of the center around the neighborhood and in running a ceremonial open house. They did not want to share their authority or to include the poor in substantive policy-making decisions.

The health center is by no means the only poverty agency that has run into this difficulty. Apart from a handful of student activists organizing in the nation's ghettoes, few people have been able to make the jump from benevolence to respect in dealing with the poor. The result is that institutions beginning as efforts to mobilize the poor on their own behalf are constantly threatened with slipping back into an older style of charity, where "we" are trying to "do something" for "them." At the moment, the Spanish Americans on the advisory board seem to have been somewhat neutralized by a minor revolt of Negro representatives who do not share their militance. The present advisers, chiefly Negro women, are relatively passive, seemingly content to plan dinner parties and write letters of thanks to various benefactors, to stay in a subservient place and in the good graces of the professionals. The domination of the board by these elements leaves the center less connected with an important part of its constituency than it perhaps ought to be. The situation may be changed by neighborhood elections to a new poverty board to be held in August, but, if weak representation continues, one of the major bulwarks against turning the center back into something remote and alien from the neighborhood will be gone.

The future of the neighborhood health centers is uncertain. Their cost per patient at this stage is extremely high. (The center is being funded at over $1.5 million a year.) There is a question about OEO's priorities on a national basis. With increasingly limited funds at its disposal, how much should it spend on health? The question of priorities is also important locally, and is becoming an issue in the rising medical society opposition to the health center in Denver. The people in the Curtis Park–Arapahoe area now have access to good, convenient medical care; the rest of Denver's poor are still making the trip to Denver General. The exclusive servicing of a defined population is important for research purposes. It is also obviously inequitable and may even be inhumane. What is a sensible allocation of medical resources? Would it be more fair to use the money, as the medical society would like, to rehabilitate Denver General to provide slightly more satisfactory care for all the people? Or do the experimental aspects of the health center justify the inequalities it inevitably involves? Finally, there is a question of medical politics. The health centers have passed into existence almost unnoticed. Now everyone knows they are there, and pressures—not only from organized medicine, but from Washington health agencies less than eager for the competition—are certain to increase. At this stage the most that can be said for sure is that, while the pleasantness of the neighborhood health centers is now established, their practicality and permanence remain to be proved—ELINOR LANGER

Congress: Old Guard's Leader Is Beaten

Those who have been concerned with preserving historic objects which recall an earlier, simpler time might have done well, had it been technically feasible, to have had the Rules Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives designated a national monument. In the judgment of congressional liberals, the political values that prevailed in the Rules Committee of, say, the 86th Congress (1959–60), had more relevance to a predominantly rural 19th-century America than to the America of today.

This judgment, though perhaps extreme, is supported at least in part by the expressed views of Representative Howard W. ("Judge") Smith of Virginia, the committee's 83-year-old chairman and captain of the Old Guard conservatives of the House. In the last few years the Old Guard, besides suffering the normal attrition that accompanies advanced age, has found the change in the political environment debilitating.

In fact, in Virginia's Democratic primary of 12 July, Chairman Smith discovered that the extent of the changes in his home district had exceeded his ability, and no doubt his willingness, to adapt. Smith was narrowly defeated by a state legislator of little more than half his age, who had campaigned as a relatively liberal candidate. The challenger, George C. Rawlings, Jr., a Fredericksburg attorney, had attacked Smith as a reactionary and obstructionist.

Smith never has hesitated to admit that one of his principal roles in Congress has been to slow down the growth of big government and federal programs. He has used his power as Rules Committee chairman and his acumen as a conservative floor leader to kill or delay legislation that would have authorized the spending of literally billions of federal dollars.

Smith was one of the most important figures in the rearguard action against passage of a variety of aid-to-education measures. His tactics may have held up enactment of the first general school-aid bill by 5 years or more. When Smith has felt unable to block a bill that offended his sense of sound government, sometimes he has succeeded in reducing its size and scope. In 1962, for instance, he got Representative Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, to agree to reject the student scholarship provision in a Senate-passed higher education bill as the price for his cooperation. In this case, an impasse developed between the House and Senate, and no major higher education bill was passed by Congress until 1963.

The Rules Committee, of course, has often played a strategic role in the House because of its power to grant or withhold a "rule" permitting a bill

reported from a legislative committee to go to the House floor. This power to control the flow of legislation is now much diluted. The power Smith has exercised as the unofficial leader of the conservative southern Democrats also has suffered erosion. The once-potent southern Democrat-Republican "coalition" in the House has crumbled.

Smith, though shrewder and more resourceful than most, has been the archtype of the House member who comes to the House from a "safe" district, rises to a committee chairmanship by seniority, and, on occasion (if not frequently), exercises his power arbitrarily, though not always unwisely.

"I am a conservative and I have been scrambling and scratching around here for more than 30 years," he once remarked. "I have always found that when you are doing that, you grasp any snickersnee you can get hold of and fight the best way you can."

The late Speaker Sam Rayburn had felt for a time that he could obtain Smith's cooperation in advancing major bills supported by the Democratic leadership. Moreover, Smith had a value to the leadership in that he could be counted on to file away and forget those bills (such as extravagant veterans-benefit measures) which, though unwise, would be politically irresistible if they ever reached the floor. Also, he usually would use whatever bargaining power he possessed to keep pork-barrel bills from overflowing with projects of dubious justification.

In 1960 the accommodation between Smith and Rayburn broke down. Only 6 of the 12 members of the Rules Committee were loyal to Rayburn, which meant that Smith and Representative William M. Colmer of Mississippi and the four Republicans on the Committee could cause a deadlock anytime they chose. Passage of several major bills was blocked, including a general aid-to-education measure which, in different versions, had passed both the House and the Senate. The Rules Committee refused to authorize a House-Senate conference so that a common version might have been agreed to.

Rayburn, urged on by liberal Democrats, defeated Smith and the Southern Democrat-Republican coalition in a test of strength in early 1961. The House agreed, by a close vote, to a rules change which provided that the Rules Committee be enlarged (or "packed," as Smith charged) in order to give the leadership an 8 to 7 majority.

This majority was too slender to be always reliable, and, in early 1965, Speaker John McCormack got the House to adopt two rules changes that weakened the power of the Rules Committee to obstruct. As a result, a bill passed by the House and Senate can now be sent to conference by majority vote of the House even though it has been denied a rule. And in the case of a bill which has been before the Rules Committee for 21 days without being granted a rule, the Speaker can recognize the chairman (or other member) of the legislative committee which reported the measure and have it brought to a vote. The 21-day rule has been invoked a half-dozen times or so since its adoption. For example, it was used to bring the administration's big school-aid bill and the arts-and-humanities-foundation bill to the floor last year.

Some liberal Democrats are talking now of weakening the committee further by placing it under the thumb of the House Democratic caucus and the Speaker. If this were done, events would have moved almost full circle. In 1910 as part of the Progressive revolt against Speaker Joe Cannon, who was regarded by many as a tyrant, the committee was made relatively independent of the leadership. It was in the late 1930's, long before Smith became chairman, that the Rules Committee began to be used by a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans to obstruct legislation.

Perhaps the likeliest prospect when the new Congress convenes next January is that the leadership will be content to have one of its loyalists assigned to the committee as a replacement for Smith. The new chairman would be Representative Colmer. Colmer, who is 76, is no less conservative than Smith but he never has displayed Smith's shrewdness and legislative aplomb. He has been referred to as Smith's "spear carrier."

The changes which have been occurring in the House, of course, go far beyond the changes in the House rules. For example, two leading rural conservatives have died, and another has been pushed aside. Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, died in 1964, and Representative Clarence Brown of Ohio, ranking minority member on the Rules Committee—and close collaborator of Smith—died last August.

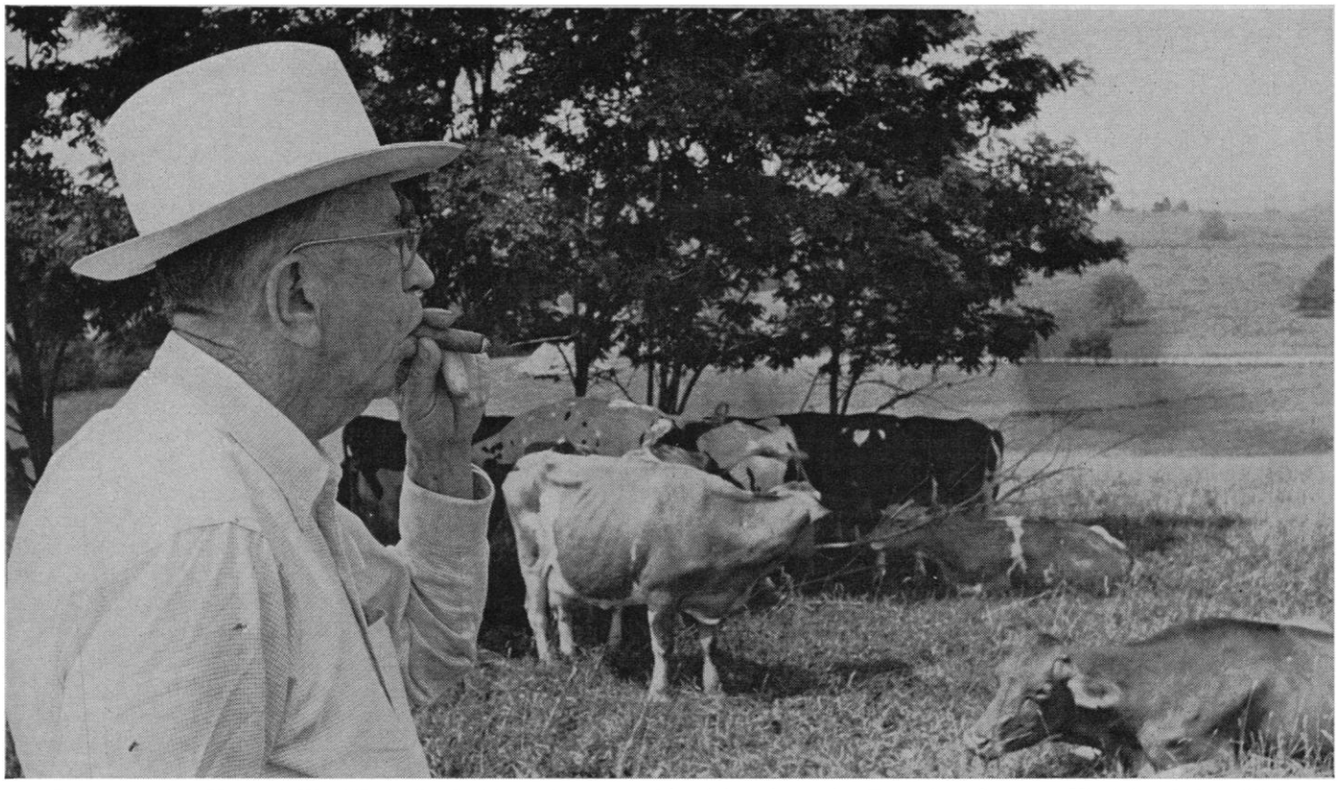
Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, another old Smith ally, was deposed as House minority leader after the Goldwater debacle in November 1964. Republican strength had been reduced to slightly less than a third of the total House membership. Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, taking advantage of restlessness in Republican ranks (particularly among the younger members), won the leadership position.

Ford has not commanded the voting strength—and some observers question his skill and sense of the issues—to oppose Democratic programs effectively. However, the coalition between House Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats had begun to falter well before the Republican losses in the 1964 election. The Republicans' support of the 1964 civil rights act had made relations with Smith and the Southerners awkward.

"Judge" Smith, so called because he was once a state circuit judge, represents a district that no longer is free of political complexities and dangerous crosscurrents. The changes that have occurred recently in his district are suggestive of changes that will be occurring increasingly in formerly rural congressional districts, especially in the South but to some extent in other areas also.

While time has not stood still in Smith's district, the dominant political attitudes still bore, until recently, more than a passing resemblance to those that prevailed in 1883, the year Smith was born at his family's ancestral home in Fauquier County, a country of green, rolling foothills. His family had been people of substance in antebellum times, owning slaves and extensive lands. The family emerged from the Civil War poor, but with much of its land holdings and all of its pride intact.

The Smiths, in common with other white families in the South, reveled in the new folklore of the Confederacy and of heroic, but vain, exploits against the Yankee and federal authority. More than a trace of the Old South mythology was still evident in Virginia's convulsive reaction in the 1950's to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decrees. Smith, like most other Virginia politicians, went along with "massive resistance"—the quixotic



Representative Howard W. ("Judge") Smith at home on his dairy farm in Fauquier County, Virginia. [Abourjilie]

plan favored by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., who retired from politics last year at the age of 78, to oppose desegregation even if it meant closing public schools.

The post-Reconstruction era into which Smith was born was a time of hardship, and an education was not easy for most youths to get. Smith's family respected education but, because of the war, had had little of it. He remembers his father as well-informed but self-taught. Smith speaks modestly of his own early schooling. At a hearing last year on a bill to provide for a study of national conversion to the metric system, he said: "I got my education in a one-room red school house. We took our degrees in the three R's. Just to make an honest confession, I don't know what the metric system is." However, Smith attended a military academy and later studied law at the University of Virginia.

Smith's attitudes on race relations, shaped long ago, grew out of the easy sense of superiority the white Southerners of his youth felt toward the newly freed slaves. He has recalled that as a boy he played with Negro children. "I never had any feeling about it," he said. "They were colored and I was white. When dinner time came, they went to the kitchen and I went to the dining room."

Self-sufficiency was one of the ideals on which Smith was reared and—despite the popularity of government farm subsidies—is an ideal which may still underlie much of the rural conservative sentiment that remains. "Family, that was the big thing in those days," Smith has said. "There was discipline. People were raised to do something useful as soon as they could walk. Some of that prevails in the country now among the old-fashioned people."

The "welfare" problem, as it is now understood, did not exist in the Virginia of the late 1800's. The idea of "medicare," of people paying a social security tax to build up a hospitalization fund, would have seemed strange.

"We didn't have hospitals, for anybody," Smith has recalled. "What we had then were a few doctors. They didn't have to spend the best part of their lives in medical school and residency training. They put what medicine they had in their saddle bag and rode night and day to the people who needed them. They didn't worry about how much money they were going to get. That has passed out of the picture."

Smith concedes that, under present conditions, it would be unwise to dismantle all modern welfare programs. But he contends that, since the beginning of the New Deal, such programs have been developing at a pace that has encouraged a whole generation to look to the government for their every necessity.

Traditionally, the electorate in Smith's district has been made up largely of rural and small town whites, most of whom have shared his political philosophy. But a ruling by the Virginia courts, applying the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" doctrine, resulted in well over 100,000 Washington suburbanites being placed in the district last year. Many of these suburbanites are civil service employees interested in higher pay and other benefits. An increase in Negro voting—partly the result of a constitutional amendment that abolished the poll tax in federal elections and made voting easier for all Virginians—introduced another new factor into district politics.

Rawlings would not have defeated Smith without the support of the new suburbanites and the Negro voters. These voting groups, one may assume, are more interested in getting practical solutions to their problems than they are in exhortations to hold high the banner of conservatism.

In certain respects Smith is, as a political type, much like Goldwater. Both are strongly ideological. In swearing fealty to the principle that the government that governs least, governs

best, Smith has seldom bothered to suggest solutions for such increasingly difficult problems as those in the fields of education, welfare, race relations, transportation, environmental pollution, and health care. Occasionally he has supported legislation in some of these fields—he even voted for the Social Security Act of 1935—but, generally, his voting record has been such as to gratify the Americans for Constitutional Action and other ideological scorekeepers on the right.

In the heat of his campaign Smith developed some surprising new interests, even helping to save a local "Headstart" project for white and Negro children from low-income homes. But such late-coming gestures hardly could offset the widespread impression of Smith as one who regards most federal spending projects as an outrageous boondoggle. Also, Smith had his age against him. Some of those who voted to retire him probably felt that an octogenarian belongs at home and not in public office, although Smith's ability as a parliamentary infighter has not declined noticeably enough for his opponents to stop treating him warily.

Smith, who has come to symbolize the Rules Committee and Old Guard conservatism in the House, has about him a kind of grandeur, such as that of an ancient redwood tree. To see this famous old giant come crashing down at the hands of a comparatively obscure challenger has been a poignant experience for his congressional allies and foes alike.—LUTHER J. CARTER

Announcements

American Ph.D's may be eligible to participate during the 1966–1967 academic year in **Science exchange programs** between the National Academy of Sciences and its counterparts in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, or in a similar program currently being negotiated with the Hungarian academy. (An exchange is underway with the Yugoslav academy, but is fully subscribed.) Requests will be considered for short visits of about a month for lectures and informal meetings and for stays of up to a year for conducting research. All participants will receive transportation and subsistence, and those on long visits will also receive allowances for dependents. Applicants may hold a degree in the physical, biological, or behavioral sciences, in mathematics, or engineering. Additional information and applications may be obtained fom the Office of the Foreign Secretary, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20418.

The Environmental Sciences Service Administration and the U.S. Navy have announced plans to conduct cloud-seeding experiments under **Project Stormfury** during the 3-month period tentatively scheduled to begin 1 August. Experiments will involve seeding the clouds near the eyes of hurricanes with large concentrations of silver iodide to convert the water to ice crystals; the hypothesis is that the latent heat released would cause a reduction in the maximum speed of the hurricane winds. Plans also call for testing the effects of seeding on the spiral rain bands characteristic of hurricane structure. Only hurricanes over the ocean and at least 36 hours travel time from populated areas will be used in the experiments. The project was begun in 1961 but so far only two hurricanes have been seeded: one that year, the other in 1963; the results were inconclusive.

University and College Associates was established recently in Washington to provide consulting and advisory services to its clients on federal aid programs of potential value to educational institutions. It will analyze the availability of federal funds—grants, loans, and contracts—and will obtain information on proposed federal programs relevant to the clients' planning and development needs. The group will also help its clients prepare and submit application forms for the various programs.

The organization, a subsidiary of the Governmental Affairs Institute, is headed by Edgar B. Cale, former vice chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh. Its headquarters are at 1726 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Scientists in the News

President Johnson recently appointed eight new members to the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science, and reappointed four. The new members whose terms will extend through December 1968 are:

Bryce L. Crawford, Jr., University of Minnesota

James C. Fletcher, president, University of Utah

Gardner Lindzey, University of Texas

Alvin M. Weinberg, director, Oak Ridge National Laboratory

Those to serve through December 1967 are:

R. H. Bing, University of Wisconsin

Melvin Calvin, University of California, Berkeley

Paul F. Chenea, Purdue University

Paul J. Kramer, Duke University

The reappointed members, who will serve through this year, are:

Herbert E. Carter, University of Illinois

J. Herbert Hollomon, Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology at the Commerce Department

Walsh McDermott, Cornell Medical School

Roger Revelle, Harvard University

Edward Joseph Shoben, Jr., will become director of the Commission on Academic Affairs of the American Council on Education, on 1 September. He had been director of the Center for Research and Training in Higher Education at the University of Cincinnati. Shoben will fill a vacancy created in 1965 when Lawrence E. Dennis joined the Ford Foundation.

The National Science Foundation has appointed **Robert Fleischer** deputy head of the Office of International Science Activities. He has been program director for solar-terrestrial research since 1962 and coordinator for U.S. participation in the International Year of the Quiet Sun.

Recent Deaths

Georg von Hevesy, 80; winner in 1943 of the Nobel prize in chemistry and in 1959 of the U.S. Atoms for Peace award. He had served on the faculties of the Universities of Budapest, Copenhagen, Freiburg, and Stockholm, and from 1930–1934 was Baker lecturer at Cornell; 5 July in Freiburg.

Israel S. Kleiner, 81; former dean and chairman of the department of biochemistry at New York Medical College; 10 June.

Roy Angus MacDiarmid, 32; professor and chairman of the department of geology at the New York State University College, Fredonia; 14 May.

Louise Sherwood McDowell, 89; professor emeritus of physics at Wellesley College, Massachusetts; 6 July.