Ada Louise Huxtable's warning to Syracuse: How to avoid creating a downtown 'wasteland'

By Sean Kirst, The Post-Standard

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Clinton Square in Syracuse, 1958, as Ada Louise Huxtable saw it a few years later - before the demolition of the Urban Renewal era. Courtesy Onondaga Historical Association

You can read Ada Louise Huxtable's critique of Syracuse from 1964, and a response from John R. Searles Jr. of the Metropolitan Development Association, at the conclusion of this column.

Theresa Rusho has always loved a piece about our city written by <u>Ada Louise Huxtable</u>, a piece that in Syracuse becomes Huxtable's epitaph. Rusho has cited it several times in a terrific blog called <u>Syracuse B-4</u>, which uses long-forgotten newspaper clippings — primarily from the decades after World War II — to nail down the moments and decisions that created Syracuse as we know it today.

The idea is that we only learn from our mistakes by confronting the way we made them. Huxtable, who died this month at 91, left us with a clear list. She was a pioneering architectural critic for The New York Times. Her insight and ferocity were enough to win international acclaim and a Pulitzer Prize.

Almost 50 years ago, Huxtable came to Syracuse to judge the progress of a federal program called Urban Renewal.

Her conclusion: "Ugly Cities and How They Grow," reprinted in The Post-Standard of March 28, 1964.

To Rusho, that appraisal remains critically important. After Huxtable's death, Rusho <u>used her blog to bring back the piece</u> from 1964. It was a timely reminder amid heated debates in Syracuse about good planning and the best way of sustaining our downtown.

"After I read (Huxtable's work), it was like: 'Whoa. What else do you need to say about what happened in Syracuse?" recalled Rusho, an Onondaga Hill native who now works for the Rhode Island School of Design. "She saw the potential, and the great architecture that we had, and she wasn't dismissive of great new buildings. But she knew we needed a cohesive vision that wasn't piecemeal."

For all her concerns, Huxtable found much to appreciate in Syracuse. She was excited about renowned architect I.M. Pei's vision for what would be the Everson Museum of Art. She called the old Syracuse Savings Bank a "Victorian Gothic masterpiece." She described the art deco Niagara Mohawk Building "as the most magnificent 'modernistic fruitcake' ... this observer has ever seen," a love affair that would continue: Years later, Huxtable would name the building, now used by National Grid, as one of the great deco landmarks in the nation.



The National Grid Building, formerly the Niagara Mohawk Building: The late Ada Louise Huxtable, renowned architectural critic, called it one of the great art deco buildings in the nation. David Lassman/The Post-Standard

Still, Huxtable prophesied that downtown Syracuse was bulldozing its way toward being "a dreary wasteland." She noted how Urban Renewal planners were all too ready to level precious landmarks. Huxtable liked Clinton Square, and she worried about the fate of the distinguished Third-Onondaga-County-Courthouse — a building that was soon to be demolished.

She was also dumbfounded at the way city leaders allowed a "flat, pusillanomous" <u>state office building</u> to go up alongside our beautiful and graceful <u>City Hall</u> on Washington Street.

"In cities like Syracuse," Huxtable wrote, "new and old coexist as bellicose, resentful strangers."

To Rusho, the value of the piece lies not only in what it says, but in its timing. Almost a half-century later, it is easy to remember Urban Renewal as a vague and irresistible force visited upon Syracuse by federal money. The truth is that some prominent voices did speak against it, usually to no avail.

And certainly, Huxtable gave voice to what many everyday Central New Yorkers were feeling.

Her take on Syracuse, Rusho writes, received a printed rebuttal from John R. Searles Jr., executive vice president of the old Metropolitan Development Association. He argued that preservation often made no sense: "Owners of obsolescent but historic property cannot be expected to let sentiment outweigh economic considerations for any substantial period of time," wrote Searles, a succinct description of the philosophy behind Urban Renewal.

In 1964, Huxtable warned Syracuse about the risk of "civic self-destruction." She praised <u>a book</u> — <u>newly published at that time</u> — that highlighted the importance of landmarks in Onondaga County, and she predicted civic policies "that reject the past and fail to deal in continuity ... will make a nightmare mix."

Today, many of us are expressing cautious optimism about a wave of downtown restoration. Rusho, for her part, implies that what really matters is who uses downtown once all the work is done. She wonders, for instance, how Huxtable would have felt about the transfer of the Centro bus station to Adams Street, which pushed a crowd of daily riders from the heart of downtown to its southern edge.

Huxtable, Rusho said, once wrote that architecture matters primarily as a celebration of the "collective spirit that we call society."

She saw that mesh as the only way to make a downtown work, which is exactly what so many graying Central New Yorkers remember about ... well, about Syracuse B-4.

<u>Sean Kirst</u> is a columnist with The Post-Standard

How to Save Our Heritage

Ugly Cities and How They Grow

IN THE WAKE OF PUBLICATION of the handsome book, "Architecture Worth Saving in Onondaga County," has come much discussion of an article published March 15 in The New York Times by its architectural editor, Ada Louise Huxtable, who reviewed the book and included some pithy comments on contemporary Syracuse architecture.

Entitled "Ugly Cities and How They Grow," Miss Huxtable's essay was illustrated with fine pictures of the old Onondaga County Courthouse on Clinton Square and the steeple of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. The story inspired a letter to the editor of The New York Times from John R. Searles, Jr., executive vice-president of the Metropolitan Development of Syracuse and Onondaga County, giving a different point of view on preservation of historic structures. Herewith is Miss Huxtable's article, followed by Mr. Searles' comment, both published in the interest of stimulating community thought on one of our vital problems — how to preserve the best of the past while we progress into the future.

The New York Times Reported: By ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE

THE CRISIS of our cities can be stated in very simple terms: They are becoming increasingly hideous. Underneath the ugliness and often causing it are many real ills brought on by overwhelming social and economic

war. The cities are sick and urban renewal is government-applied first aid. One suspects that the doctor's cures may be killing the patient. Visit almost any city in the United States and its most striking aspect is a bull-dozed wasteland in its heart. Out of the wasteland, more often than not, rises

changes and population pressures since the

another dreary wasteland of new construction. The story is the same for private redevelopment. Only one sure fact emerges—the new is replacing the old indiscriminately, as a kind of sanitary cure-all often without satisfactory rationale or results. All too frequently, good is replaced by bad.

THESE REMARKS could apply to almost any American city, since most share the same ills and cures, but they are prompted by a visit to Syracuse, N.Y., a community of approximately 216,000 afflicted with all of the symptoms of a city this size, at this particular

There is one important difference. A significant pilot report on the architecture of Syracuse and the surrounding county from the 18th century to circa 1910 has been prepared by the New York State Council on the Arts. Its purpose is to promote preservation and use of the city and county's best buildings and their incorporation into the redevelopment taking place.

"Architecture Worth Saving in Onondaga County" is a remarkably competent survey of buildings of architectural value and historical importance. A trend-setting study, it gives official recognition to architecture of quality as an art and as a necessity within the framework of urban growth and change.

IN SPITE of a general effect of spotty disorder, Syracuse is rich in good architecture of all periods. In addition to a range from great Greek Revival to high style High Victorian it has the most magnificent "modernistic" fruitcake that this observer has ever seen, in the Niagara Mohawk Power Building of the nineteen thirties. What is happening to all of it, however, is so typical, and so deplorable, that Syracuse can stand as a case history.

Clinton Square, the former downtown center from which business has now moved southward, is a well-scaled public space surrounded by fine vintage buildings. The Syracuse Savings Bank of 1876 by Joseph Lyman Silsbee, who later trained Frank Lloyd Wright in Chicago, is a Victorian Gothic masterpiece.

[Flanking it is a splendid Second Empire structure, the Gridley Building of 1867, and the third Onondaga County Courthouse of 1856, a landmark of high quality by Horatio White. Opposite is a competent Classic Revival post office of 1928. Each is a top example of its

Between them are more recent structures, dull beyond credulity, but still not destructive of the complex. The old buildings relate perfectly in size and scale to the square; they offer rich stylistic variety to the city. The rub, of course, is that most of them are obsolete.

THIS IS THE TRAGEDY and the problem of urban "progress." The Savings Bank exists by grace of a previous owner who prized it. The courthouse, which has had "temporary" government uses for 50 years, faces demolition with the removal of the adjoining Police Headquarters to a new building in Syracuse's chief urban renewal area, where a com-"bined civic and cultural center will rise.

This renewal scheme and its buildings are not being evaluated here. That would take another sarticle. Its ambitious concentration of cultural services may be questionable planning and an unrealistic burden for a small city, but it promises at least one structure of special interest—a striking museum by I. M. Pei.

There are no plans for preservation of ... the outstanding older structures on Clinton Square. Syracuse is wearing those peculiar renewal blinders that make it fail to see the ipossibility of the present conversion of a historic structure for a concert hall for example, rather than marking a nebulous future "x" in the new cultural center.

THE CITY WEARS BLINDERS in many ways. It fails to appreciate the superb cut granite mass and steeple of St. Paul's Church. It ignores the numbing object lesson of the contrast between its strong rusticated, 19thcentury Richardsonian City Hall and the flat, pusillanimous, 20th-century State office building next to it that wins some kind of booby prize for totally undistinguished design.

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In cities like Syracuse, new and old coexist as bellicose, resentful strangers. There is curious, Martian mixture of almost surrealist strangeness; Queen Anne gingerbread next to cantilevered steel.

The old waits grotesquely for the new to wascp it to destruction, and the all-important lesson of urban design is still unlearned. You don't wish the old city away; you work with its assets, allying them to the best new building for strengthening relationships for both.

At present, most urban renewal seems doomed to sterility. As long as its architects reject the past and fail to deal in continuity, what they produce will make a nightmare mix. Values will be lost instead of added. The Council's architectural study is the first sign of the civilized maturity that can save cities like Syracuse from self-destruction.

John Searles Replied:

To the Editor, The New York Times:

ADA LOUISE HUXTABLE'S article in the Sunday Times, March 15, 1964, properly attacks the current ugliness of American cities, but does not mention efforts to probe the cause and to find cures for the disease. In this she may give comfort to hand wringers and finger pointers who plead for historic preservation but hurt positive action programs which can actually preserve architectural assets and ally them "with the best new building."

Further, she may be unfair by implication to Syracuse which, although "in a state of spotty disorder" and thus typical of other cities, does have a vigorous citizen effort to save and restore its limited and scattered architectural treasures. This is one of the reasons for the preparation of the pilot study "Architecture Worth Saving in Onondaga County" by the New York State Council on the Arts.

Most cities, like Syracuse, are making the traumatic adjustment from the street car to the automobile; from the pretentious mansion to the apartment and ranch house and from an economically dominant downtown core to a collection of shopping and commercial centers dispersed through an urbanized area. Syracuse in the last generation has also had to accommodate itself to the transformation of the New York Central right-of-way and the Erie Canal (both cutting through the center of town) into traf-

TO MEET THESE CHANGES of the last 30 years, cities had no clear plans—and if they had plans—they had no legal powers to give effect to plans which might direct new construction and destruction toward more aesthetically pleasing results. The increase in automobile traffic and the loss of pedestrian traffic has had such a devastating effect on downtown property values that cities relying heavily for financial support on ad valorem real estate taxes have been understandably obsessed with the economic rather than the aesthetic effects of urban change.

How many cities can expect a Williamsburg treatment or have the opportunity to enjoy a Georgetown rehabilitation movement? Owners of obsolescent but historic property cannot be expected to let sentiment outweigh economic considerations for any substantial period of time. Children sell the family mansion when the land becomes more valuable as an apartment or office site than it could possibly be worth with the old house—heavily and expensive to maintain—undemolished.

The best current solution and indeed perhaps the only solution of general availability is urban renewal. The acquisition of obsolete blighted property and resale subject to conditions of preservation and architectural standards is making possible the retention of many fine old buildings. The use of renewal to study and preserve structures in the College Hill area in Providence is an outstanding

A number of architecturally significant structures in Southwest Washington which were surrounded by slums and inadequately maintained are being brought back to life through urban renewal. Wheat Row, built by Lawrence Washington, George's brother, the Washington, Lee and Barney Houses are being integrated in Architect Clothiel Woodward Smith's design for the Harbour Square apartments. The Law House to the north of N Street S.W. was required to be preserved in the Tiber Island Development. Both preservations were accomplished through urban

THE BEST OPPORTUNITY for Syracusans to save the Third Onondaga Court House is through urban renewal. There is no current apparent economic use and developers seeking the building as a parking lot gain support with offers of taxes for currently public property. They are held off only by a group led by Common Council Majority Leader Albert Orenstein, who has a considerable following in his efforts to solve a very difficult problem. Local citizen efforts saved the Weighlock Building on the old Erie Canal. The Syracuse' Savings Bank has made an "uneconomic" investment in the preservation of its local

A total downtown urban renewal plan now underway has among its objectives one of saving the best of the old architecture not only for sentiment or to blend, but also to influence and guide the design of new buildings. Syracuse would be vain to aspire to become a Paris or Vienna, but it is proud and becoming increasingly sensitive about its appearance,

We agree with Miss Huxtable's estimate of the significance of the Council on the Arts' excellent study, but disagree strongly that "most urban renewal seems doomed to sterility." Rather, cities which, like Syracuse, wish to use their excellent old buildings as the corner stones of reconstruction, will find urban renewal to be their best and perhaps only solution.

> JOHN R. SEARLES JR., Executive Vice President. Metropolitan Development Association of Syracuse and Onondaga County.

Trying to Make the Cake Fall Flat



The Morning's Mail.

Raps Coverage Of Rights Issues

To the Editor of The Post-Standard:

am concerned by this paper's coverage of local civil rights issues, especially the School Board's "Integration Plan." The board's plan for Fall enrollment is a necessary first step involving only a few bus loads of children; these plans hardly represent a full scale integration program with all of the dramatic changes that would ensue. By dwelling on the sensational, is this paper not only misinforming the public but perhaps also arousing unnecessary hard feelings and resistance?

Is this paper making a mockery of civil rights issues in other areas as well and what can such an attitude accomplish?

It is my opinion that Syrcuse civil rights groups are ably demonstrating the courage of their convictions: and they have their sights on some goals which are both necessary and realistic. Bannering the sensation and deriding their techniques will not hurt this progress but it can greatly increase conflict within the community and could cause unnècessary discord.

Fayetteville now has its own Civil Rights group entitled FIGORA (Fayetteville Interfaith Group on Racial Affairs). The concerns of this group are primarily local at the present time, but events in Syracuse concern us as individuals. Many of us work in Syracuse, shop in Syracuse, and go to Syracuse for entertainment.

Furthermore, what happens in Syracuse affects us because we are all part of a largercommunity. It is my hope that suburban residents will take a more active role as responsible citizens pressing for civil rights progress.

MRS. J. B. LIGHTSTONE. Fayetteville.

Accounting Sought

I am so glad you are informing your readers about the Leukemia Society. Any charity organization that can afford to hire paid canvassers and hire office space in a downtown office building with a staff of paid telephone operators should publicly and honestly say where the thousands of dollars they collect

from the people of Onondaga

County and other communities are allocated. Also how much is honestly given for research. I understand over \$54,000 was collected last year. My neighbors and myself would like to know how this money was distributed and names of hospitals and laboratories which re-

ceived any of it. MRS. WALTER R. GROUP. 206 First North St. Syracuse.

Asks Retraction

To the Editor of The Post-Standard: Here is a copy of the letter sent to Mayor William

In today's issue (March 24) of The Post-Standard you are quoted as follows from your address before the Onondaga County Bar Association: . .. The disgrace of col-

lege professors, for instance, and of some clergy urging defiance of law and order, is in my judgment, indefensible." "Urging defiance of law and order" is a very grave charge, and if sustained by evidence, should be severely punished. I regard your statement as very unfortunate and irresponsible, and or which cannot be left unchailenged. May I respectfully request

that you name such persons and offer evidence for the charge you have made. In the absence of such substantiation, I believe that you should immediately and publicly retract this statement. I am asking the Onondaga County Bar Association to circulate this protest to its mem-BYRON FOX. 132 Cresline Drive,

Hail Rights Stand

To the Editor of The Post-Standard: This is a copy of a letter sent to Mayor Walsh.

Your recent statements on the racial situation here in Syracuse and its relation to our police force were most welcome. It is comforting to know that our public officials are becoming increasingly aware of this national attack on law enforcement that parades as participation and genuine interest in civil

Those who engage in and encourage civil disobedience seek only to destroy those civil rights they so loudly demand. Congratulations on a courageous stand.

JOHN, ANNE AND SUSAN POLLOCK. 345 Clairmonte Ave., Syracuse.

To the Editor of The Post-Standard: To Josephine M. Ryan SYRACUSE HIGH SCHOOL,

SECOND 1897. Requiescat in pace. Requiem aeternam Dona le, Domine, You classmate mine of long

When life was in its morning, No sorrow then or grief or Such evils we ascorning.

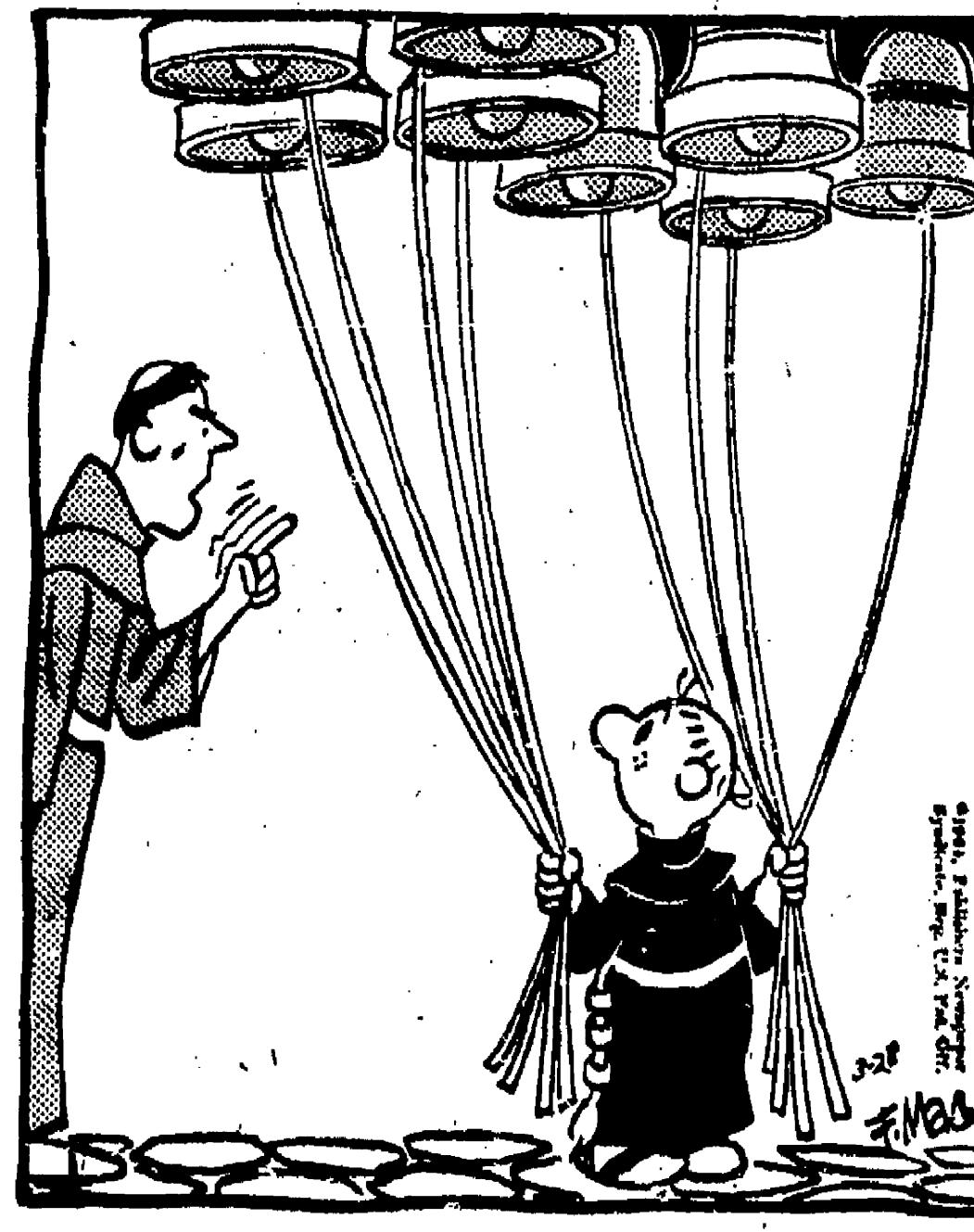
Though Fate has kept us both apart, Since study hours were ended, Yet often fondly through my thought of you was

throne on high, Your spirit keep, His angels

And guard you always midst In lasting peace, eternal rest, WILLIAM RYAN.

Syracuse High School, Second 1897.

BROTHER JUNIPER



"No more Cole Porter on the carillon!"

Victor Riesel

Johnson Woos Bloc of Unions

WASHINGTON-PUNDITS MAY DIFFER, but I believe the 1964 presidential campaign really began at 10:55 a.m., Tuesday, March

24, at the entrance of the Sheraton Park Hotel. That was a few moments after Lyndon Johnson's limousine swung into 🔯 the driveway.

There was an exceptionally large reception committee 🌉 made up of 19 influential men -all labor leaders. Eighteen 🖁 of them were heads of the 18 national unions which make up the powerful Building and Construction Trades Dept.

(AFL-CIO) and the other was Nei! Haggerty,

president of the department itself. Though there were some 2,000 second line officials waiting inside, the President did not rush to the grand ballroom. Instead, his old friend Neil Haggerty ceremoniously introduced him, one by one, to the assembled national union chiefs. As each one of the labor leaders stepped forward, a union cameraman took picture of him with the President.

FOR THESE UNION CHIEFS IT WAS A proud moment and each picture will soon appear on the front cover of the publications of each influential union. This means that each of the 3 million members of this bloc of unions, which represents the hard core of American labor, will have a copy in his home. There it surely will be interpreted by the members as an endorsement of the President by their own national union leaders.

Having been photographed with the "who's who" of men controlling the AFL-CIO's Executive Council, Mr. Johnson went with them into the big hall, where he slowly made his way to the speakers' dais, shaking hands and exchanging greetings all the way.

From the President's viewpoint all this was more subtle politicking than it appeared on the surface. There was an undertone of which many were unaware, but of which the President was not.

This is one bloc of unions which is opposed to Robert Kennedy. And they have not hesitated to say so for some time now. The construction organizations are the conservatives of American labor and have not been enthused over the attorney general's friendship and cooperation with such former CIO leaders as Walter Reuther and James Carey, who was

the CIO's secretary-treasurer when Reuther was its president.

IT IS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN BUT leaders of this construction group went to John Kennedy at the end of 1960 and argued against the proposed appointment of his brother as head of the Dept. of Justice. Bob Kennedy learned of this and it engendered no love for them. They were also opposed to the appointment of Arthur Goldberg as secretary of

The construction high command was further incensed when Joe Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was not named assistant secretary of defense for manpower. Keenan is one of the most popular men in this group. They believed they had a White House pledge for his appointment, but Defense Secretary Mc-Namara rejected him. This also angered AFL-CIO President George Meany, an old colleague and intimate friend of Keenan's, with whom he travels frequently.

So bitter was the reaction to this rejection that John Kennedy invited Keenan to a New York hotel room conference to explain it away and McNamara attempted to do the same by dropping into AFL-CIO national headquarters

RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, MANY IN THE construction unions blamed Bob Kennedy for their difficulties with the previous administration. Meany and John Kennedy, however, developed such fondness for each other that there soon developed what insiders described as a father-son relationship. But there was never a thaw in the coldness between Bob Kennedy and Meany, who comes out of a construction union, the plumbers.

This has political significance, because Meany will be the spokesman for labor's bloc at the Democratic National Convention next August, just as he was at the 1960 sessions. At that time some 200 union officials were delegates and alternates to the Los Angeles nominating sessions. There will be more this year.

Just as important as the convention votes which these men can cast during a possible fight for the vice presidential spot, is the campaign machinery they can swing into action. It is important to the Johnson ticket to whip up their enthusiasm. On this his camp is taking no chances.

whereby blind people were to operate the vend-

that the blind can now benefit from selling

magazines, candy, chewing gum and other

knick-knacks not only in government buildings

but in Federal parks. As a result some 4,000

blind people have been benefited who other-

the blind was near blindness himself. Ran-

dolph, now a Senator from West Virginia, has

been in the hospital undergoing surgery for a

from this ailment were about 80 per cent. To-

day, thanks to medical science, the chances

are much less. Sen. Randolph has been suc-

cessfully operated on by Dr. James Spencer

Dryden, a surgeon with a heart as well as

skilled hands, and will soon be back in the

You never know when you work at something

in your youth whether the problem you try to

solve for others will come back to affect

Sen. Randolph says: "The years roll on.

THE PUBLIC DIDN'T KNOW IT, BUT IT

This month the Congressional benefactor of

It used to be that the chances of blindness

That law has been enlarged since then so

ing stands inside Government buildings.

wise would be charity patients.

detached retina.

Drew Pearson

Johnson Passes Buck on Pardon

WASHINGTON-A CALL BY SPEAKER John McCormack at the White House was not officially listed on the President's schedule. However, it was rather im-

The gaunt, gray, kindly Speaker asked President Johnson to give a pardon to ex-Congressman Frank Boykin of Alabama, the man famous for his motto, "All is made for love," his grandiose parties of wild turkey and bear meat, and for his lobbying for friends, including savings and loan execu-

Pearson It was the last which got him into trouble with the Justice Department and brought about his conviction.

Boykin has been under a suspended sentence and Speaker McCormack urged the President, with the expiration of that sentence, to grant him a pardon.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON OBVIOUSLY WAS not unaware of the fact that Attorney General Bobby Kennedy had made the conviction of Frank Boykin a major issue in the Justice Department. Kennedy had even gone to Balti-

more to testify against him. Presumably the President also was not unaware of the sour glances cast in his direction by the Attorney General in the drive by the Kennedy clan to make Bobby President. At any rate, the President told the Speaker that if he, McCormack, would clear the matter

Speaker McCormack was most unhappy. He knew how little chance he had with his fellow Bostonian of getting a pardon approved

for "all is made for love" Frank Boykin. IT WAS 28 YEARS AGO THAT A YOUNG

Congressman from West Virginia, Jennings

was a transatlantic telephone call from President Johnson to Prime Minister Inonu of Turkey which stopped war between Greece and Turkey during the height of the Cyprus crisis. If war had broken out, all the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans would have become

involved,

LBJ, a tough fast-talker on the telephone. with Bobby, he, Lyndon, would grant the gave his most vigorous sales talk to the Turkish Premier; was supported by another phone call by Prime Minister Sir Douglas-Home of Britain.

War was averted. But the Cyprus dispute

Some observers compare the stagnated deadlock between Greeks and Turks to the stagnated filibuster over civil rights in the U.S. Randolph, introduced a little noticed bill Senate.

Congress Task

Reorganize Foreign Aid Program By MAJ. GEN. T. A. LANE, U.S.A., Ret.,

Military Analyst of The Post-Standard. WASHINGTON-THE CENTRAL ERROR foreign aid organization is placing the Agency for International Development in the

State Department. State has no competence to administer such a program and has serious 🎕 basic disabilities for the work.

It is important to recognize that the administration of foreign aid is a formidable task. Consider that the total construc-

tion program of the Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army for Army, Air Force and Space Agency and for civil works General Lane across the country is about two billion dollars annually.

For this work, the Army Engineers have a permanent and highly skilled organization which employs the powerful resources of the American construction industry. It should be apparent that a program spending more than three billion dollars annually in developing countries cannot be efficiently administered by an improvised organization of diplomats and inspired social workers.

The foreign aid program must be given administrative leadership of the highest quality. There is no good precedent for the work, so creative initiatives are required. Only when the work is properly organized and directed will it be possible to judge the performance of subordinate employes.

ADMINISTRATIVE FAILURE IS SECondary to and flows from intellectual failure. The foreign aid program has bogged down in platitudes about cheap security, avoiding war, supporting U.S. industry and protecting the poor from communism. None of these frequently claimed credits are important. They reflect the cliche-bound limits of bureaucratic policy making.

Diplomacy involves the administration of relations among or between sovereigns. The purpose is to promote good will and to create conditions (avorable to trade. Although some diplomats assigned to the A.I.D. have demonstrated noteworthy administrative capacity, they are the exceptions. Diplomatic training does not produce good administrators.

DIPLOMATIC TRAINING DOES PROduce solicitude for the good will of other powers. In reality, the foreign aid program has provided the State Department with a gigantic slush fund for diplomatic use. Existence of the fund under State Department control invites foreign pressures for dubious purposes. American taxpayers should be grateful to Rep. Otto E. Passman of Louisiana for his vigilance in exposing, condemning and curbing waste and inefficiency. However, basic improvement of the program will be possible only after it is removed from the State Department.

When the foreign aid program was transferred to the State Department, it was argued that aid must support U.S. foreign policy. This is true but it is not a good reason for placing the Agency in the State Dept. The same argument would support transfer of the Defense Dept. to the State Dept. because our military forces must support foreign policy.

SEN. WAYNE MORSE HAS SUGGESTED termination of the present program and the establishment of a new agency which would deal exclusively in project development. The agency would have no funds for currency stabilization nor for other political operations. Let the developing countries administer their own currency stabilization through the international organizations created for that purpose. Let the State Dept. seek from Congress political action funds which it can justify. Let the new agency foster development, project by project, as a prudent banker should.

The Morse proposal is the only constructive suggestion made in the 1963 debate for reorganization of foreign aid administration, Some such revision of organization and management is urgently needed. The presidential message of March 19, 1964, tells that the State Dept. has nothing constructive to propose. Congress must proceed on its own initiative. It can make a good start by removing the Agency for International Development from the State Department.