outlays by agency by county. Note that the figures are not a precise indication of total benefits because of secondary expenditures made by recipients elsewhere. And totals do not include outlays to nearby areas which may provide employment or other benefits and vice versa. Note also that geography, district needs or other factors may account for variations from the national average and that the Member may have little influence on many agency expenditures. The abbreviated agencies are as follows: HEW Health Education and Welfare, HUD Housing and Urban Development, DOI Department of Interior, AID Agency for International Development, AEC Atomic Energy Commission, CSC Civil Service Commission, EPA Environmental Protection Agency, GSA General Services Administration, NASA National Aeronautics and Space Administration, NSF National Science Foundation, OEO Office of Economic Opportunity, OEP Office of Emergency Preparedness, SBA Small Business Administration, TVA Tennessee Valley Authority, USIA United States Information Agency, VA Veteran's Administration.

*All agencies with a total fiscal 1971 outlay in excess of \$115 million (\$.56/person) were included.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, III, 1st Term
Democrat, Illinois

1. 1972 STATE ELECTION RECORD

	Name	%	Vote
Senate Democratic Primary	Pucinski	71	859,890
	Williams	29	357,744
Senate Republican Primary	Percy	Unopposed	
Senate General Election	Percy (R)	62	2,867,078
	Pucinski (D)	37	1,721,031
	Other	1	20,271
Gubernatorial Election	Walker (D)	51	2,371,303
	Ogilvie (R)	49	2,293,809
	Other	--	13,692
Presidential Election	Nixon	59	2,788,179
	McGovern	40	1,913,472
	Other	1	21,585

3. VOTING PATTERNS

		92nd Congress	93rd Congress
		1972	1973
THE PRESIDENT	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	30	34
	% Average Democratic support	44	37
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	59	61
	% Average Democratic opposition	41	51
MAJORITY OF PARTY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	82	87
	% Average Democratic support	57	69
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	9	8
	% Average Democratic opposition	22	18
BIPARTISAN MAJORITY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	75	82
	% Average Democratic support	65	77
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	17	12
	% Average Democratic opposition	14	11
CONSERVATIVE COALITION	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	7	9
	% Average Southern Democratic support	62	64
	% Average Northern Democratic support	16	15
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	83	85
	% Average Southern Democratic opposition	18	22
	% Average Northern Democratic opposition	65	75
TOTAL FLOOR VOTES	% MEMBER VOTED	92	94
	% Average	79	87
	% Highest	100	100
	% Lowest	22	56

7. FEDERAL SPENDING

Agency	FISCAL '73	State		USA	
		Amt/person	USA Amt/pers/Agency	Amt/person	USA Amt/person
Agriculture		63.29	79.94	13.33	31.44
Commerce		1.64	8.74	8.35	9.69
Defense		122.35	322.15	.70	.18
HEW		391.22	413.40	11.85	11.34
HUD		12.53	12.70	.77	14.70
DOI		2.25	12.73	2.55	2.68
Justice		5.39	6.89	3.46	3.82
Labor		16.04	22.00	.00	.03
Post Office		58.85	45.70	18.23	12.59
State Dept.		.15	2.72	2.73	9.11
Transportation		36.38	39.46	8.06	5.38
Treasury		89.50	125.37	.07	.51
AID		7.66	6.02	50.08	64.90
AEC		14.40	13.87		
				TOTAL	
				945.65	1278.06

(Table No. 2, State Facts, is not included because there is little change in the data.)

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¹Not including 1973

*Not in Congress

²League of Women Voters — A non-partisan organization taking action on government issues affecting public welfare, including environmental quality, human resources, international relations and representative government.

4. INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

		Pro	Con		%
FCNL	1972	12	0	ACA	10
	1973	9	2	1973	7
C. Commerce	1971-72	0	10	Cumulative	10
	1973	0	9	ADA	80
NAB	1971-72	3	8	1973	85
				Cumulative ¹	NA**
COPE	1972	8	1	LCV	--*
	1973	9	2	1959-70	--*
NFU	Cumulative	26	6	1971-72	20
	1971	11	0	LWV ²	
CFA	1972	11	0	1972	100
	1973	11	2	1973	100
				**rated only in re-election year	

5. Key Floor Votes

YES VOTE MEANS	VOTE	250	
		YES	NO
DEFENSE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS			
1. Mathematical parity with Russia on nuclear weapons	NO	56	35
2. Cut in half (reduce by \$885 million) funds for 2 Trident nuclear subs	YES	47	49
3. Withdraw from SE Asia within 4 months if prisoners released	YES	49	47
4. Veto override: Congressional limit on commitment of forces abroad	YES	75	18
5. Bar US funds to support foreign police and prison systems	YES	44	51
6. Divulge commercial arms export sales 30 days before approval	YES	41	44
7. Congress may reject large foreign arms sales within 30 days	YES	44	43
SUBSIDIES AND SPENDING			
8. Reject training, employment & \$2600 a year for welfare family of 4	NO	52	34
9. Override veto of Vocational Rehabilitation Act	YES	60	36
10. Refuse \$323,000 subsidy to industry council on pollution	YES	48	44
11. States may use \$850 million of Highway Trust Funds on mass transit	YES	49	44
12. Reduce federal public works aid to states without land use plan	YES	44	52
ECONOMIC REGULATION AND ANTITRUST			
13. Reject national no fault insurance	NO	49	46
14. Stop filibuster against independent consumer protection advocacy agency	YES	52	30
15. Corporations requesting price hikes need not release data on each division	NO	37	49
16. Multinational corporations must report foreign currency transactions	YES	46	40
17. Reject nomination of Robert Morris (oil industry attorney) to FPC	NO	49	44
18. Cut minimum wage increase with lower rate for youths	NO	40	57
19. Creditors must use adjusted balance system to compute finance charges	NO	33	56
TAXES			
20. Reject increased minimum tax on wealthy	YES	47	28
21. Reinstate 7-year tax deduction carry-over in minimum tax computation	NO	49	47
22. Corporations can depreciate capital assets 20% faster than useful life	NO	58	33
ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT			
23. State radiation standards for nuclear plants can be tighter than AEC's	YES	36	41
24. Public participation at all stages of state land use planning not required	NO	35	41
25. Prevent court review of Alaska Pipeline's environmental impact	NO	50	49
26. Oil price hikes may exceed actual production cost increases	NO	47	44
27. Continue regulation of natural gas prices (lower consumer prices)	YES	45	43
HEALTH AND SAFETY			
28. Premarket test toxic substances for unreasonable threat in normal use only	ABSENT	28	42
29. No criminal penalties for violating consumer product safety standards	NO	39	41
JUSTICE			
30. Defeat filibuster against voter registration by post card	YES	67	32
31. Delete amendment restricting busing	YES	46	45
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS			
32. Committee meetings open unless closed by members' public vote	YES	38	47
33. No fund cut-off if State Dept. withholds information from GAO or Congress	NO	33	51
34. Congressmen, federal judges, & cabinet cannot accept honoraria	YES	56	38
35. Public financing of federal elections; limit contributions and expenditures	YES	52	40
1. SJ Res. 241, 9/14/72, S14897	10. HR 8619, 6/28/73, S12394	19. S 2101, 7/23/73, S14411	28. S 1478, 5/30/72, S8539
2. HR 9286, 9/27/73, S17889	11. S 502, 3/14/73, S4782	20. HR 1, 10/5/72, S16999	29. S 3419, 6/21/72, S9918
3. HR 15495, 8/2/72, S12506	12. S 268, 6/20/73, S11518	21. HR 8410, 6/27/73, S12184	30. S 352, 5/9/73, S8617
4. HJ Res. 542, 11/7/73, S20115	13. S 945, 8/8/72, S13096	22. HR 8410, 6/27/73, S12188	31. S 2176, 12/10/73, S22368
5. S 2335, 10/1/73, S18245	14. S 3970, 10/5/72, S16921	23. HR 14655, 5/17/72, S8061	32. S Res. 69, 3/6/73, S4028
6. S 1443, 6/25/73, S11924	15. S 398, 3/20/73, S5322	24. S 632, 9/19/72, S15252	33. S 1248, 6/14/73, S11201
7. S 1443, 6/25/73, S11932	16. S 929, 3/29/73, S6237	25. S 1081, 7/17/73, S13690	34. S 372, 7/25/73, S14710
8. HR 1, 10/3/72, S16696	17. 6/13/73, S11110	26. S 2776, 12/19/73, S23397	35. HR 11104, 11/27/73, S21215
9. S 7, 4/3/73, S6537	18. S 1861, 7/18/73, S13846	27. S 2776, 12/19/73, S23406	

6. Key Committee Votes (1973 unless noted) Yes Vote Means

RECORDED IN SENATE BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE	Vote	Yes	No
1. Impose rent controls in metropolitan areas with low vacancy rates	YES	8	8
2. Public disclosure of large firms' reports to the Cost of Living Council for price increases over 1.5%	YES	9	4
3. Remove Sec. of Treasury authority over Federal guaranteed obligations borrowing	NO	8	8
4. Lower interest rate on disaster loans from 2% to 1% and permit grants of up to \$5000.	YES	8	4

1. Amendment to S 398; 2. Hathaway amendment to S 398; 3. Proxmire amendment to S 925; 4. Motion to report HR 15692, 1972.

RECORDED IN SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE	Vote	Yes	No
1. Repeal equal time provision for political broadcasts	***	15	1
2. Report the National No-Fault Motor Vehicle Insurance Act	***	13	4

1. Motion to report S 3178, 1972; 2. Motion to report S 945, 1972

***Joined committee in 1973

1. U.S. Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, floor remark by Senator Adlai Stevenson III, on the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, 92d Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 1971, S 9145.
2. Interview with Senator Adlai Stevenson III by Congress Project researcher held over three sessions on August 1-3, 1972. (Hereafter cited as Interview with Member.)
3. Interview with Member.
4. Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, Douglas Matthews, The Almanac of American Politics (Boston: Gambit Publisher, 1972), pp. 192-93.
5. "Illinois", 1965 Year Book of World Book Encyclopedia (Chicago: Field Enterprises Corporation, 1965), p. 101.
6. "Ogilvie, Stevenson Win," Chicago Daily News, November 9, 1966.
7. Barone, p. 193.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
9. Chicago Daily News, November 11, 1970, pp. 1-8.
10. U.S. Department of Labor, Statistics on Manpower, reprint from the 1972 Manpower Report of the President (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 232.
11. Office of Economic Opportunity, Federal Outlays, Fiscal Year 1971, Illinois (Springfield, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, PB-207530-14, February 1972), pp. 25, 138-41.
12. Interview with Member.
13. *Ibid.*
14. "The 1972 Democratic National Convention," interview of Senator Adlai Stevenson III by Roger Mudd, CBS-TV, Miami, Florida, July 12, 1972.
15. Interview with Senator Charles Percy by Congress Project researchers on July 25, 1972.
16. Interview with Member.
17. *Ibid.*
18. "Meany Raps Colo. Unit on McGovern," Washington Post, August 10, 1972, p. A15.
19. Interview with Member.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 1971, cumulative issue no. 1, part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1972), p. A-36.
22. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, insertion of his complete financial record, as of January 1, 1972, 92d Cong., 2d sess., February 8, 1972, S 1359.
23. Interview with Member.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, comments on amendment to ban TV campaign spots of less than one minute in duration, 92d Cong., 1st sess., August 4, 1971, S 15141.
26. Congressional Record, vote to table amendment to ban TV campaign spots of less than one minute, 92d Cong., 1st sess., August 4, 1971, S 15147.
27. Interview with Member.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, comments on Sen. Res. 17, 92d Cong., 1st sess., April 2, 1971, S 4499.
30. Congressional Record, S. Res. 17, 92d Cong., 1st sess., June 22, 1971, S 9719.
31. Congressional Record, S. Res. 17, 92d Cong., 1st sess., June 22, 1971, S 9720.
32. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, 92d Cong., 1st sess., June 15, 1971, S 9145.
33. Interview with Member.
34. Research of member's advocacy by Congress Project researcher in the Congressional Record, 1971: Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on the situation in Bangladesh, 92d Cong., 1st sess., December 3, 1971, S 20535.
35. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on the expulsion of Taiwan and the right-wingers and "China Lobby" in the U.S., 92d Cong., 1st sess., October 26, 1971, S 16763.
36. "Senate Kills Foreign Aid," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXXI (1971), p. 50.
37. Interview with Member.
38. Congressional Record, remarks on Rehnquist, 92d Cong., 1st sess., December 10, 1971, S 21256.
39. Congressional Record, remarks on the Kleindinst Affair, ITT, and related topics, 92d Cong., 2d sess., June 5, 1972, S 8844, 8845, 8847.
40. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on SST, 92d Cong., 1st sess., March 24, 1971, S 3534.
41. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on Lockheed loan, 92d Cong., 1st sess., June 23, 1971, S 10004.
42. Congressional Record, Senator Adlai Stevenson III, floor remark on Lockheed loan, 92d Cong., 1st sess., August 2, 1971, S 12840.
43. Interview with Member.
44. CQ Weekly Report, XXVIII (December 25, 1970), p. 3095.
45. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXIX, p. 45.
46. Interview with Member.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions, 92d Cong., 1st sess., cumulative issue no. 1, part 1, pp. A-1-A-501.
49. Interview with Member.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Robert Gruenberg, "School Funds Misuse Bared," Chicago Daily News, April 2, 1972, p. 1.
55. Interview with Member.
56. *Ibid.*
57. "Senate Defeats No-Fault Insurance," Washington Post, August 9, 1972, p. A1.
58. Interview with Member.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Interview with Robert Gruenberg, reporter for Chicago Daily News by Congress Project researcher on August 11, 1972.
61. Interview with Member.
62. Digest of Public General Bills and Resolutions, 92d Cong., 1st sess., cumulative issue no. 1, part 1, p. A-434.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON III - Senator from Illinois

Adlai Stevenson III has a lot going for him. He is the son of one of the most intelligent men ever produced by the American political system. His father, Adlai Stevenson, twice Democratic nominee for President, was the darling of liberals and intellectuals in the 1950s, and was the symbol of the resistance to the "let it ride" and "brinkmanship" philosophies of the Eisenhower administrations.

As a successful young lawyer in Chicago, he ran for the Illinois House of Representatives in 1964. He had three things going for him: Instant name recognition, the same backing his father had enjoyed from Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, and the fact he was running in a lopsided "Democratic year". He won with a massive majority.

In 1966, he ran for state Treasurer and also won. Then, in 1970, he ran for the U.S. Senate seat of the late Everett Dirksen, the long-time Senate Minority Leader, and won.

Although Stevenson is possessed of a quick wit and a good mind, he is subject to personality quirks which partially negate his value as anything other than a man with a good voting record. He is an unimpressive and dull campaigner, who hates the rituals of the campaign even more than his father. One of Stevenson's political workers once decried the fact "that you have to literally push him out of the car to get him to shake hands or give a speech."

While he understands the workings of the Senate quite well, he authors little legislation, preferring to co-sponsor bills drawn up by other members on some occasions. He likes to devote his time and the time of his staff to obtaining federal grants for projects in Illinois, which has long been below the national average in per capita federal expenditures. Stevenson's voting record has been highly-rated by ADA and COPE, but he prefers to stay with the moderates, and there has been a perceptible creep to the right in his voting every year.

Stevenson has been generally supportive of legislation to tighten up conflicts-of-

interests of Members of Congress. On one occasion, he voted against his own interests to make this point. He is one of the few national officials to acknowledge openly that the perception of a conflict of interest by the public on the part of a legislator is as bad for the reputation of Congress as an actual conflict. He was a supporter of Senator Birch Bayh's bill to require financial reports from every federal official making \$18,000 a year or more, and while in the Illinois House, was co-sponsor (along with Representative Abner Mikva) of a well-thought-out conflict of interest bill. Every year since he took office, Stevenson has made a full financial statement in the Congressional Record.

Stevenson has also been a supporter of legislation to improve campaign finance, reporting, expenditure and advertising. In 1970, he was the target of an advertising campaign which tried to link him with hippies, revolutionaries, draft-dodgers and protesters. Stevenson has suggested, perhaps sarcastically, that all political advertisements be at least five minutes long by law so that sloganeering cannot dominate an election contest. Stevenson's largest contribution in the 1974 Senatorial election - \$9000, came from John P., Helen P., and Jack Daros, owners of Passengers Restaurant in Chicago. Each gave \$3000.

✓ Stevenson was quite alarmed at the possibility that American presence during the 1971 South Vietnamese elections would influence the outcome, and he introduced an amendment to the 1971 Military Procurement Bill to require a bipartisan Congressional commission to oversee American conduct during the election. At that time, the Senate had just passed the Mansfield Amendment, which called for an end to the war within nine months. The question on Stevenson's amendment was called before he had a chance to explain it, and one Republican member suggested a bill to assure oversight of elections in Cook County (Chicago). The measure was handily defeated, and most of the members of the Senate had a good laugh at Stevenson's expense.

In other measures, notably dealing with the expulsion of Taiwan from the U.N. and the use of torture in Brazil, he lectured the Senate's conservatives so haughtily that he lowered his already poor image in the Senate.

On the nomination of Richard Kliendeinst as Attorney General, Stevenson wanted to start an investigation of the ITT affair so badly, that he was forced into a legislative contortionist's act, entering two diametrically opposed sets of votes in two go-arounds.

Stevenson has also opposed the SST, military spending and the Lockheed loan. In each case, he delivered a lecture stating that budget choices are too much in the hands of the Executive Office and that the money would be better spent on social programs. On busing, Stevenson tried to chart a quiet, middle-of-the-road course, which is probably more liberal than a cross-section of his constituents would be. He has also been a supporter of handgun controls.

In 1974, Stevenson wrote an article for Foreign Affairs in which he warned of the dangers of giving peaceful nuclear reactors to foreign nations, since the materials within could be converted to wartime use. He argued that an alliance to crush any nation which made noises that it would use the materials for uses other than those originally intended was necessary. One of the main problem areas for nuclear reactors he pointed to was the Middle East.

✓ In March, 1976, Stevenson went on a 16-day junket through the Middle East. While there, he met with Yassir Arafat, and Arafat sold him on the idea that the Palestine Liberation Organization was the true representative of the Palestinian people. Arafat made some quite vague (and obviously non-binding) proposals that if the Israelis withdrew to their pre-1967 boundaries, including leaving the old city of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and supported the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza, that the PLO might consider recognition of Israel's right to exist.

Stevenson carried this conversation to the Israeli leaders, and became quite insistent that they accept it. The Israelis refused, and although they were shocked, since they thought of Stevenson as a firm supporter of Israel, they made some effort to explain their refusal to accept such a vague offer, especially from the PLO, which has always refused to acknowledge the right of Israel to exist. His insistence was

even harder to understand, in light of the fact that he had called Arafat's outline a "proposal and not a hard offer" in conversations with the press.

Later, at a party in Cairo, Stevenson went on a tirade against the Israeli leaders. In front of Egyptian diplomatic officials and other Arab leaders, Stevenson called the Israeli leadership "liars" and described them as being "insolent", "unintelligible" and "unintelligent".

Upon his return to New York, Stevenson got drunk at a meeting of the heads of major Jewish organizations and repeated his accusations against the Israeli leaders and spoke of the Arabs' desire for peace and of the PLO as a representative body of the Palestinian people. The leaders probably overreacted to this display, and in a mass fit of rage issued a public statement condemning Stevenson.

The last straw came in an address by Stevenson to the Anti-Defamation League in Chicago on May 7. In the speech, which was announced as a criticism of Henry Kissinger's diplomatic moves in the Middle East, Stevenson again launched his tirade against the Israelis. In the speech, he implied that he thought American support of Israel should be withdrawn if the Israelis were not more flexible. Stevenson also attacked Israel's Labor Party, which leads the present government coalition, as desiring only to subjugate the Arabs militarily. He stated that the Arabs wanted only peace, and that Israel must negotiate with them no matter what the cost. Needless to say, the crowd was left speechless.

Persons who have talked to Stevenson since say that he will not bend from his present position, and that he is convinced that he is an even-handed, just peacemaker. There is discussion in the Illinois Democratic Party of how to shut Stevenson up before he alienates the entire Illinois Jewish community, and the ancillary loss of funds from such alienation.

This situation is very hot, and it would be a major obstacle to national Jewish support if Stevenson is the nominee.

Stevenson also attended a reception for PLO representatives to the UN sponsored by Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.), a Lebanese-American, on June 26. Observers

said he was quite friendly with the PLO members.

His nomination would be a great detriment to Jewish support in key states.



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Adlai Stevenson III: 'Kissinger's Step by Step Diplomacy is Ended'

CHICAGO, May 7 (IPS) — Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill) delivered a major policy speech on the Middle East here last night at the Ritz Carlton Hotel to the annual dinner of the Anti-Defamation League. Prior notice of the address was kept out of the press. This morning's edition of the Chicago Tribune carries a brief article on the speech, but deleted the most significant portions.

The following are excerpts from the full text, obtained this morning from the Senator's office. The Senator had just returned from a tour of the Mideast.

"I am not an outspoken admirer of Secretary Kissinger's style or policies. His step-by-step diplomacy in the Mideast delayed progress toward an overall settlement. . . . Whatever else might be said about it, the step-by-step diplomacy of Secretary Kissinger has run its course. It is ended. The deadly impasse has resumed. . . . The U.S. has no policy in the Middle East. . . . Unless there is movement toward peace, there is movement toward war. . . . The nuclear threshold has now been reached in the Middle East. . . ."

"I am not here tonight to say what I would like to say — and what you would like to hear. There has been too much of that. Now American support for Israel depends on Israel. It is no longer automatic. America will not abandon Israel; but it will ask if Israel has abandoned itself. . . ."

"Why has peace been put at risk by the continued establishment of Israeli settlements in the West Bank in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention which states that 'the occupying power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies?' . . . Israel has not been well served by those who hide from reality, nor by those who, perceiving the truth, have whispered their warnings. Now the hour is late. . . . Israel must respect minority opinion and minority rights, or Israel will have abandoned itself. . . ."

"Many within the governing Israeli Labor Party recognize that the continued military administration of a million restless Arabs is not in Israel's strategic interest. Many in Israel believe it is time for the Israeli government to recognize that the Palestinian people have a right to national self-expression in the West Bank and in Gaza, either with a State of their own or with a semi-autonomous State within Jordan. The dangers of irredentism are real; but the dangers of continued stalemate, they realize, are greater. Of what avail, after all, are nuclear weapons and 'defensible' boundaries when the enemy is within. Demilitarized territories and internationally guaranteed boundaries offer Israel greater security. Brave voices in Israel are raised in favor of accommodating legitimate Palestinian interests. They do not suggest — nor do I — any move which would endanger Israel's future. . . . Any settlement must provide for security guarantees of undoubted validity. . . ."

Want Development

"The common interests of Arabs and Israelis alike are often imperceived. Communication proceeds on separate public and private planes. . . . In private one hears at the

highest levels of Arab leadership that Arab governments accept, with a condition, the continued existence of the State of Israel. Arab leaders reaffirm their commitment to Security Council Resolution 242; compliance with that Resolution is their condition for recognition of Israel. That Resolution itself accepts the right of an Israeli State to exist. . . ."

"For all the publicly expressed stubbornness and belligerence, most Israeli and Arab leaders want peace. The Arab states, like Israel, set a high priority on internal development. They would like to use their new-found oil wealth to raise their people from centuries of malnutrition, inadequate housing and lack of education. Most Arabs — like Israelis — are weary of the burdens of an armed camp. . . ."

"A way must be found to overcome the provocations on all sides, and it could be. If a direct Arab-Israeli negotiation is not feasible. . . . then outside powers with important stakes in Middle Eastern peace must facilitate negotiation, at Geneva or in another forum. . . . They could establish the principles to guide a settlement and initiate the process by which it is reached. Only outside powers can appeal to the common interests in peace and overcome the widening gulf of self-inflicted fear and suspicion which divides the warring parties. . . ."

Kissinger's Nuclear Threat

"In all of this the Soviet Union has a potential to foster peace — or to block it. . . . It may see a Middle East settlement as serving its interests. Recent statements from Moscow indicate as much. But the obsequious pursuit of detente by Secretary Kissinger and the presidents who have served under him has produced the reverse of detente — tension. . . ."

"Russian participation in a common effort to bring about a settlement would be welcome proof that detente has some meaning to the Soviet leadership. . . ."

"There are those who believe that it is too late for peace in the Middle East. Some respected authorities say the conflict must move to war and to the brink of the nuclear exchange. Then, so the theory goes, the superpowers will be forced to intervene; to impose a settlement and save themselves. I disagree. I do not believe it is too late; certainly not too late to try. Continued stalemate in the Middle East sooner or later will lead to another outbreak of war. It will be a war in which there will be no winners. Neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union would win a nuclear confrontation. . . . Peace requires Israel to act greatly. . . . Peace requires leadership in America and Israel which acts from a recognition of moral obligations, true self-interest — and from a perception of reality. The elements of a lasting settlement are there — waiting to be put together by men brave enough to make peace, instead of war. So let us be brave — and then we will look back to this as the time when the process of peace was started; when the walls began to topple; when men learned again to esteem brotherhood and truth — and the honor of a generation was saved. Let us pray, in the words of the Young Solomon, 'Lord, give thy servant an understanding heart.' Shalom. . . ."

1933-58; partner Touche Ross & Co. C.P.A.'s, N.Y., 1958-68; v.p. First Nat. City Bank, N.Y., 1968-70; pres., dir. Old Stone Bank, Providence, 1970—; dir. Old Stone Corp., Weylin Investors Co.; mng. trustee Old Stone Mortgage & Realty Trust; dir. Urban Housing Corp., Mass. Devel. Co. R.I. Trustee R.I. Pub. Expenditure Council, Moses Brown Sch. Served to 1st Int. USAF, 1951-53. C.P.A. Ill. Mem. Phi Kappa Phi. Hobbies: Clubs: Agawam Hunt, Hope, Turks Head (Providence). Home: 2 Freeman Pkwy Providence RI 02906 Office: PO Box 1598 Providence RI 02901

STEVENS, ROBERTTEN BROECK, corp. exec.: b. Fanwood, N.J., July 31, 1899; s. John Peters and Edna (Ten Broeck) S.; grad. Phillips Andover, 1917; B.A., Yale, 1921; D.C.S., N.Y.U., 1950; L.H.D., Lafayette Coll., 1950; LL.D., Presby. Coll., 1938, Syracuse U., 1953, U. Kansas City, Mo., 1956; Dr. Textiles, Phila. Textile Inst., 1956; D.Sc., Norwich U., 1953; Dr. Textile Industries, Clemson Coll., 1951; Dr. Textile Sci., N.C. Coll., 1954; m. Dorothy Goodwin Whitney, Oct. 6, 1923; children—Robert Ten Broeck, Whitney, Joan Peters (dec.), William Gallon, Thomas Estes. Entered employ of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., 1921, pres., 1929-42. chmn. bd., 1945-53, pres., 1955-69, chief exec. officer, chmn. exec. com., 1966—; class B dir. Fed. Res. Bank of New York, 1934-42. Class C dir. and chmn., 1948-53; dir. General Electric Co., Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. New York; trustee Mut. Life Ins. Co. of N.Y.; Sec. of the Army, Dept. Defense, 1953-55. Served as 2d lt., F.A., World War I, col., Office of Q.M. Gen., World War II. Awarded Medal of Merit, Distinguished Service Medal, Exceptional Civilian Service Medal, USAF Staff Nat. Recovery Adminstrn., 1933; head textile section, Nat. Defense Adv. Commn., 1940; appointed district coordinator of defense contract service, Office Production Mgmt. for N.Y. Area, 1941; attended Command and General Staff Sch., Ft. Leavenworth, Kan., 1941; assigned to Q.M. Corps, 1942, apptd. dep. dir. purchases, 1943-45, Mem. vrs. com. Harvard Grad. Sch. Bus. Adminstrn., 1956-62; alumni fellow Yale Corporation, 1950-56. Mem. Business Council, Mem. Am. Textile Mfrs. Inst. Inc. (pres. 1963-64), Psi Upsilon, Wolf's Head Soc., Clubs: Biltmore (North Carolina) Forest Country; Downtown Association, Links, Merchants, Union League, Yale (N.Y. City), 1925 F. Street (Washington); Plainfield (N.Y.) Country; Brook (N.Y.C.); Chevy Chase (Md.). Home: R 1 Woodland Av South Plainfield NJ 07080 Office: Stevens Bldg 1460 Broadway New York City NY 10036

STEVENS, ROGER L., theatrical producer: b. Detroit, Mar. 12, 1910; s. Stanley and Florence (Jackson) S.; student Choate Sch., 1928; student U. Mich., 1928-30, D.H.L., 1964; H.H.D. (hon.), Wayne State U., 1969; D.H.L., Tulane U., 1960; LL.D., Amherst Coll., 1968; hon. degrees Skidmore Coll., 1965, U. Ill., 1970, Boston U., 1970; m. Christine Gekell, Jan. 1, 1938; 1 dau., Christabel. Producing partner in more than 125 Broadway shows including West Side Story, Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, Bus Stop, Tea and Sympathy, Mary, Mary, A Man For All Seasons, The Best Man. Former real estate broker specializing in hotels and investment properties, 1934-60. Spl. asst. to the Pres. on the arts, 1964-68; chmn. Nat. Council on the Arts, 1965-69; chmn. Nat. Endowment for the Arts, also trustee; pres. Nat. Opera Inst., chmn. Arts Film Inst., 1969-72, now trustee; chmn. adv. com. Nat. Book Award; mem. program and edn. Cons. Council for Arts, Mass. Inst. Tech., chmn. finance com. Democratic Party, 1956. Chmn. bd. trustees John F. Kennedy Center Performing Arts, 1961—; trustee Am. Shakespeare Theater and Acad.; bd. dirs. Met. Opera Assn., Filene Center/Wolf Trap Farm Park for Performing Arts, Circle in the Square Theatre. Recipient award contn. theatre Nat. Theater Conf., 1970. Fellow Royal Soc. Arts; mem. ANTA (treas. 1951-65), Phi Gamma Delta, Clubs: Bohemian (San Francisco), Parquet and Tennis, Century Assn., Pilgrims (N.Y.C.). Adv. com. Racinean Rev. 1952-69. Home: 1686 34th St. NW Washington DC 20007 Office: John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts Washington DC 20566

STEVENS, ROLLAND ELWELL, educator: b. St. Louis, Apr. 7, 1915; s. Clair E. and Viola (Foelsch) S.; A.B., Washington U., St. Louis, 1939; B.S. in L.S., U. Ill., 1940; M.S., 1942, Ph.D., 1951; m. Dorothy Zulauf, Aug. 30, 1941; children—Barbara K. (Mrs. Frederick Osgood), Trudi K. Biographer, U. Ill., Urbana, 1940-42, prof. Grad. Sch. Library Sci., 1963—; reference librarian, asst. to dir. libraries U. Rochester, 1946-48; acquisition librarian Ohio State U., 1950-53, asst. dir. libraries, 1953-60, asso. dir. libraries, 1960-63. Served with AUS, 1942-46. Mem. A.A.A., Phi Beta Kappa, Beta Phi Mu (Good Teaching award 1958). Author: Reference Books in the Social Sciences and Humanities, 1966. Home: 305 Burkwood Ct Urbana IL 61801. *To be candid, the two attitudes I feel have contributed most to my attainment of my present position have been (1) the conviction that one can achieve anything if one desires it sufficiently and (2) the self assurance that in my chosen area of specialization, I am or can be as good as anyone else. But the first attitude made me an overachiever and brought me migraine headaches along with promotions; besides, I no longer hold it and now see it as absurd. I still hold the second, but realize that one trims and tailors his "chosen area of specialization" until it fits his abilities, probably no matter how small they might be. Nevertheless, I believe that both of these attitudes have brought me where I am now.*

STEVENS, ROY W., distillery exec.: b. Ottumwa, Ia., Oct. 28, 1924; s. Manley O. and Ruth (Worrell) S.; B.S.C., State U. Ia., 1948; m. Donna R. Borman, June 7, 1952 (dec. Jan. 1973); children—Katharine A. (Mrs. Douglas J. Dillon), Thomas W., John M. With Coca-Cola Co., 1948-54, Gen. Foods Corp., 1954-67; exec. v.p., gen. mgr. grocery products div. Riviana Foods, Houston, Tex., 1967-73; v.p. marketing Hiram Walker Inc., Detroit, 1973—. Bd. dirs. Detroit Met. YMCA. Mem. Sigma Alpha Epsilon, Episcopalian, Clubs: Houston Country; Essex Golf and Country (Windsor, Ont., Can.); Detroit Athletic. Home: 4320 Knightsbridge Lane West Bloomfield MI 48033 Office: PO Box 3382 Detroit MI 48214

STEVENS, RUSSELL BRADFORD, plant pathologist: b. Washington, Oct. 31, 1915; s. Neil E. and Maude (Bradford) S.; student George Washington U., 1933-34, U. Me., summer 1935; B.S., U. Va., 1937; Ph.D., U. Wis., 1940; m. Helen Ann Crumley, June 8, 1949; children—Charles B., Susan C., Sarah L. Spl. agt. Dept. Agr., summer 1933; asst. prof. biology Birmingham-Soc. Coll., 1940-42; asst. prof. botany U. Louisville, 1945; asso. prof. botany Ala. Poly. Inst., 1947, U. Tenn., 1947-53; exec. sec. Biology Council, NRC, 1954-57; prof. botany, chmn. dept. George Washington U., 1957-66; exec. sec. div. high sch. Nat. Acad. Sci.-NRC, Washington, 1964—. Research asst. Cogn. Agr. Expt. Sta., summers 1939-41, 48-49; Served as 1st Lt. U.S. Corps, AUS, 1942-46. Fellow A.A.A.S.; mem. Bot. Soc. Am., Am. Phytopath. Soc., Mycol. Soc. Am., Bot. Soc. Washington (pres.), Assn. Southeastern Biologists, Washington Acad. Sci., Sigma Xi, Gamma Alpha, Phi Sigma. Author: Disease in Plants, 1952; Career Opportunities in Biology, 1956; Plant Disease, 1974; Mycology Guidebook, 1974. Home: 6657 Sorrell St. McLean VA 22101 Office: 2101 Constitution Av NW Washington DC 20418

2180 Coldwater Canyon Beverly Hills CA 90210 Office: care Robinson & Assos 132 S Rodeo Dr Beverly Hills CA 90210

STEVENS, SYDNEY GILMAN, ret. banker: b. Lynchburg, Va., Oct. 11, 1907; s. Sydney Ganson and Florence Anderson (Carrington) S.; B.A., Princeton, 1930; m. Elisabeth Lee McClelland, Sept. 22, 1934; 1 son, Michael, Clk., Gen. Devel. Corp., 1930-33; trustee official Comm. Nat. Bank & Trust Co., 1933-46; asst. v.p. Bank of Manhattan Co., 1946-48; exec. v.p. Trenton Banking Co. (N.J.), 1948-49, pres., 1949-53; pres. First Trenton Nat. Bank, 1953-62, chmn. bd., 1962-70; chmn. bd. N.J. Nat. Bank, 1970-72; dir. Prudential Ins. Co. Am., Del. & Bound Brook R.R. Mem. Phi Beta Kappa. Home: 65 Allison Rd Princeton NJ 08540

STEVENS, SYLVESTER KIRBY, seal co. exec., ret. historian, state official: b. Harrison Valley, Pa., July 10, 1904; s. Herbert Chester and Anna Elizabeth (Outman) S.; A.B., Pa. State Coll., 1926, M.A., 1927; Ph.D., Columbia, 1945; Litt.D., Lebanon Valley Coll., 1953; L.H.D., Susquehanna U.; LL.D., Moravian Coll., 1962; m. Crescence P. Miller, June 22, 1926; 1 son, James Harry. Asst. prof. history Pa. State Coll., 1926-37; state historian Commonwealth Pa., 1937-56; exec. dir. Pa. Hist. and Mus. Commn., Harrisburg, 1956-72; pres. chmn. bd. Bicentennial Seal Inc. Harrisburg, 1972—; dir. Am. Heritage Pub. Co. Chmn. Adv. Council on Hist. Preservation Mem. Pa. Hist. Assn. (pres. 1948-51), Pa. Fedn. Hist. Soc. (exec. sec. 1937—), Am. Assn. State and Local History (pres. 1946-50, treas. 1950-62, mem. council 1962—), Am. Assn. Hist. Sites Adminstrn. (pres. 1953-60, chmn. bd. 1960-70), Nat. Park Service Historic Sites Survey (mem. adv. bd.), Theta Chi, Delta Sigma Rho, Phi Gamma Mu. Author: American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898, 1945; Pennsylvania-Titan of Industry, 1948; (with R.W. Cordier) Exploring Pennsylvania, 1953; Pennsylvania, Birthplace of a Nation, 1961; Pennsylvania, Heritage of a Commonwealth, 4 vols., 1968; Pennsylvania Portrait, 1970; The Pennsylvania Colony, 1970. Editor: (with Donald H. Kent) Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet, 1951; Travels in New Frances by J. C. B. (with Kent), 1942; Wilderness Chronicles of Northwest Pennsylvania (with Kent), 1941; Pennsylvania, Keystone of Democracy, 2 vols. 1956; also pamphlets. Mem. editorial bd. Am. Heritage, 1954. Deceased. Address: 20 Center Dr Cedar Cliff Manor Camp Hill PA 17011

STEVENS, THEODORE FULTON, U.S. senator: b. Indpls., Nov. 18, 1923; s. George A. and Gertrude (Chancellor) S.; B.A., U. Cal. at Los Angeles, 1947; LL.B., Harvard, 1950; m. Ann Mary Cherrington, Mar. 29, 1952; children—Susan B., Elizabeth H., Walter C., Theodore Fulton, Ben A. Admitted to Cal., Alaska, D.C. bars; mem. firm Northcutt Ely, Washington, 1950-52, Collins & Clasby, Fairbanks, 1953; U.S. atty. Dist. Alaska, 1953-56; legislative counsel Dept. Interior, 1956-58, asst. to sec. dept., 1958-60, solicitor, 1960; pvt. practice law, Anchorage, 1961—; mem. Alaska Ho. of Reps., 1964-68, majority leader; U.S. senator from Alaska, 1968—. Served as 1st Lt. USAAF, World War II. Mem. Fed. Am., Alaska, Cal. bar assns., Am. Legion, V.F.W. Republican, Rotarian. Home: PO Box 879 Anchorage AK Office: Room 411 Russell Senate Office Bldg Washington DC 20510

STEVENS, WARREN, actor: b. Clark's Summit, Pa., Nov. 2, 1919; s. Albert Clifford and Helen Dodd (Blakeslee) S.; student U.S. Naval Acad., 1939-40; m. Barbara Helen Fletcher, Sept. 9, 1969; 1 son, Adam Fletcher; 1 son (by first marriage), Laurence Blakeslee. Appeared on New York stage in Celebration, Gallileo, 1947, Sundown Beach, 1948, Smile of the World, 1949, Detective Story, 1949; appeared in numerous motion pictures since 1950, including Barefoot Contessa, Forbidden Planet; appeared on numerous television shows, including Richard Boone Repr. Served with USN, 1937-40, USAAF, 1942-46. Office: 1277 Sunset Plaza Dr Los Angeles CA 90069

STEVENS, WAYNE MACKENZIE, mgmt. cons., educator: b. Des Moines; s. Edwin Luther and Hattie Maude (Mackenzie) S.; B.S., Ill.; M.B.A., Northwestern U.; Ph.D., Am. U.; C.P.A., D.C.; m. Phyla Marsh, Aug. 15, 1925. Marketing specialist U.S. Dept. Agr.; C.P.A., economist, prof. marketing and financial mgmt. La. State U., 1924-37; dean Coll. Commerce, dir. bus. research U. Md., 1937-42; partner Mackenzie Stevens & Co., 1938—. Cons. economist; prin. org. expert Fed. Farm Bd., 1930; v.p. prof. U. Nanking, China, cons. Shanghai Comm. & Savs. Bank, 1934-36; adviser Nat. Econ. Council, Govt. of China, 1934-36; cons. survey activities include spl. cons. on financial orgn. U.S. Bd. Econ. Warfare, 1942, U.S. Dept. State 1942, fgn. service res. officer, 1949-50; adviser Govt. China, Chungking, 1942-43, cons. Govt. Burma (Simla, India), Govt. India, Delhi, East Africa Govs. Conf., Nairobi, Kenya, West African War Council, Accra, Gold Coast, 1943; Korean econ. commr., dir. trade and finance div. ECA, 1949-50; mem. State Dept. Far Eastern Conf., Tokyo, 1950; chmn. bus. div., dir. Sch. World Bus., cons. internat. devel. San Francisco State Coll., 1950-63; internat. economist, project evaluator Nat. Planning Office and Nat. Econ. Council, Govt. Nicaragua, 1965-67. Chmn., World Investment and Trade Corp., 1953-65, 68—; project dir. Frederic Burk Found. and Devel. Employment and More Effective Utilization Older Persons Project San Francisco Coll. U., 1968—; mem. 7th ann. forum on finance investment Bankers Assn. Am.; mem. Mem. U.S. Dept. Commerce Regional Export Expansion Council and Com. Internat. Trade Devel., 1962-65. Mem. Am. Mgmt. Assn. (chmn. W. Coast conf. on setting up and administering internat. operations 1958), Am. Econ. Assn., Assn. for Edn. in Internat. Bus. (v.p. 1959-61), World Affairs Council, Phi Kappa Phi, Beta Gamma Sigma, Delta Sigma Pi, Methodist, Mason, Clubs: Olympic, Commonwealth. Author books on econ. devel., bus. mgmt.; prin. books include: Financial Organization and Administration; Structural Organization; (with cooperative) Organization and Management; Public Finance (with others). Office: 3 Skyline Dr Daly City CA 94015

STEVENS, WHITNEY, textile co. exec.: b. Plainfield, N.J., Nov. 26, 1926; s. Robert TenBroeck and Dorothy Goodwin (Whitney) S.; student Phillips Acad., 1940-44; B.A., Princeton, 1947; m. 2d. Helene Baldi, Nov. 1, 1961; children—Mark W., David W., Joan. With J.P. Stevens & Co., Inc., N.Y.C. 1948—, v.p., 1953-64, exec. v.p., 1964-69, pres., 1969—, also dir. mem. exec. com. adv. bd. Chem. Bank, N.Y.C. Served with USNR, 1944-46. Mem. Am. Textile Mfrs. Assn. (market com.), Color Assn. Am. (pres. 1967-71). Clubs: Links, Weavers (N.Y.C.); Princeton (N.Y.). Home: 55 E 72d St New York City NY 10021 Office: 1183 Av of Americas New York City NY 10036

STEVENS, WILLIAM DOLLARD, corp. exec.: b. Bayonne, N.J., Aug. 4, 1918; s. William B. and Beatrice (Dollard) S.; B.Mech. Engrng., Rensselaer Poly. Inst., 1940; postgrad. Case Inst. Tech., 1958; m. Mary E. King, Oct. 12, 1940; children—Sandra A. (Mrs. Jeffrey N. Melin), Barbara E. (Mrs. Dennis Gallagher), William K. Various engrng. and mgmt. positions Babcock & Wilcox Co., N.Y.C., 1940-62; v.p. equipment div. Foster Wheeler Corp., Livingston, N.J.,

field. Home: 4 Stony Brook Dr North Caldwell NJ 07006 Office: 110 S Orange Av Livingston NJ 07039

STEVENS, WILLIAM EDWARD, JR., furniture mfr.: b. Chattanooga, Feb. 10, 1922; s. William E. and Ruth (Hickman) S.; grad. cum laude, Culver Mil. Acad., 1941; A.B., U. N.C., 1944; m. Edith Allene Broyhill, Dec. 27, 1944; children—James William, Rebecca Hunt (Mrs. John K. Osborn), Martha Allene, John Finley, Anne Elizabeth, Richard David. With Broyhill Furniture Industries, Lenoir, N.C., 1946—, exec. v.p. 1966—. Sec.-treas. Lenoir Community Center; chmn. Lenoir Recreation Commn.; past chmn. Caldwell County chpt. A.R.C.; past pres. Caldwell County United Fund, N.C. Citizens Assn.; mem. Gov. N.C. Com. State Govt. Reorgn., State Goals Policy Council. Pres. N.C. Young Republicans, 1952-53; candidate for U.S. Congress, 1954; del. Rep. Nat. Conv., 1956; mem. N.C. Ho. of Reps., 1972—. Pres., Caldwell Meml. Hosp., 1973. trustee Brevard Music Center, High Point Coll.; bd. visitors Duke Div. Sch. Mem. Soc. Furniture Mfrs. Assn. (pres. 1971—); Phi Beta Kappa. Methodist (afcl. bd., past chmn. commn. stewardship and finance). Author: (novel of adv. industry, 1968. Home: 9 Hillhaven Dr Lenoir NC 28645 Office: Broyhill Park Lenoir NC 28645

STEVENS, WILLIAM FOSTER, III, educator: b. Detroit, Oct. 7, 1922; s. William Foster and Alice (Knight) S.; B.S., Northwestern U., 1944; M.S., U. Wis., 1947, Ph.D., 1949; m. Lillian Janda Fort, June 29, 1962; children—Francine (Mrs. Charles Derby), Susan (Mrs. James Pierce), Alan, Martina (Mrs. James Freeman), Karin. Research engr. B.F. Goodrich Co., 1949-51; faculty Northwestern U., Evanston, Ill., 1951—, prof. chem. engrng., 1961—, asso. dean Grad. Sch., 1966-72, dir. freshman program, 1972—. Cons. to govt., industry, 1955—. Served to ensign USNR, 1943-46. Mem. Soc. Engrng. Edn., Am. Chem. Soc., Am. Inst. Chem. Engrs., Sigma Xi, Tau Beta Pi, Phi Lambda Upsilon, Delta Tau Delta. Mem. United Ch. Christ. Home: 718 Windsor Rd Geneva IL 60025 Office: Chem Engrng Dept Northwestern U Evanston IL 60201

STEVENS, WILLIAM TRISTRAM, actuary: b. Ithaca, N.Y., Mar. 17, 1927; s. William T. and Helen (Howell) S.; B.A., Cornell U., 1950; m. Dorothy Ann Lyon, June 21, 1952; children—Kenneth, Bruce, Laurie. Sr. math. asst. Mut. Benefit Life Ins. Co., Newark, 1965-69; actuary Hartford Life Ins. Co., Boston, 1961-65; actuary, v.p. and actuary, v.p. and chief actuary Interstate Life & Accident Ins. Co., Chattanooga, 1969—. Cons. Madison (N.J.) Bd. Edn., 1963-65; active United Fund, 1961-73. Boy Scouts Am., 1961-68; chmn. Heart Fund, Madison, 1968; mem. finance com. Signal Mountain Library, 1970-71. Served with USNR, 1944-46. C.I.U. Fellow Soc. Actuaries, Southern Actuarial Club—Chattanooga C. of C., Sigma Phi Epsilon. Presby. Kiwanon. Clubs: Cornell, Signal Mountain Country. Home: 608 Mar Dr Signal Mountain TN 37347 Office: 540 McCallie Av Chattanooga TN 37402

STEVENS, ADLAI EWING, III, U.S. senator: b. Chgo., Oct. 10, 1930; s. Adlai Ewing and Ellen (Borden) S.; grad. Milton Acad., 1948; B.A., Harvard, 1952; LL.B., 1957; m. Nancy L. Anderson, June 25, 1955; children—Adlai Ewing IV, Lucy W., Katherine R., Warwick L. Admitted to Ill. bar, 1957; asso. firm Mayer, Friedrich, Spiess, Tierney, Brown & Platt, Chgo., 1958-66, partner, 1966-67; treas. of Ill., Springfield, 1967-70; mem. U.S. Senate from Ill., 1970—. Mem. Ill. Ho. of Reps., 1965-67. Served to capt. USMCR, 1952-54. Mem. Am., Ill., Chgo. bar assns. Home: 1519 N Dearborn St Chicago IL 60610

STEVENS, ARCHIE MCNICOL, former ins. exec.: b. Denver, Oct. 4, 1904; s. Archie McNicol and Ethel (McQuaid) S.; A.B., Stanford, 1926; J.D., 1929; m. Isabel Schanck, June 21, 1927; one dau., Mrs. Nicholas B. Potter. Admitted to Cal. bar, 1929, N.Y. bar, 1948; partner firm Torr, Stevenson & Cooper, San Francisco, 1935-47, Bigham, England, 1947-50; partner firm Torr, Stevenson & Cooper ins. underwriting firm Chubb & Son, N.Y.C., 1955-59; exec. v.p., dir. Chubb & Son, Inc., 1959-64, vice chmn., dir., 1964-70; vice chmn., dir. Chubb Corp., 1967-70; dir. Fed. Ins. Co., 1948-70, v.p., 1956-59, exec. v.p., 1959-64, vice chmn., 1964-70; sr. v.p., dir. Vigilant Ins. Co., 1955-59, exec. v.p., dir., 1959-64, vice chmn., dir., 1964-70. Asst. gen. counsel War Shipping Adminstrn., 1942-45. Mem. Am. Bar Assn. (chmn. admiralty law sec. 1953-55), Maritime Law Assn. (v.p. 1947-49, 60-62), Am. Inst. Marine Underwriters (pres. dir. 1965-67), Ins. Soc. N.Y., Bd. Underwriters N.Y. (pres. dir. 1965-67), Assn. Average Adjusters U.S., Assn. Marine Underwriters U.S. (pres. dir. 1965-67), Assn. Bar City N.Y., Assn. Average Adjusters U.S., State Bar Cal. Club: University (N.Y.C.). Home: 3 E 77th St New York City NY 10021

STEVENS, DAVID LLOYD, educator: b. Escondido, Cal., June 10, 1910; s. Lloyd A. and Nellie (Baldrige) S.; A.B., U. Cal. at Berkeley, 1933, M.A., 1935; Ph.D., Columbia, 1941; m. Joan Thersun, Sept. 4, 1937; children—John F.L., Instra. English, Cal. Inst. Tech., 1937-39, U. Wis., 1939-40, Wayne State U., 1940-41, U. Cal. at Berkeley, 1941-43; coordinator, then chief regional analyst, controlled materials compliance WPB, 1943-47; successively asso. prof. prof. Western Res. U., 1947-63, coordinator grad. Studies English, 1956-63; prof. English, Hunter Coll. of City U. N.Y., 1963—, chmn. dept., 1967—. Mem. Modern Lang. Assn., Malone Soc., Renaissance Soc. Am., Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Sigma. Author: The Love Game Comedy, 2d edit., 1966; The Achievement of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, 1967; The Elizabethan Age, 1967; also articles. Editor: (with Herbert Gold) Stories of Modern America, 1961; (Shakespeare) Much Ado About Nothing, 1964. Home: Puddlers' Lane Falls Village Ct 06031 also 40 E 68th St New York City NY 10021 Office: 695 Park Av New York City NY 10021

STEVENS, DEAN T., bishop: b. Pottsville, Pa., Aug. 16, 1915; s. Paul Arthur and Martha (Taylor) S.; B.A., Lehigh U., 1937, M.A., 1949, D.D. (hon.), 1969; S.T.B., Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y.C., 1940, S.T.D., 1962; m. Doris Quier, July 5, 1942; children—James Stevenson, Frederic G., Ruth M. Ordained priest Episcopal Ch.; curate Cathedral Ch. of Nativity, Bethlehem, Pa., 1940-42; dean Leonard Hall, Bethlehem, 1946-57; archdeacon of Bethlehem, 1957-66; bishop of Harrisburg, Pa., 1966—. Trustee Lehigh U., Gen. Theol. Sem. Served as chaplain AUS, 1942-46. Decorated Bronze Star. Recipient Sports Illustrated award, 1962. Mem. Lehigh U. Alumni Assn. (pres. 1968-69). V.F.W. Home: 944 Indiana Av Almoynie PA 17043 Office: 221 N Front St Harrisburg PA 17101

STEVENS, ELMER CLARK, educator: b. Pine City, Wash., Aug. 20, 1915; s. Fred James and Lottie (Crosley) S.; B.S., U. Md., 1937, Ph.D., U. Wis., 1942; m. Margaret E. Hammers, Sept. 1, 1939; children—Carol S. Pce, Craig Clark, James Price, Karen Sue Hedrick. Heuther, Jr. Richard C. Pce. Art. in print, editorial, etc. U. Wis.

and businessmen must be confident that when they expand their production they will have strong markets for their goods and a constant supply of fertilizers and other energy related products and at reasonable costs. America was built on the idea that we can do it. We don't need anybody else. They need us and we want to help them.

With respect to the continuing crisis in the Middle East, for some time now the focus of Soviet interest has been centered on radical regimes of Iraq and Syria. As the Soviet position in Egypt has deteriorated, Soviet efforts to foment instability and intransigence in Syria have quickened. The Soviets have been engaged in supporting a Syrian military build-up and a diplomatic demolition job. At this very moment there are over 2,000 Soviet military personnel in Syria, 500 of them operating a dense network of surface-to-air-missiles. Soviet diplomats have been urging Syria to continue its military operations and cultivating distrust of American diplomatic efforts aimed at a partial settlement. If Mr. Gromyko wishes to demonstrate that his government will cooperate in bringing about a disengagement, he might well begin by disengaging the Russian Army and Air Force from Israel's northern border.

For the long term, the shift of Soviet activity to Iraq, Syria, Aden, South Yemen and Somalia, combined with the reopening of the Suez Canal, poses a great and growing threat to Western interests in the Persian Gulf. Positioned in these countries, the Soviets will be able to bring pressure to bear against the moderate regime in Jordan as well as Saudi Arabia and the oil-producing states of the Gulf. The Soviet drive for primacy in the Gulf will mean increasing instability accompanied by the possibility that sources of petroleum vital to the West will become less and less secure. In my judgment, the demilitarization of the Suez Canal by limiting the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, could add substantially to the stability of that vital area. If the Soviets genuinely desire the sort of stability on which peace in the Middle East must be based, they will join in supporting a proposal to close the Canal to the warships of all great powers.

"... the Soviets will be able to bring pressure to bear against ... the oil-producing states of the Gulf."

by Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, III

United States Senator, Illinois, Democrat

From testimony presented on September 9, 1974, before the Federal Energy Administration in the course of regional hearings held in Chicago, Illinois.

"Oil will always be available for a price. It is available now in surplus—but the price is prohibitive."

IN DISCUSSING "energy independence" we ought first to agree on what it is. It matters little that the source of oil is Kuwait or the U. S. Balance of payments considerations are, of course, a factor, but so is the desirability of drawing down foreign sources of oil before depleting our own.

So, I suggest that by "independence," we mean an assured supply of energy for the nation at a reasonable cost. Oil will always be available for a price. It is available now in surplus—but the price is prohibitive.

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"... independence requires a sharing of research efforts to develop alternative sources of energy, an agreement to share energy itself..."

"The Government has left the Nation to the mercies of a handful of major oil producing corporations and countries."

The price is the key question, and the nation may still be importing 25 per cent of its oil 11 years from now. The price of oil has swung the major consuming nations' balance of payments into deficit, brought massive transfers of wealth from the consumers to the producers, burdened consumers with inflation and recession and raised the specter of famine and revolution throughout much of the world. Our primary concern must be the price of oil, only secondarily its source.

I suggest also that any effort to achieve "energy independence" recognize that the economic welfare of the United States is inseparable from that of its trading partners. They, too, must be assured an adequate supply of energy at a reasonable cost. To that extent independence requires a sharing of research efforts to develop alternative sources of energy, an agreement to share energy itself in order to strengthen the bargaining position of the consumers, joint bargaining with the producers and agreed sanctions, if necessary, to counteract arbitrary and oppressive actions by producers which seriously restrict access to oil.

Other consuming nations are moving to relieve themselves of dependence on the international oil cartel. The United States, which geophysically is among the most fortunate, lags behind in many respects.

Our Government is either incapable of learning from its mistakes or incapable of standing up to the Nation's most powerful industry. Spokesmen for both talk about free enterprise where little exists. They confidently predict falling world oil prices, and production falls instead. Prices and oil company profits rise. Whether it is the oil depletion allowance, the route for an Alaskan pipeline, import quotas, an oil allocation program or oil price controls, the Government submits to the demands of the major oil companies.

Now foreign producers indicate they must increase prices still further in order to offset the effect of inflation on the prices they pay for their imports. And so the wheel may take another turn. The oil companies go along with foreign price increases because they are helpless and have nothing to lose. Their costs are passed on. That is their right, but it is not the right of the Government to always go along, no matter what the consequences for the American consumer and the American and world economy.

The Government has left the Nation to the mercies of a handful of major oil producing corporations and countries. They control the price and supply of our most vital commodity—energy. Instead of acting to save the nation, the administration is reportedly advocating the decontrol of "old" oil prices as well as the deregulation of "new" gas and, to make matters worse, an additional ten cent gasoline tax increase. Oil and gas prices in the United States are linked to world market prices. If presently controlled oil and gas prices are permitted to rise to the stratospheric levels established by the international oil cartel, and then are increased further by a gasoline tax increase, the consequence will be more inflation and possibly an increase in the world market price with still another turn of the wheel to follow.

To achieve independence the government must first understand that what is good for Exxon and Kuwait is not good for the United States. At the threshold what is required is an act of emancipation, a firm declaration that the oil com-

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"Not since Theodore Roosevelt has the nation enjoyed leadership willing to take on the fuels trust. . ."

"It is time to reintroduce competition in the domestic energy market by creating a U.S. oil and gas corporation. . ."

panies will not make or administer energy policy in the United States. Project independence requires at the outset decision making that is independent of the international oil cartel. The purpose of that cartel is to increase price and profit by decreasing supply. Its purpose is, therefore, in direct conflict with the purpose of project independence. Not since Theodore Roosevelt has the nation enjoyed leadership willing to take on the fuels trust—now the nation's largest and most powerful and most pampered industry. Regrettably, I see little evidence of a determination in either the Congress or in the executive branch to proclaim by deed and word the nation's emancipation.

The keystone of an independent policy for energy independence must be fourfold:

- An increase in domestic energy production and standby capacity
- New supply alternatives, including a new kind of supplier,
- A new energy ethic which emphasizes conservation, and
- Effective two-way bargaining with the foreign producers.

With action along these lines, project independence can provide us with a choice of drawing down world energy resources before we draw down our own. The price and availability of foreign supplies will be more favorable if foreign suppliers know that at some point we can turn to our own.

Central to such a strategy is the question of who shall develop increased domestic oil and gas supplies and maintain the standby reserves. If that responsibility is put in the hands of the international companies, project independence will produce more dependence.

If major oil companies will not produce the shut-in natural gas from the public domain in the Gulf of Mexico, we should find a producer who will.

If the major oil companies are not driving a hard bargain with their Arab partners because they are weak and get a share of each price increase, there ought to be a bargainer who will.

And some agency ought to develop public oil and gas reserves and maintain them in a state of readiness. Probably more than one-half of the nation's oil and gas resources are owned by the public. A portion should be developed and maintained for the public.

It is time to create a new producing entity that puts the American public's energy interests first. It is time to inventory our oil and gas resources before more are leased out in our national forests for 50 cents an acre and for ten year lease terms with little or no appreciation of their value or whether the environmental price is worth paying. It is time also to reintroduce competition in the domestic energy market by creating a U. S. oil and gas corporation to develop publicly owned oil and gas for the public. A government oil and gas corporation would increase energy options by doing what the major oil companies are unwilling or unable to do:

Provide a full inventory of the nation's oil and gas energy resources on the public lands and off shore properties,

Develop standby, ready oil and gas reserves for emergencies,

Negotiate with foreign governments for the acquisition of production facilities and crude oil,

Produce in environmentally sound ways and sell crude oil to independent

(Continued on page 220)

"An industrialized nation's energy supply is too important to be left to the whims of a few major companies and foreign producing governments."

"... increasing efforts to move coal mining and conversion research forward should be a major component of project independence."

refiners, maintaining competition at the refining level and a reasonable crude oil price, and

Provide a detailed, reliable accounting of the cost of developing and producing public oil and gas resources.

The goal of the Government Oil and Gas Corporation is the same as Project Independence—to break the stranglehold of those who control energy prices and supplies and are driving the world's economy to the brink of ruin. An industrialized nation's energy supply is too important to be left to the whims of a few major companies and foreign producing governments.

Among all the industrialized nations of the world, ours is the only one without a government oil and gas corporation either planned or in operation. They are not all wrong—and if they can do it successfully—so can we.

Increased natural gas supplies must also be a major goal of Project Independence. Unlike oil, we face immediate and real natural gas shortages. Because of a twenty year legislative deadlock between producers and consumers of natural gas over reform of the natural gas regulatory system, natural gas prices in recent years have not provided the necessary incentives for increased supplies.

In addition to broadening our energy options through the creation of a public oil and gas supplier and added incentives for the production of natural gas, we must also redouble our efforts to develop alternative energy sources.

Over 2½ years ago I warned of an approaching energy crisis and pleaded with the administration to double Federal funds for developing environmentally sound uses of our most abundant and under-utilized fuel, coal. In 1972, the administration greeted my proposal with almost as much enthusiasm as my proposal for an oil and gas corporation. This year the administration finally acknowledged the need to double and then quadruple funds for coal research.

Coal makes up 94 percent of all our primary energy resources. It provides only about 17 per cent of all our consumed energy. Whether it be liquefaction, gasification or improved mining techniques, increasing efforts to move the Nation's coal mining and conversion research forward should be a major component of project independence.

Another widely discussed energy alternative is nuclear power. It presents great promise as well as great problems. There are nuclear safety questions which must be answered before we realize the full potential of nuclear power. Of particular concern to me has been the threat to world peace and stability posed by the potential use of nuclear materials for non-peaceful purposes.

In addition to coal and nuclear energy, the U. S. should develop other energy sources including solar, geothermal and oil shale.

Major oil companies will not make massive investments in coal liquefaction plants if those plants will decrease their petroleum profits. The major oil companies already own at least 20 per cent of all the Nation's known coal reserves and 80 per cent of its uranium reserves. They control the production, refining, distribution and marketing of oil and gas. It would be imprudent in the extreme to permit the same companies—the largest of which are effectively controlled by foreign governments—to dominate all the Nation's energy sources.

(Continued on page 222)

In the intermediate term, conservation can do more than anything else to accelerate energy independence.

By 1980 cost efficient energy conservation measures could save approximately eight million barrels of oil per day. By 1985, the savings could be 13 million barrels per day. That is a 17 per cent and 23 per cent savings, respectively, from estimated demand.

Through a reordering of investment priorities—a shift in capital from energy to insulation, from refinery construction to more efficient automobiles—we can actually improve our quality of life by reducing energy consumption.

By 1980, government and industry will invest tens of billions of dollars on research and development aimed at increasing energy supplies through increased exploration and new and improved technologies. None of these efforts will come close to producing the equivalent of eight million barrels of oil per day by 1980, or 13 million barrels per day by 1985.

At least through the mid-1980's, energy conservation will be our major tool in moving toward the goals of project independence. Yet, in FY 74, energy conservation received only one per cent of all the federal dollars earmarked for energy research and development. In FY 75, that figure will leap to two per cent. The promise of energy conservation is too great, and the unanswered questions too numerous, to relegate energy conservation to a backseat role in national energy efforts.

A new public oil and gas supplier, development of alternative energy sources, and a new commitment to energy conservation should all be cornerstones of project independence. I suggest also an effort to bargain effectively with the foreign producers. That effort requires more than a government corporation to represent the public interest. It also requires a government and all its agencies armed with the economic weapons that are ours. If foreign governments restrict access to essential supplies either through embargoes or prohibitive prices, the U. S. should be prepared, after exhausting efforts at the bargaining table, to retaliate.

So far, the major consuming countries have bowed abjectly to the east, paid the price and sowed the seeds of their destruction. This abject surrender to economic blackmail will encourage more of the same from producers of bauxite to producers of bananas—unless it is stopped. To stop it requires action in concert by the major consuming nations, none of which is more powerful, or less dependent on oil imports, than the U. S. The power of the U. S. is economic. It consists of food and technology. And it is a power essentially unused.

The U. S. should use its power to bargain for access to foreign supplies in return for access to our own supplies. For the President to bargain, hopefully in concert with other nations, and, if necessary, to retaliate, he must have authority to control exports.

With economic muscle, a Federal oil and gas corporation, standby oil and gas reserves, alternate energy supplies and a new conservation ethic, we can assert independence of the major oil companies and OPEC, restoring competition to both the domestic and international energy markets. The alternative is economic disaster, and we move closer to the brink each day.

It is time we faced up to the international oil cartel, and declared "independence." No more wishful thinking, just tough action based on hard realities.

"In the interim, conservation can do more than anything else to accelerate energy independence."

"It is time we face up to the international oil cartel, and declared 'independence.'"

IN THE LIFE OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON, 3rd

What's in a famous name? Taking his first plunge into political waters, the thirty-four-year-old son and namesake of one of the country's most celebrated statesmen is now discovering that his memorable moniker is a two-edged sword • by Thomas Meehan

One sizzling Chicago afternoon not long ago, a 1964 Chevrolet station wagon stopped for a light at a midtown intersection, and the driver, a balding, bespectacled young man in a black Brooks Brothers suit, turned crimson with embarrassment and sank down in his seat as passersby stared at him. The reason for the stares was that the station wagon was gaudily lettered in Halloween black and orange with the words: "Adlai E. Stevenson, 3rd, for General Assembly. Vote Democratic."

The driver sank even lower in his seat when he overheard a local hipster ask a friend, "Stevenson? Man, is that cat running again?"

The driver was the oldest of the three sons of UN Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, 2nd, the Democratic candidate for President in 1952 and 1956, who is most certainly not running again. And as the station wagon pulled away, Adlai E. Stevenson, 3rd, shook his head in dismay at finding himself once again—on his first dive into the political swim—confused with his famous father.

Having pulled the station wagon into a garage, the sturdy, six-foot-tall, thirty-four-year-old lawyer, who is, like his father, both aristocratically handsome and impressively intellectual-looking, hurried into the old Continental Illinois Bank Building, where, in a cubbyhole office not much larger than a freight elevator, he works as a junior attorney in the huge Chicago law firm of Mayer, Friedlich, Spiess, Tierney, Brown, and Platt.

Arriving in his tiny office, Stevenson made a couple of brief business calls, leafed quickly through several important-looking documents, leaned back in his swivel chair, and said: "Being the son of a man as well known as my dad has its drawbacks as well as its advantages." After lighting an inexpensive Optimo Corona cigar, he went on: "A lot of people have said that I was nominated to run for the State Legislature only because of my name, and I think that's just plain unfair. I've been active in Illinois politics since nineteen forty-eight, when my father ran for governor here, and ever since I started practicing law, in nineteen fifty-eight, I've been involved in all sorts of political and civic affairs. I feel that I'm as qualified as any of the candidates running, and perhaps even more qualified than some, especially those damned Republicans."

Hurrying out of his office at 6:45, Stevenson picked up his station wagon and drove home to his old twelve-room house at 1519 North Dearborn Street, on Chicago's Near North Side. In summer, Stevenson and his family migrate to Ambassador Stevenson's seventy-two-acre farm at Libertyville, about thirty-five miles northwest of Chicago. Enconced there were the candidate's wife, Nancy, a slim, pert, and extremely pretty young Kentuckian of twenty-nine, who has short darkish-blond hair and bright blue eyes; his four children (Adlai, seven; Lucy, five; Katie, four; Warwick, two);

Iowa farm girl, who makes up the Stevensons' entire household staff. This Friday evening, however, the Stevensons were attending a cocktail party in Chicago, so Nancy had driven in from the farm to meet her husband.

After spending two hours at the party, the Stevensons drove back to Libertyville. Nancy kept urging her reluctant husband to wave at other drivers and at people sitting on porches in the summer night. "You're in politics now, Ad," Nancy said enthusiastically, "and you've got to wave at the people." "I think I'll get a plastic mechanical arm to wave for me," Stevenson said. "Anyway, I'm establishing my first campaign rule right now—I'll wave at anyone who waves at me, but they've got to wave first."

"That's the trouble with Ad in politics—he's too darned shy and reserved," Nancy said.

Shortly after 10:00 P.M., Stevenson drove up to a handsome, modern, two-story white clapboard house. Two pajama-clad boys—who turned out to be seven-year-old Adlai and his friend Zeke Fairbanks—came whooping out of the shadows. "Hey, Addie, look," said Zeke, who was spending the night with little Adlai in a pup tent on the lawn, "your daddy's got your name written on the side of the car." "Oh, boy," Stevenson said, "now they're starting to confuse me with my son."

After inspecting the pup tent, the Stevensons checked with Cleta to see that the other three children were asleep, and then retired to a screened-in porch to sip beer and talk.

"This is going to be a tough campaign," Stevenson said. "Frankly, it could go either way for me. Since I'm running at large, I'll have to campaign throughout the state, so it's going to be almost as strenuous as running for governor or United States Senator. My dad would like to help me in the campaign, and I'd like to have his help, but unfortunately, since he's officially a member of the State Department, he's forbidden to engage in politics. And my two brothers, Borden and John Fell, aren't going to be able to help me, either. Borden is in real estate in New York, and John Fell is in real estate in San Francisco, and they're both too busy to give me a hand. To tell you the absolute truth, we're not terribly close. Anyway, since my mother is ill, the only family members who will campaign with me are Nancy and my cousin Tim Ivés."

One of the candidates running on the Republican slate against Stevenson, by the way, is Earl Eisenhower, the youngest of President Eisenhower's brothers, who, at the age of 66, has taken a leave of absence from his job to take his first fling at politics. Thus, an Eisenhower and a Stevenson are once again on opposite sides of a political race, although in this case they are not running against each other and might both end up winning. Young Stevenson hopes otherwise. "The Illinois General Assembly is a fairly big body of legislators,"

hold both a Stevenson and a

After Stevenson returned from the party with three more cans of beer, he asked Nancy whether to refer to himself as son, "Jr.," "III," or "3rd." "Wave at the people," Nancy said on the last, because it seemed less pretentious, and, anyway, it's a rate. But, believe me, the hours of conferences with car have I've always wondered what about in those smoke-filled rooms know—little questions that don't make a difference to the voters."

Soon after breakfast the next day, Dick Bentley, a lean, sandy-haired Chicago Law School student who volunteered to serve as Stevenson's campaign aide—i.e., chauffeur, general detail man—arrived at the party, with Nancy decked out in a blue blouse and a blue linen skirt. Stevenson himself in another of his black campaign trail for Metamora (population 1,800), where Stevenson gave his first campaign speech. The occasion was being celebrated in Metamora at the high point of the afternoon's events. It was to be a speech by Illinois's governor, which was to be preceded by a number of speeches, one of which was to be Stevenson's.

Oddly enough, it had been exactly one hundred years ago that Stevenson's famous great-grandfather gave his first political speech, when he was Illinois state attorney (Illinois, over, Abraham Lincoln practiced law here for twelve years and made his first political campaign here, like young Stevenson today, in the Illinois State Legislature).

Driving south, the Stevensons eagerly discussed another campaign policy—which song should be the official campaign song. Although they held out for "Everything's Coming to a Head" and another was partial to "The Final Decision" was for "Over," from a musical comedy.

"Wave, wave to the people," Nancy said. "Wave to her husband as they entered Metamora. "Not until I've waved first," said Stevenson, hiding his face behind the Chicago Sun-Times. "Wave at you," Nancy said.

Slowing down, the station wagon moved along the small town's tree-lined main street, under banners saying "Old Settlers Day—Jay-Cee Barbecue," and proceeded to the home of Bob and Evelyn Schneider, who were hosts to the visit.

hold both a Stevenson *and* an Eisenhower."

After Stevenson returned from the kitchen with three more cans of beer, he told the story of his biggest campaign decision to date—whether to refer to himself as Adlai E. Stevenson, "Jr.," "III," or "3rd." "We finally decided on the last, because it seemed to be the least pretentious, and, anyway, it's the most accurate. But, believe me, the decision took up hours of conferences with campaign advisers. I've always wondered what politicians talk about in those smoke-filled rooms, and now I know—little questions that don't make a bit of difference to the voters."

Soon after breakfast the next morning, Dick Bentley, a lean, sandy-haired University of Chicago Law School student, who had volunteered to serve as Stevenson's full-time campaign aide—i.e., chauffeur, messenger, and general detail man—arrived, and the Stevenson party, with Nancy decked out in a yellow blouse and a blue linen skirt and Stevenson himself in another of his black suits, hit the campaign trail for Metamora, Illinois (population 1,800), where Stevenson was to make his first campaign speech. Old Settlers Day was being celebrated in Metamora, and the high point of the afternoon's program was to be a speech by Illinois's governor, Otto Kerner, to be preceded by a number of other speeches, one of which was to be Stevenson's.

Oddly enough, it had been in Metamora, exactly one hundred years ago, that Stevenson's famous great-grandfather had made his first political speech, when he was running for Illinois state attorney. (He won.) Moreover, Abraham Lincoln practiced law in Metamora for twelve years and made speeches there during his first political campaign, when he, like young Stevenson today, was running for the Illinois State Legislature. (He lost.)

Driving south, the Stevensons and Bentley eagerly discussed another crucial bit of campaign policy—which song should be their official campaign song. Although one faction held out for "Everything's Coming Up Roses," and another was partial to "Hello, Adlai," the final decision was for "Hey, Look Me Over," from a musical comedy called *Wildcat*.

"Wave, wave to the people," Nancy said excitedly to her husband as the station wagon entered Metamora. "Not unless they wave at me first," said Stevenson, hiding behind a copy of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "But they *are* waving at you," Nancy said.

Slowing down, the station wagon moved along the small town's tree-lined main street, under banners saying "Old Settlers Day—Jay-Cee Barbecue," and proceeded to the home of Bob and Evelyn Schneider, who were hosts to the visiting / turn to page 82



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continued from page 80.

Democratic candidates. It was stunningly hot. Indeed, the temperature in downtown Metamora was 100 degrees, and half the population of central Illinois seemed to be crowded into the Schneiders' air-conditioned basement.

Stevenson found his cousin Tim Ives standing in a corner, juggling a plate of boiled ham and bean salad. A tall, handsome, gregarious man of 36, in a seersucker suit, Ives introduced Stevenson to the many Democratic county chairmen.

"Now, the important thing today is to get out and shake every hand you can find," Ives said to Stevenson, when he managed to get the candidate alone in a corner. "Just keep in mind what Senator Kefauver always said: 'If you want to get elected, you've got to get out there and press the flesh.'" "But I don't want to press any flesh," Stevenson said. "I just want to be elected and be a good legislator."

At 1:30 P.M., Evelyn Schneider announced that it was time to line up for the Old Settlers Day parade. The Stevensons drove to the parade's starting point. They were five cars behind Governor Kerner's open convertible and just in front of a float carrying Bonnie Bachman, Metamora's Miss Teen-Age Settler. "Every time we came around a corner, the crowd started waving and cheering," Nancy Stevenson told a friend after the parade, "but it always turned out that they were shouting for Bonnie Bachman."

At 2:48 P.M., the parade finished at the village green, an elm-shaded

acre stand to waver during diffident platform seat be nervous the cha a telegram, registered in Metamora and the son. The and their microphone simple, which he grandfather come Vice States, had in Metamora pleased to career in lasted previous two seconds longer than word "I a first speech "You know said, applauded be the state American p After the began the shaking. In smiling, cheering every h none other than "That's the got it," Nancy in the Metamora Church tolled our way."

STEVENSON

U.S. NEWS DEC 8 1964

pendent parties, without support from the Governor, who backed the Republican nominee.

There is speculation in some political quarters that Mr. Lindsay may seek to thwart Mr. Rockefeller's bid for a fourth term by supporting a Democrat—possibly Arthur Goldberg, former Supreme Court Justice. Mr. Goldberg's endorsement of Mr. Lindsay was one of the big boosts the mayor got in his campaign for re-election.

On ABC's "Issues and Answers" program on November 23, Mr. Rockefeller was asked if he believed that Mr. Lindsay might support Mr. Goldberg or another Democrat. The Governor replied:

"Well, he might. I hope he won't."

The Governor then was asked whether it would cost him his fourth term if Mr. Lindsay decided to oppose him. The reply: "Frankly, I don't think so."

Reason for running again. On the same program, Mr. Rockefeller was asked why he wanted another term. He said:

"Because I feel I can do more for this State, the people of this State, and from this position do more to help the nation in working out such problems as federal-State relations. . . .

"We sent 22 billion dollars from this State to Washington this year. We get back 1.8 billion. We cannot meet the problems of New York City—poverty, education—with this small return, 7 per cent in our case. Therefore, this is one of the major moments of evolution in American history if we are to solve the problems of poverty and need and deterioration of the core area of our cities."

Under Mr. Rockefeller's Governorship, New York—unlike California under the leadership of Governor Reagan—has seen an upsurge of State services in such fields as education, housing, employment training, health and welfare. This has resulted in an increase in the State budget, during his tenure, from 2.03 billion dollars to 6.4 billion. It has been necessary for the Governor to seek tax increases and to initiate a sales tax.

Cutbacks this year—in such areas as welfare assistance—have angered Democrats. But some "conservative" Republicans continue to assail Mr. Rockefeller as a "spender."

Tougher job for Rocky. Political observers generally agree that Mr. Rockefeller's road to re-election looks much rougher than Mr. Reagan's.

Reports have been heard that President Nixon might name Secretary of State William P. Rogers to the Supreme Court and replace him with Mr. Rockefeller.

But a Rockefeller spokesman said that the Governor's only political intention is to run for re-election.

Another Adlai in Big-Time Politics

The Stevenson name is back in national politics. Adlai E. Stevenson III, son of the man who was twice a presidential nominee, was endorsed by key Illinois Democrats as their choice for U.S. Senator.

It was Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley—recently a bitter foe of Mr. Stevenson's—who rammed the endorsement through the party's slate-making committee on November 25. Mr. Stevenson, who is State treasurer, accused Mr. Daley last year of running the State party "like a feudal structure." Political observers said that Mr. Daley acted on the endorsement to avert a split in the party.

Mr. Stevenson had intimated he would run in the senatorial primary even without official backing. His name is still rated as a powerful vote getter. His father was a popular Governor in Illinois, and his great-grandfather was Vice President under President Grover Cleveland.

In return for the endorsement, Mr. Stevenson, who is 39, pledged support of the Democratic ticket "from top to bottom." It is considered likely that "young Adlai" will be unopposed in



—Wide World Photo

Adlai E. Stevenson III, right, got Mayor Daley's backing for a Senate nomination.

the March 17 primary. The seat at stake is that of the late Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen. Mr. Stevenson's probable opponent in the election next November is Senator Ralph Smith, who was appointed to succeed Senator Dirksen.

(Split in both parties, page 19)

An Astronaut Joins the Rogers Team

Diplomatic talent demonstrated on a 22-country good-will tour has won for astronaut Michael Collins appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Announcement of the new job for the 39-year-old pilot of the Apollo 11 command module came from the Florida

White House the day after Thanksgiving. Colonel Collins has been in the space program for six years and had expressed a desire to leave it after the successful first moon landing.

The White House said he was recommended for his new job by Secretary of State William P. Rogers. The astronaut will resign his Air Force commission to take the \$38,000-a-year post at State.

Colonel Collins said that he hopes to see that protesters against the Vietnam war get the facts about it. Many of them now are "poorly equipped with the facts," he declared.

One other astronaut, Air Force Lt. Col. William Anders, 36, has quit the space program to take a high Government job. Colonel Anders has been a member of the Space Council since May.

Astronaut Frank Borman, assigned to research on space stations, also has been serving unofficially as a presidential adviser on space matters.

In another announcement, President Nixon said he would appoint William R. Ford, 35, a Negro, to head the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA).



Michael Collins: from outer space to Assistant Secretary of State.

image in 745
Neil Mehler

The '76 question: Will Adlai run?



Neil Mehler is The Tribune's political editor.

SEN. STEVENSON [D., Ill.] says he's "made my intention clear" regarding a possible 1976 Presidential bid.

But the state is full of people who don't think so.

The top Walker administration political brains, for example, think Stevenson is "running" and that he wouldn't mind being Sen. Henry Jackson's VP candidate. This would be a stepping stone to the top job for himself in four or eight years, they reason.

IT ISN'T that Stevenson is a top contender for national office now; it's just that no other Democratic leaders have caught on. This prompts people to cast about.

A number of Illinois Democrats have delayed offering assistance to other potential Presidential Democrats because they want to be certain that Adlai won't jump in at the last moment and want their help.

Sen. Birch Bayh [D., Ind.] is said to have approached some leading Chicago Democrats for help and been turned down because of the Adlai question. Ditto Rep. Morris Udall [D., Ariz.].

For the record, Stevenson told me this week he will make his final decision about a national race "as late as possible," but he has "no intention to seek" higher office.

Only if he is persuaded that no one else is emerging who has "viability and compatibility [with his own views]" would he jump in, he said.

But he added that he is getting "a great deal of pressure from a broad base of the party" to run for the nomination. [We've noted here previously that Stevenson associates say the senator doesn't want to be just Mayor Daley's candidate.]

Wouldn't it be interesting if William Singer, who was left twisting in the wind by Gov. Walker during the 1975 Chicago mayoral primary campaign, were to report that the city's schools need more state money? Walker named him to head a school budget probe.

Sweet justice for Billy

Barry Goldwater will be the speaker at the United Republican Fund

dinner Oct. 30 in the Pick-Congress Hotel.

The dinner should be a test of whether the U.R.F. can raise money now that the state Republican Central Committee has gone into competition with it.

The rival group has secured President Ford for its first big event, a \$125-a-plate dinner Sept. 30 in the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Persons close to the State Treasurer Alan Dixon say he is taking polls thruout the state to see whether he has a chance of beating Walker in the Democratic gubernatorial primary next year. The initial results are said to be encouraging. Particularly interesting is the fact that Walker "runs markedly poorer" in areas that have a university or college, places where he had strong support in 1972, we were told.

City Hall sources tell us they don't know what Mayor Daley is planning but they think the one driving ambition in his life is to return to the Democratic National Convention as a powerhouse. They deduce from that that he will not support Dixon in a challenge to Walker because a loss could cost him prestige at the convention.

They say the unsuccessful effort this spring to pass a new congressional map for Illinois was solely prompted by Daley's desire to strengthen his position at the convention.

SPEAKING OF Daley, he has never replied to our invitation to document what he said was biased reporting on his 1975 primary campaign. We sent registered letters to him and his aides and talked to them about giving Daley space in this column for a thoro airing of any gripes he might have about what I wrote about him during the campaign.

The Great Mentioner is at work again. After Labor Day, he wakes from a long sleep and says such things as: Michael Bakalis, former state school superintendent, is a top prospect to run for Congress in Du Page County against Republican incumbent John N. Erlenborn of Glen Ellyn, or some place on the state ticket, perhaps for comptroller.

Image missing
Tuesday - Nov. 25, 1975

politics

Stevenson strikes name from presidential roster

By Neil Mehler

Political editor

SEN. STEVENSON [D., Ill.] took himself out of consideration Monday as either a serious or a favorite son candidate for the presidency.

At a press conference in the Kluczynski Building, Stevenson said he would not seek the party nomination for either president or vice president. He said he would run as an "uncommitted" candidate for convention delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

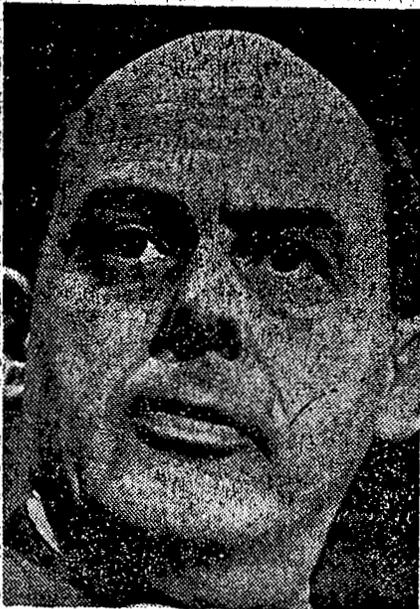
Jimmy [The Greek] Snyder has listed him as a 100-to-1 shot for the presidency, he said, adding that his announcement should increase the odds to 200 to 1. He did not rule out a convention draft, although he said it is unlikely and "difficult to conceive."

HE SAID THE vice presidency, for which he has been thought to be a candidate, is "an ambivalent position—because he's accountable to the President. I value my independence as a senator too much."

He said that his family was opposed to a presidential campaign—serious or otherwise—and that he considers the presidential primary system "demeaning."

Stevenson has told friends that the 30 primaries next year, including 14 with Oregon-type ballots requiring the name of almost every potential candidate to be listed, "do not help bring out the best in the candidates."

HE HAS SAID FOR months that he would not run as just a favorite son



Sen. Stevenson

from Illinois but would enter several primaries, if he entered any. Associates said he feared "being used" by Daley and the liberals as a front until they could see which candidates of the present administration were getting serious support.

Stevenson called Daley, State Party Chairman John Touhy, and other politicians to tell them of the decision. He told some persons he was grateful to Daley "for his unequivocal support."

Gov. Walker has pledged to oppose

Continued on page 11, col. 4

Adlai strikes name from presidential list

Continued from page one

delegate candidates backed by Daley, including any using Stevenson as their vehicle to get to the convention.

ON MARCH 16, Illinois will have two contests involving presidential politics: One is a preference primary a contender may enter to test his statewide popularity. The second is a series of elections for convention delegates in the 24 congressional districts.

The second is the more important and it was for this reason that Stevenson's name was wanted. By having delegates run with a commitment to Stevenson, Daley would be likely to win most of the delegates and hold them together until it was time to throw the Illinois vote to a candidate in return for political favors.

Such leading presidential contenders as Senators Henry Jackson [D., Wash.], Lloyd Bentsen [D., Tex.], Birch Bayh [D., Ind.], and former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia have all been holding their Illinois plans in abeyance, waiting for Stevenson to make a decision.

JACKSON, HERE Sunday for a political dinner, indicated he would seek delegates in all congressional districts except the seven in Chicago, if Stevenson did not run. Stevenson told Jackson that his plans had changed, indicating Jackson had been apprised of Stevenson's decision.

Touhy has suggested that the state Democratic Party run delegate slates committed to a candidate, rather than observe their usual practice of running "uncommitted" slates. Touhy indicated it would be easier to win with a committed slate.

With Stevenson out of the running, the

Illinois primary fourth in the nation, now becomes an almost obligatory contest for the presidential candidates. This is true not only because of the early date, when attention will be focused on the state, but because the state has 169 convention delegates.

STEVENSON SAID he believed he could have gone to the convention with more delegates than any candidate, a presumption based on polls and analyses stating that he would take all or most of the Illinois delegates.

He said he had talked to Daley Monday morning and the mayor was "disappointed but sympathetic." He said he would support Daley for convention delegate chairman if the mayor seeks the position.

None of the 10 Democratic contenders has emerged as a front runner that he could now back, he said. And he criticized the news media for superficial coverage of issues and campaigns.

ASKED WHETHER he could back Secretary of State Michael Howlett for governor, he said Howlett would make a fine governor. But he ducked a question on whether Howlett would make a better governor than Gov. Walker, with whom Stevenson has been spending verbally.

He said the state has millions of dollars available that could be used in the present fiscal crisis.

He refused to clarify his stand on Walker but said, "he could make a fine governor."

When asked whether the word "could" indicated that Walker had not so far made a fine governor, Stevenson ended the press conference.

Adlai recommends new commission to study state finance

By Neil Mehler

Political editor

SEN. STEVENSON [D., Ill.] has called for a state commission to look at Illinois' finances and the establishment of a board that could transfer earmarked state funds to the general state treasury for temporary use in an emergency.

Democratic sources said Tuesday Stevenson made these recommendations in a letter hand-delivered to Gov. Walker Monday night in Springfield.

Walker in a letter to Stevenson last week where he stood on the issue of additional money for public schools in Illinois.

Stevenson aides charged that Walker released the letter to the press before the senator received it.

PERSONS CLOSE TO Stevenson said they suspected the governor was trying to involve the senator in the controversial school-funding veto battle that is to resume next week in Springfield.

Stevenson and Walker are considered potential rivals as favorite son candidates for President next year, and Stevenson aides fear that Walker may be trying to hurt the senator by getting him into the school veto fray.

The letter to Walker reportedly said Stevenson's knowledge of the school-funding controversy stems solely from newspaper reports.

Stevenson associates said the senator has not looked into the matter fully but believes it would be unfair to put an additional school-funding burden on the real estate taxpayer.

He believes the problem of financing

public education should be solved at the state level, they said.

HIS PROPOSAL FOR a state commission to look at the financial picture includes a provision for the leadership of the legislature to approve the idea so that it will not appear that a Washington-based politician is meddling in state affairs.

In another political development, more than 3,500 persons, who paid \$100 each, attended a dinner for Democratic Secretary of State Michael J. Howlett in the Conrad Hilton Tuesday night. Howlett is being pressured by Mayor Daley and organization regulars to challenge Walker in the Democratic gubernatorial primary next year, but has so far refused.

Several Daley-organization leaders present told a reporter they don't think Howlett will be able to say no to the mayor forever. They said Howlett has a war chest in excess of what he needs to run for secretary of state again.

Ushers passed out political buttons bearing only the word "Howlett" and no office on them, leading some persons to speculate that Howlett could be the gubernatorial candidate.

Appeals Court affirms Rauhoff sentence

The United States Court of Appeals Tuesday affirmed the conviction and three-year prison sentence of Talmadge Rauhoff, 54, millionaire Chicago contractor.

A federal court jury convicted Rauhoff last January of 21 counts of bribery, conspiracy, mail fraud, and preparing a false corporate tax return.

STEVENS

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Ben

Illinois Aide to Oppose Stevenson

Special to The Washington Post

CHICAGO, Dec. 6—Former Illinois State Rep. George M. Burditt, of suburban LaGrange, today announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate, ending a long search by the Republicans to find a viable opponent for incumbent Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson III. Burditt, whose announcement immediately attracted

the support of all top Illinois Republicans—and reportedly some hefty commitments too—said he would not take responsibility for Watergate. Nor would he take a stand on whether President Nixon should be impeached or resign.

“I wasn’t in Washington at the time of Watergate, there-

fore I cannot be held responsible for it, though I obviously abhor the illegal acts in the scandal.

“I feel it would be inappropriate to express opinion on President Nixon’s future since I am aspiring to become a member of the body that may some day have to impartially judge him,” Burditt declared.

Ben

Stevenson gets Republican 'boost'

Illinois Democrat to face virtual unknown in Senate race; presidential hopes rise

By Richard I. Stone
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
The 1976 presidential hopes of Sen. Paul E. Stevenson II of Illinois have been given a boost from an unexpected quarter — the Illinois Republican Party.

The party has slated to run against Senator Stevenson — the most well established name in the state — a relative unknown: George M. Burditt, Chicago attorney who served in the Illinois General Assembly from 1965 to 1972. Some Republican leaders are doubtful Mr. Burditt's statewide anonymity may well drag the entire ticket to defeat.

Mr. Burditt won the Republican nomination almost by default, after seven leading Republicans turned it down. They

were: former U.S. Attorney General Elliott L. Richardson, U.S. ambassador to NATO Donald Rumsfeld, Illinois Attorney General William Scott, Illinois House speaker Robert Blaire, former Illinois constitutional convention president Samuel Witwer, and U.S. Reps. John B. Anderson and Phillip M. Crane.

Why they declined

Each reportedly had entertained the idea of challenging Senator Stevenson, only to give up after studying the post-Watergate polls. They also determined that the kind of money needed to mount a successful senatorial campaign would be as difficult to find.

Mr. Burditt will not be able to help the problem of financing, either. "I was asked the question of whether I would personally make the contribution of \$35,000, which I believe is the maximum a candidate can contribute," he said during an interview, "and my answer to that was an unequivocal 'no.'" Mr. Burditt is not independently wealthy, and next year he will have three children in college.

Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, is not terribly bothered by campaign financing. He is an incumbent. He is viewed favorably by members of Chicago's financial community. He has strong grassroots support from independent liberals. And he has the enthusiastic backing of the awesome democratic machine of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley.

Pragmatic respect

While little love is lost between the liberal Senator and Mr. Daley, the Mayor has a pragmatic respect for Mr. Stevenson's vote-drawing power on the ballot. Mr. Stevenson led the Democratic ballot in a landslide victory in 1970 when he was elected to fill the unexpired term of the late Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Mr. Daley was so impressed with the size of Mr. Stevenson's victory that he entered 1972 with a plan to include Adlai Stevenson on the Democratic national ticket.

The Mayor had planned to help mount a presidential "draft" of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts on the 1972 convention floor, and offer Senator Stevenson as a running mate to add geographical balance to

the ticket. But the plan failed to materialize when the Mayor's '69 convention seats were successfully challenged by a group of McGovern independents.

'Sold' on Stevenson

Mr. Daley is still "sold" on Mr. Stevenson. And political observers here believe the Senator may well once again lead all Democrats on the 1974 Illinois and local ballots. Mr. Stevenson is reportedly counting on exactly that to launch a presidential drive for 1976.

Mr. Stevenson has some factors working for him:

- A reputation for honesty and integrity.
- A strong image as a champion of the "little guy."
- A challenge by a relatively unknown Republican opponent.
- And, not least of all, his name.

Illinois Democrats, with one eye on the Watergate backwash and the other on Mr. Stevenson's broad coat-tails, are hoping to gain control of the Illinois General Assembly — a feat rarely accomplished in the state's history.

Still, Mr. Burditt believes he can defeat Mr. Stevenson. He believes today's voter cynicism is not restricted to working against Republicans.

GOP Lacks Foe for Stevenson

By Joel D. Weisman
Special to The Washington Post
CHICAGO—Illinois Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III has been unanimously reslated by the Democratic Party for re-election next year but Republicans can't find anyone of stature to oppose him.

Stevenson, whose father was governor of Illinois and a two-time presidential nominee, didn't lose any time in showing how he would use the Watergate scandal as an issue by labeling the latest tape erasures "evidence that the Nixon administration is either unbelievably corrupt or unbelievably incompetent."

However, Stevenson insisted he planned to run a "positive" campaign, rather than dwell on the Watergate issue. "The Nixon administration has written its own indictment and we don't have to belabor their sorry record."

Last week Republicans suffered a double dose of discouragement in their efforts to find a suitable opponent for the freshman Democratic senator. Both former Illinois Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, now U.S. ambassador to NATO, and Samuel Witter, president of the 1970 Illinois Constitutional Convention, officially notified party leaders they would not make the race against the popular Stevenson.

Earlier, Illinois Attorney General William J. Scott, who led the 1972 Illinois GOP ticket, and Rep. John Anderson, of Rockford, chairman of the House Republican Conference, declined party overtures to oppose Stevenson.

GOP State Chairman Don Adams, of Springfield, says he has asked several other candidates to consider running against Stevenson

"who really amassed a non-record in his first term," according to Adams. Adams previously failed in trying to engineer a draft of former U.S. Attorney General Elliot Richardson to oppose Stevenson.

All of the candidates that have thus far rejected offers to make the race cited probable difficulties in raising sufficient funds to wage a respectable campaign. Party leaders estimate at least \$1 million will have to be spent.

Sen

Hofheinz Is Elected Mayor of Houston

HOUSTON, Dec. 5 (AP) — Fred Hofheinz, 35, a wealthy liberal making his second try for the mayor's office, has won a 3,000-vote victory over a conservative city councilman, according to unofficial returns.

But Hofheinz' opponent, two-term councilman Dick Gottlieb, 49, refused to concede and indicated he may ask for a recount. Final totals from Tuesday's balloting showed Hofheinz with 123,635 votes, or 50.6 per cent, and Gottlieb with 120,608, or 49.4 per cent.

"I do not like to be in this position," Gottlieb, a former television announcer, said. "But as close as it is, I cannot possibly make a concession speech."

Hofheinz was defeated two years ago in a runoff with incumbent Mayor Louie Welch, who did not run this year.

★Senate Democrats urge tougher probe

Continued from Page 1

A special prosecutor "should be free" to report both to Mr. Richardson and Congress but he "should not be compelled to," he told reporters.

Senator Stevenson's colleague from Illinois, Republican Sen. Charles H. Percy, introduced and had passed a resolution calling for an independent prosecutor.

The Democratic resolution, Mr. Stevenson said, is far wider in scope and would give a prosecutor the tools he needs to conduct a "tough" investigation. At the time Mr. Percy introduced his resolution it offended the President by its timing and implied doubt of presidential intentions.

Senator Stevenson was, "all things equal," willing to have a Republican named special prosecutor. He did emphasize that if the public is not assured the investigation is freed of administration interference, or the potential of it, "our politics will be corrupted for many years."

Court could choose

Rather than have the executive branch or Congress select a prosecutor, there is the possibility of

having the Supreme Court pick the chief law enforcement agent, he said.

Pressure on Mr. Richardson, Mr. Stevenson forecast, will be applied at the confirmation hearings. He advocated close cooperation between a special prosecutor and the Ervin committee.

The Ervin committee hearings are scheduled to open May 17 and former White House legal counsel John W. Dean III will be subpoenaed. If necessary, Senator Ervin says, Mr. Dean will be granted limited immunity from prosecution so he will testify about other high White House aides, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman in particular.

Correspondents asked Mr. Stevenson what the impact of Watergate would be on future political campaigns. "I would think the issue would be one of trust," he replied.

Caution from Proxmire

Sounding a note of caution is Sen. William Proxmire (D) of Wisconsin. He said, "The present, runaway tendency to rush into headlines with disputed, unproven, secret charges

against the President is the press at its worst."

The President deserves to be believed, he said, "until there is proof that he lied."

The day before, a leading newspaper, the Washington Post, had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for public service for persistence in investigating Watergate, despite abuse from White House officials.

Senator Stevenson, in a somewhat similar vein, said, "I can't face up to the possibility of presidential involvement in crime . . . but we don't have to face up to it yet."

Senator Proxmire was among the 29 Democratic senators who co-signed a letter to Mr. Richardson on May 3 asking for a far greater authority for a special prosecutor than Mr. Richardson decreed in a statement on May 7.

Despite his insistence on the most thorough and independent probe possible, Senator Stevenson declined to say he favored holding up the confirmation of Mr. Richardson as attorney general until after Mr. Richardson toughens up his guidelines for an investigation.

Handwritten scribbles

Senate Democrats urge tougher probe

*Rejecting Richardson's Watergate approach,
Stevenson spells out independent powers*

By Courtney R. Sheldon
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Doubts multiply among Senate Democrats that Elliot Richardson's formula for a Watergate investigation will truly bring a fearless, independent probe.

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) of Illinois foresees corrosion of the country's politics for many years if "the Nixon administration insists on control of investigation of the Nixon administration."

The heat on President Nixon from Congress and the continued newspaper exposures is more intense than ever.

The presidential denials of involvement in the Watergate scandal and its cover-ups are criticized as incomplete.

A White House spokesman replied "no comment" when asked the President's reaction to a fresh allegation that he tried to prevent release — on grounds of national security — of information on the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Press conference pushed

Last week presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler said the President would hold a press conference "relatively soon." And Senator Stevenson told a breakfast group of reporters the President should convene one immediately.

What is most needed, he said, is a special prosecutor with far more power and resources than Mr. Rich-

ardson has indicated he would be given.

Senator Stevenson introduced a resolution on May 8 to give a special prosecutor power to convene and conduct proceedings before a special grand jury, to subpoena witnesses, and to seek in court grants of immunity from prosecution for witnesses.

"No matter the character and ability of the man, without the staff and the power to subpoena witnesses, to conduct proceedings before a grand jury, and grant immunity to witnesses like John Dean, the prosecutor would be independent in name only. Another deception would be practiced upon the public. The prosecutor would be like David without a sling, armed without so much as a pea shooter," the Senator said.

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Stevenson

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1975

Chicago Democrats Eye Stevenson as Favorite Son

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 29—Respected oracles within Mayor Richard J. Daley's Chicago organization are predicting that Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d will run as a favorite son in Illinois's Presidential primary next spring and gain almost all the state's 169 delegates on behalf of the Democratic machine. Unlike favorite-son gambits that have been mentioned in other states, the Illinois strategy has little to do with stopping Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, and even less. Perhaps, with nominating Senator Stevenson for the Presidency.

The purpose is to give the Daley Democrats as large and loyal a bloc of maneuverable delegates as possible. The particular logic of the Stevenson role is that it puts a relatively young and reformist face on the regulars' power play. And in the downstate districts and the independent-minded Chicago suburbs where uncommitted machine delegates might be vulnerable, Mr. Stevenson's personal popularity would be

counted on to pull the organization slate through—if not to rule out altogether a challenge by Gov. Dan Walker, the machine's rich rival.

"At the convention they'd be Daley's delegates, not Stevenson's, and Stevenson would know that. But what would he have to lose?" Says one voice of the venerable Cook County organization.

Meanwhile, the Daley Democrats are said to be preparing State Treasurer Alan Dixon to challenge Governor Walker's renomination in their party primary next year. James Thompson, the United States Attorney whose prosecutions cut a wide swath through the Daley machine, is going into private practice with the firm of Winston & Strawn, from which he will run for the Republican nomination for Governor.

Conservative Republicans are having a hard and increasingly acrimonious time deciding where the former Democrat John B. Connally of Texas fits into their plans. They will get another chance to look him over in Indianapolis this week when Mr. Connally follows former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California

to the convention rostrum of the Young Republicans, the most conservative group within the party's regular ranks.

In one faction of conservative militants the enthusiasm for Mr. Connally grows in proportion as the hope of a Reagan challenge to President Ford fades. Howard Phillips of the conservative caucus is proclaiming the Reagan threat "dead" and heralding Mr. Connally as "Reagan with guts." Richard Viguerie, the right-wing fund raiser, told television interviewers last week that he was in agreement with "65 per cent" of Mr. Connally's ideas—more than enough to like him.

John Lofton, on the contrary, a conservative columnist who despairs of President Ford and Mr. Reagan alike, proclaimed last week that Mr. Connally was "not our guy" either. Mr. Connally's proposal of a "national service program," a domestic draft of '18-year-olds for a year of compulsory work, is big government at its most frightening, said Mr. Lofton. He quoted Dr. Milton Friedman, the conservative University of Chicago economist,

as declaring the program "Adolf Hitler's youth movement" in modern dress and proof that Mr. Connally "lacks a real appreciation of the meaning of freedom."

The walking-the-state routine has become a familiar underdog gimmick in the five years since Senator Lawton Chiles campaigned the length of Florida by foot—from Pensacola to Miami and from obscurity to an upset victory. And now, Fred R. Harris, the former Senator from Oklahoma and "populist" candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, is getting ready to introduce an automated version of the same idea into national politics. With his wife LaDonna and one of their children, Mr. Harris will set out by camper from Lafayette Park here on July 30, hoping to reach Fresno, Calif. by Sept. 4. The trip will be tightly scheduled but full of fun, Mr. Harris said last week—full of political picnics and musical shows.

"It may be the last chance I'll have in the campaign to see places like Sheboygan [Wis.] and Council Bluffs [Iowa]," he said.

Reluctant Adlai heads for battle with Walker

By Michael Coakley

SHOULD HE decide to run for President, Sen. Stevenson [D., Ill.] will be headed toward an almost certain battle with Gov. Walker, a former ally who has vowed to challenge any Stevenson delegate slats put together by Mayor Daley.

This political fact of life is seen by friends of the senator as the last major hurdle to a Stevenson announcement of candidacy, which most of them expect to come within the next two weeks.

"There's nothing Adlai hates more than getting involved in party feuds back home," said one source close to the senator. "But this time it looks like it's inevitable."

IN ONE SENSE, Stevenson is not even a direct participant in the developing fight. His role will be more of a bystander caught in the usual cross-fire between Daley and Walker.

The governor, recognizing, that whomever the Daley organization slates to oppose him in the March 16 primary will be a formidable opponent, is trying to generate further interest in his own campaign by promoting anti-Daley candidates up and down the ballot.

The theory is that a host of contests for various state and local offices will keep the mayor's precinct captains so busy that they will not be able to devote full time to sinking Walker.

THE RACES for delegates to the Democratic National Convention, which will be decided in the primary, fall with-

in that scheme. And so, for a complex set of reasons, does Stevenson.

Walker's lieutenants had emphasized for several weeks that they saw the senator's planned presidential campaign as merely an effort by Daley to secure control of the entire Illinois delegation at the convention.

The action by the mayor's organization last Tuesday formally urging Stevenson to enter the race—a move which was tantamount to an endorsement—only strengthened suspicions in the Walker camp.

VICTOR DeGRAZIA, deputy to the governor, went so far as to charge publicly that "there's a deal all cut and dried" between Stevenson and Daley.

Norton Kay, the governor's press secretary, said the Walker camp now is beginning the process of seeking out candidates who would be willing to run for delegate against Stevenson slates.

"The issue is not who they [delegate candidates] support for President, but whether they are free and unbossed," said Kay. "In a lot of cases, the Stevenson delegates will be completely under Daley's control."

FOLLOWING THAT logic, Kay said, the governor could support uncommitted delegates, or delegates pledged to virtually any of the presidential candidates including Alabama Gov. George Wallace, should he decide to enter the race.

Question further about Wallace, Kay explained that a Wallace delegate would not have Walker's support automatically just because he was running against a



Sen. Stevenson

Stevenson delegate.

"But we won't rule out Wallace delegates," he added.

FOR HIS PART, Stevenson is sensitive to the charges that he may be running as a "Daley" puppet and has tried to assert his independence, pledging that he would not run as only a "factional" or "favorite son" candidate.

Under the national party rules, the senator would have to approve any delegate running under his banner.

This would allow Stevenson considerable leverage in negotiating with the mayor over slate selection. And the senator's supporters within the state's liberal independent movement have not been shy in urging him to use it.

JAMES WALL, the Democratic state central committeeman from Du Page County, called on Stevenson Wednesday to guarantee that the independents would be represented properly on Stevenson slates put together in all congressional districts where the independents have strength.

A forum—ideas, analysis, diverse opinion

Neil Mehler

Now Adlai's got presidential bug



Neil Mehler is The Tribune's political editor.

SEN. STEVENSON has a mild case of the presidential bug. Mild because the Illinois Democrat isn't about to gear up a campaign organization at this point.

But it's still a noticeable infection, as Chicago political writers observed this week in a private session with him in his office here.

We've noted in the past that he's under pressure to run in Illinois so the majority of the 169 convention delegates can be held in a bloc behind him. A unified bloc can bargain better than a delegation supporting a half-dozen or more Democratic hopefuls.

IF I CAN paraphrase and partially interpret his position, it is this: "I am better known around the country [because of the family name] than most of the Democratic hopefuls. I can carry a major industrial state [Illinois] and will have the backing of an effective political machine and its leader [Chicago's Mayor Daley], plus good liberal support.

"When you're full of great ideas and able to predict what the big issues are going to be, as I have done successfully, being a junior senator is restrictive.

"I could give a lot of people a run for their money — even tho I have no campaign and no treasury with which to mount a race.

"If I ran, I'd have as good a shot as anybody. Besides, getting a lot of national publicity never hurts for the future. Who knows, I could be picked for vice president next year — especially if I have my hands on a bloc of votes."

THE ILLINOIS business community, drooling over the success of labor and teachers in organizing political action units, has restructured its Illinois Political Action Committee [IPAC] and is looking for money and members.

IPAC, not to be confused with IPACE, the Illinois Education Association's awesome political unit, will be run by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, according to Lester Brann Jr., chamber president.

The group was started in 1971 but encountered problems and debts. Brann says the chamber will exercise greater control now. He admits that "we're a long way from constituting any threat to COPE." COPE is the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the source of campaign money and other aid for many liberal Democratic candidates.

"We need a counterbalancing force" [to the liberal political action groups], Brann contends. IPAC may endorse in state legislative races but probably will stay clear of statewide races, such as the gubernatorial nastiness.

Speaking of which, we asked Gov. Walker's press secretary whether the governor approves of the language used by his chief political adviser, Victor De Grazia, in describing State Treasurer Alan Dixon. The day Dixon said he would run against Walker for

the gubernatorial nomination. De Grazia said, "Satin Sheets" will be a formidable puppet.

[The reference is to the plain sheets Dixon purchased for his Springfield apartment, the rent for which is paid by the state.]

The first reply to our question was that the governor doesn't "gag" his associates and, "if Vic wants to speak his mind, he can. That came from Norton Kay, the press secretary.

But we persisted and asked that the governor be asked to reply directly to the question. He replied, "What's said is said."

Dixon associates say he won't get out of the race for governor for Lt. Gov. Neil Hartigan. Hartigan associates say their man didn't get as much



Sen. Stevenson: Under pressure

instantaneous enthusiastic support on his trial balloon for governor as he would have liked but he's still hot to make the race.

STATE COMPTROLLER George Lindberg has spent a lot of time and effort trying to attract attention by crying wolf about the state's finances. His intention was to position himself for a run for comptroller again or some state office. But this week the heavens opened and he got a chance to run for an Illinois Supreme Court seat from the suburban area.

His greatly overblown pronouncements about the financial situation have, thus, gone to waste. What good will all his stridency vis-a-vis Gov. Walker do him if he runs for a court seat?

State Sen. Harris W. Fawell [R., Naperville] should have a good chance to win that judicial seat, if he really wants it. Du Page County has been promised a Supreme Court spot for years; Fawell has as much right to the backing of the Du Page GOP apparatus as anyone, and certainly more than Lindberg, who hails from Crystal Lake, McHenry County.