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Walter E. Packard

LAND AND POWER DEVELOPMENT IN CALIFORNIA,
GREECE, AND LATIN AMERICA

With an introduction by

Alan Temko

Volume 2

An Interview Conducted by
Willa Klug Baum

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INTERIM WORK, 1930 - 1933

Soil Survey in the Upper San Joaquin Valley

Packard: We came back to California in the fall of 1929 at the very height of the stock market crash. I was deeply in debt because of the complete failure of the crop in Mexico. I had no job or prospects of a job and was told by the doctor that I would be blind in a year or so as a result of developing cataracts in both eyes. Clara was in college and Emmy Lou was finishing jr. high school and would be ready for college soon. The whole family was a guest of my brother John and his very understanding wife, Rose Marie. Clara dropped out of college for a year and worked as a stenographer in a law office in Los Angeles. For that year we lived in a little duplex house in a court in Pasadena where rents were cheap.

 I made two trips back to Mexico, riding day coach, to salvage what I could from my farming venture. On one of these trips I was paid \$800.00 for making a report on a power project, which helped out. I was very fortunate, however, in getting various consulting jobs for both public and private agencies which carried me through the period from 1930 to 1935 when I joined the Resettlement Administration. During that time I had a very successful operation

Packard: on one eye for cataract and later, made enough money to pay off several thousand dollars of debts, and, of course, kept Clara and Emmy Lou in college. Most of my jobs came through professors at the University who knew that I was available and needed work and recommended me when jobs came up.

The first assignment that I had was with the Bureau of Reclamation on the recommendation of Frank Adams, who was in charge of a study for the Bureau in the upper San Joaquin Valley. I was asked to review a reconnaissance soil survey in the area to be irrigated. I was on familiar ground because of my work on the Irrigation Census in the area in 1909 and also because Tulare County was one of the counties that was included in territory I supervised as Assistant State Leader of Farm Advisors. Furthermore, the soil survey work was similar to the work I had been doing in Mexico. I was paid \$10.00 per day for the first month and then raised to \$20.00. I felt at home again and began to regain a sense of security following the end of my Mexican experience.

Feasibility of the Central Valley Project

Packard: My next assignment was to make an economic analysis of the flow of benefits from the proposed Central Valley for the State Engineer. This job, like the preceding one,

Packard: came from Frank Adams whose loyalty to me after the Delhi experience was extremely heartening. Dave Morgan and I were asked to make independent studies. Dave followed a procedure comparable to that used by the State Board of Equalization. I attempted to go beyond that by showing the ramifications of economic interests flowing from the application of water to the land. Farm land values, of course, increased and so did land values in local and regional urban centers where every sort of business was stimulated by the increased primary production due to irrigation. Railroad business was materially increased, again directly due to irrigation. When all of these ramified benefits from irrigation were considered it was apparent that the project would benefit the state and could be paid for. As a result, my report was accepted as a basis for the economic justification of the Central Valley project so far as the State Engineer's office was concerned.

Study of Underground Water for P. G. & E.

Packard: My next assignment was with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. In this case it was Professor Etcheverry who recommended me. The job involved a study of the underground movement of water in the Mokelumne River Valley. The P.G.&E. was being sued for alleged damage to ground water level resulting from P.G.&E. storage of water for power development.

Packard: Professor Cyrus Tolman, a geologist from Stanford University, had made a study of conditions for the P.G.&E. but, for some reason which I did not understand, I was employed to review Dr. Tolman's report. My familiarity with the soil classifications in the state gave me a headstart. I found that the basin soils were a fine sandy loam with ready permeability, a fact which went directly against Dr. Tolman's conclusions, on which the whole theory of defense had been based by the P.G.&E. legal staff.

I made an oral, preliminary report to a group of P.G.&E. attorneys and engineers, including Dr. Cyrus Tolman, and recommended that the theory of defense be reversed, a recommendation which was accepted. This led to several months further study of conditions including a thorough study of ground water movements. At one time, after the flow in the river had been very low for some time due to storage, I measured the time required for the ground water to rise at different distances from the channel immediately following the release of water from storage. In making the soil studies I followed the practice we used in Mexico by digging holes at strategic places to permit a thorough study of the soil profile and the evidences of change in the ground water level. The work was inspected by representatives of the U.S. Department of Soils and at one time Dr. Tolman brought a class of Stanford students to see what was being done. I thoroughly enjoyed the work and became

Packard: quite well acquainted with the P.G.&E. office and field personnel, including Mr. Robert Gerdes who later became president of the company, who accompanied me on one of my field trips. Incidentally, I was paid \$25.00 per day for this work.

Baum: I guess I don't understand what the suit was about. The farmers thought their land was damaged by P.G.&E. action?

Packard: Yes. The farmers were suing the P.G.&E. for alleged damage due to the P.G.&E.'s control of the flow in the river. The case never came to trial so far as I know. At least I never had to appear in court.

Baum: Do you remember Mr. Gerdes? He was just a young attorney then.

Packard: Oh, yes. He was a young attorney and a very good one. My experiences gave me a very favorable impression of the P.G.&E. as an operating agency. I was a strong believer in public power at the time, as I have been ever since, but I saw no reason for not doing a technical job which had nothing to do with ideology. Some years later, I was offered another appointment with P.G.&E. which did involve the ideological issue but I did not take it for that reason.

Baum: What kind of a job would that have been?

Packard: Something in the nature of public relations which would have required me to promote private ownership of public utilities. Since I had always believed firmly that services which everyone must use should be run in the interests of

Packard: the consumer, not for the benefit of private stockholders, I was not about to make my living by promoting a principle in which I did not honestly believe--and in fact had opposed all my working life.

Feasibility of the Columbia River Basin Project

Packard: My next assignment was in connection with the first comprehensive study of the Columbia River development program. This came through Barry Dibble, an electrical engineer who had been working in Mexico when I was down there. He had been assigned to be in charge of the power study of the Grand Coulee Dam. I was employed as the economist by the Army Engineers to make an economic analysis of the whole Columbia Basin project to find out whether or not the project was feasible from an economic and agricultural standpoint. My office was with the Army Engineers in Seattle but I spent considerable time on the project since my assignment included making a judgment concerning the suitability of the soils.

I followed the same procedure that I followed in making the economic feasibility study of the Central Valley project but carried it out in much greater detail. I had the advantage of having an engineer assistant who was a mathematical genius. I could feed data to him as though he were an IBM machine. I prepared a diagram to illustrate the written report which together provided a rather clear

Packard: picture and appraisal of the flow of economic benefits growing out of the application of the water to the land. I submitted the whole report to Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver at Harvard under whom I had had a course in agricultural economics and received a very laudatory approval of the report and the method of analysis.

Baum: In other words, the way you put this together and what followed out as the flow of benefits was your own ideas?

Packard: Yes, it was.

Baum: They didn't give you certain material that you were supposed to find out and put into a report.

Packard: No. In addition, there was another Army Engineer office in Portland that had made economic analyses of a number of smaller projects lower down the river, generally involving pumping to high plateau areas. Although I had nothing to do with the preparation of those reports, they were all sent up to me in Seattle for my review. I went over them and in most cases I did not agree with the conclusions that were drawn. As a result a joint conference was held in Portland under the direction of the head of the Army engineers organization in the Northwest area. Although a categorical statement was made at the beginning of the hearing that all of the projects that were proposed by the Portland office would be considered economically justified; when we got through I think nearly half of them were thrown out.

Packard: This whole experience was a very pleasant and profitable one for me. I not only got back into the sagebrush country which I had learned to love as a result of my early job as rodman on an engineering crew in Idaho in 1906, and later with my brother John grubbing sagebrush from an 80-acre Carey claim. I was quite conscious of the basic fight between the Army Engineers who had control of all navigable rivers and the Bureau of Reclamation which was responsible for the irrigation of dry lands. Both of these two federal agencies wanted the responsibility of developing the project. I personally favored the Bureau of Reclamation although I was very much impressed by the efficiency of the Army Engineers. On an occasion when Dr. Mead, then Chief of the Bureau, came to Seattle on a speaking engagement I had a long talk with him about the project and the jurisdictional dispute.

Baum: Wasn't that study of benefits quite different from your soil survey work?

Packard: Yes, it was.

Baum: It sounds like it needed two different men. Soil survey is a physical science, really.

Packard: Yes, it is. But as it happened I was trained as a soil scientist and as an economist. This, together with my work in irrigation engineering, made me what is known as a generalist. This was an advantage because I could see the project problem as a whole. The theory of the flow of benefits was based on Henry George's single tax theory where the benefits of irrigation development are translated into increased land values.

Packard: Emma joined me for part of the time I spent in the Northwest. I remember, quite vividly, the surprise we had when we called home to find out how Clara and Emmy Lou were getting along with the housekeeper in our home in Menlo Park. Instead of talking to two lonesome girls we found that they had taken the old car and driven to Lake Tahoe. Our concern over their supposed loneliness was changed to a concern over how in the world they could ever get the old car to Tahoe and back again.

Before leaving this part of the story I think Emma should add some of her experiences on the GrandCoulee Project. (See Appendix for several letters that relate experiences and observations on GrandCoulee, Ephrata, Seattle, and Portland.)

Study of the Effects of Cement Dust on Crops

Packard: When I returned to California from the Northwest, I was asked by Professor Charles Shaw, head of the Soils Survey Department of the University of California, to consider a job with the Cowell Portland Cement Company in studying the effect of cement dust from the company's plant near Concord. The company was being sued by the farmers in the valley who claimed their crops, their land, and their living conditions were being damaged by the cement dust fall-out. The areas affected were clearly defined by aerial pictures I had taken on a flight over the valley with a professional photographer. The prevailing wind had directed most of the fall-out in a triangular area lying to the northwest of the plant. I checked the fall-out on the ground by testing the alkalinity of the soil due to the lime content of the dust.

Packard: I certainly was not happy in this job. My sympathies were with the farmers but I assumed the philosophy of the legal profession that a defendant has a right to have his side of the case presented.

Baum: Weren't you already well known to be sympathetic to growers and farmers?

Packard: I certainly was, among those who knew me.

Baum: I am surprised the cement company would hire you.

Packard: They did not know me. I was recommended by Professor Shaw who had conferred with the representative of the company.

Baum: They didn't know who you were.

Packard: That's right. Max Thelen was the attorney for the company. I worked largely under his direction, presenting the facts in as favorable a light as I could. I did not deny damage, but minimized it.

Baum: You just presented your findings.

Packard: Yes. For example, there were some dead live oak trees in the dust area, which was presented as evidence that the dust was damaging. I found that the same thing was true throughout the area. Proportionately there were no more dead oaks within the dust area than in the general area. The oaks were apparently injured by oak root fungus.

Baum: Well, I've heard that Mr. Thelen is a very competent attorney.

Packard: Yes, he is but he is on the conservative side.

One incident will illustrate something of the nature of the technical testimony involved in the case. A chemist employed by

Packard: the farmers testified to the corrosive character of the cement dust. In defining the term "corrosive" he said it was characteristic of a substance that would take hair off a dog's back and consume animal matter. In supporting his thesis he used phenolphthalein as an indicator. When he put cement dust into a beaker of distilled water and then introduced some phenolphthalein the solution turned red. On a chance, at noon, I tested the tap water in the courthouse and found that it turned red when phenolphthalein was added. I then put a variety of soap that was widely advertised for use in baby baths in the water and, as I was certain, the solution turned very dark red. When the afternoon session was ~~begun~~ the chemist was called back to the stand by Mr. Thelen and asked to make the tests which I had made at noon. The results were, of course, the same. The bewildered chemist did not know what to say when Mr. Thelen asked him if the courthouse water and the baby soap would take hair off a dog's back and consume animal matter. A few minutes after he was dismissed we found him in the men's room testing the tap water, on the theory that we might have put some alkali substance into the water.

Baum: Was it a crucial part of the case?

Packard: Yes, to a degree. But I must admit that the defense testimony was a little bit tricky. I had often used phenolphthalein in testing the alkalinity of soils.

Baum: I don't exactly understand what the point of the chemist's testimony was.

Packard: He was trying to prove that the cement dust had corrosive qualities which would damage the leaves of the trees.

Baum: And your argument was that it wasn't corrosive.

Packard: No. I didn't say whether it was or was not. I only tried to show that it was not as harmful to the leaves as the chemist said it would be. This was supported by the fact that leaves covered with dust showed no corrosive effect. Moreover, I pointed out that the stomata -- the breathing pores of the plant -- were on the underside of the leaves where there was no dust.

Mrs.

Packard: The dust actually was a very great nuisance and handicap to the farmers. While it did not kill the vegetation, it covered fruit, making it hard to market dirty fruit.

Baum: You didn't put any dust on a dog. (Laughter)

Packard: No, we didn't try to take hair off a dog's back.

Baum: So who won the suit?

Packard: I never saw the verdict but I assume that the company lost because the plant was shut down and has never been in operation since. I was not proud over my part in this case but it is part of the record and should not be passed by.

Baum: Was there a degree of economic determinism involved?

Packard: Yes, there was. I was paid \$25 per day for field work and \$50 per day for court work. I needed the money and incidentally, I might add, that during the depression, I kept Clara and Emmy Lou in college and paid over \$9,000 of debts resulting from my ill-advised partnership with Dr. Gray in Mexico.

Testimony in a Land Fraud Case for the U.S. Post Office

Packard: Another job during this period was for the U.S. Post Office in Sacramento. The department was suing a land company from Minnesota that was developing property in the Sacramento Valley,

Packard: using the mails allegedly to defraud. And, again, I had to make soil studies of the area and appear in court again as a witness for the Post Office Department. In this case there was no question about the fact that the land was sold at a very much higher price than it was worth. A thin surface soil was underlaid with hardpan which interfered with the development of tree roots, as I demonstrated by an examination of the root systems of several trees representative of conditions throughout the area.

Two incidents in the trial were rather dramatic and in a sense amusing. The first incident involved a farmer who testified for the company. He said, under oath, that he had made a large profit through chicken raising. On cross-examination he admitted that he had not paid any income tax that year and was turned over to the income tax people for further examination at the end of the trial. The second incident involved a soil chemist from Fresno who had analyzed the soils on the project for the company and found them to be rich in essential elements. On cross-examination he admitted that he had analyzed some soil samples sent to him by the Post Office Department and had found them lacking in essential elements and in need of heavy fertilization. When the Post Office inspector told him that the soil sample sent to him by the Post Office were taken from the exact location he had described in his report to the company, he left the stand in considerable confusion and returned to Fresno.

Baum: How did you come out in this case?

Packard: The company representatives tried to discredit me on the basis of

Packard: my experience at Delhi. But, after reading a very laudatory personal letter from Mr. Wooster, who became Chairman of the Land Settlement Board after the departure of Dr. Mead, no further attempts were made to destroy the nature of my testimony. I never found out how the case ended.

Water Studies in Owens Valley for the City of Los Angeles

Packard: Another assignment during this period involved the development and presentation of testimony regarding water conditions in Owens Valley. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power was being sued for damages due to the effect of the Los Angeles aqueduct upon surface and ground water conditions in Owens Valley. I made a reconnaissance survey of conditions as I found them, including tests of water holding capacity of divergent soil patterns and a study of the effect of water shortage on the crop pattern. I again found myself working with Dr. Tolman of Stanford University, who was serving as geologist for the city. I was paid \$50 per day for my work in this case.

During this period I took four days off to speak at an annual meeting of the California branch of the American Society of Civil Engineers in San Francisco, where I presented an economic diagram illustrating my view of the economy. At that time I was formulating my consumer-labor theories of economic organization. Strangely enough I was offered a lucrative assignment by the Chief Engineer of P.G. & E. which I could not take because it ran contrary to my convictions.

Baum: You were just called in to give your expert testimony and then you were finished?

Packard: Yes. But the experience gave me an opportunity for comparing the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power with P.G. & E. I saw no difference in efficiency and technical competence. The men I worked with in both organizations were equally dedicated. The difference is in the basic philosophy. One seeks to maximize profits to stockholders. The other seeks to promote the interest of the ultimate consumer. However, further experience in later years showed me that the administrative representatives of the public interest do not always support the basic philosophy, a fact which I will comment on later on.

Baum: How about the Bureau of Reclamation? Was that technically good?

Packard: It is difficult to give a categorical answer to that question. From a purely technical standpoint, the answer is yes. I found, on repeated occasions, that prominent private engineering corporations used the Bureau of Reclamation standards and designs as guidelines in both planning and design of reclamation projects. But my experience with borrowed Bureau of Reclamation engineers under the Marshall Plan in Greece was disappointing. But this disappointment reflects a general conclusion that I have reached that engineers as a class tend to be socially illiterate, a fact which I will comment on at further length in later chapters.

Emma accompanied me on the trip to Owens Valley where she made contact with individual residents of the Valley who told her of their experiences. She also had long conversations with the judge

Packard: in the case who was a strong believer in astrology.

Baum: Just what were his ideas?

Mrs.

Packard: This trip to Independence was a wonderful vacation for me as we stayed for a month or so at the hotel in Independence where I had time for reading and sightseeing. A movie company worked on location in the magnificent scenery in the High Sierras west of the narrow Owens Valley and we saw a bit of scene-taking.

The trial was being held at the county courthouse and both sides were stopping at the same hotel, but eating as groups at different tables. Following dinner one evening, I found an official magazine of some astrology organization on the lobby table and commented to the judge about it, only to find that he was an interested supporter of the "science of astrology". The subject has interested me for a long time because of the very long tradition and history of the subject from ancient Egypt to the present time, but I believe that a "curious unbelief" is my main reaction to it. However, I have found many other highly intelligent people who also are "true believers" of astrology, so I am still curious!

Baum: During your consulting days, did you do one job and then another or did various jobs overlap?

Packard: Usually I did one job at a time but sometimes I would have two or more jobs going at the same time where I would work part of a day on one job and part on another.

Investigation of Irrigation Districts for the Land Bank

Packard: I was asked by the Land Bank to make economic analyses of

Packard: various irrigation districts in the state. It was a time during the depression when the bank was having difficulty with some loans. Farmers were not meeting their mortgage payments and the bank was wondering about the solvency of some of the irrigation districts and whether they were in areas in which the bank should loan money. The first study I made was in 1933 of the Contra Costa Irrigation District. To illustrate the nature of these studies I might record the outline of the points that were taken up. "History and general description of the East Contra Costa Irrigation District. Climatic conditions, rainfall, frost, soils, irrigation, irrigation system, water supply, quantity of water available, and drainage. Crop productions and yields; apricots, pears, walnuts, peaches, nectarines, prunes, figs, grapes, truck crops. Cost of production; plans for reducing irrigation district bonds and interest costs, operation and maintenance costs. Plans for reducing power costs, county taxes. Land tenure, Balfour Guthrie and Company holdings, and size of farms, mortgage indebtedness, irrigation district tax delinquencies, county tax, farmers' ability to pay, summary and conclusion."

I made another similar study on the Rio Vista Irrigation District in San Diego County.

Baum: Was the Land Bank interested in refinancing the irrigation district or the individual farms within the district?

Packard: They were interested in lending money to the farmers in the district. They wanted to know what they should do, how they should act. They wanted these facts as a background for what they should

Packard: do, how they should act. They wanted these facts as a background for what they should do in case delinquencies got very heavy.

Baum: I've read that the Land Bank was very conservative, maybe too conservative to help the farmers. You had to have too much security before they would help you. It wasn't any help.

Packard: No, I wouldn't say that was true. The Land Bank was a terrific help to the farmers of the state. It was inaugurated after years of very careful study and propaganda. Elwood Mead was very active in this campaign. Hearings were held all over the state on rates of interest paid banks, investigation of the credit system which farmers were objecting to. Farmers wanted more liberal credit and longer term payments. So the Land Bank was established and it has played a very important part in farm finance in the state.

Baum: That was back in 1924 or '25 wasn't it, that it was started?

Packard: Yes. The creation of the Land Bank preceded the establishment of the State Land Settlement program, but both movements were the result of the same need. The Land Bank provided more suitable credit for farmers than local banks were able to do. The Land Bank granted longer term payments and lower rates of interest. The Bank also was more scientific in the attention paid to soil and water conditions. Private banks, as I found out, weren't too careful about looking into the soil conditions. The land banks had experts in all fields.

Baum: I think it was in that Larry Hewes book that he said that the land banks were so conservative, their terms were less liberal than the local banks because they had a policy of not competing for loans with the local banks. And this policy changed in 1935 or '36 with

Baum: the New Deal. You didn't find that true in the area you worked in?

Packard: No, I didn't find that true and it certainly wasn't true in relation to the theory on which the Bank was established. The Bank was established precisely to help the farmer. Larry's father's farm was in eastern Oregon, where pioneer conditions were pretty rugged.

Baum: You investigated several irrigation districts for the Land Bank?

Packard: Yes, I made reports on three irrigation districts. And in each report I covered about the same items that were listed in the Contra Costa district report. This gave the Bank the background on which they could make their adjustments.

Peninsula School; Palo Alto Community Activities; Family

Baum: Could we backtrack a bit to before your Mexican experiences and talk about what the rest of the family were doing? I know you were involved in some interesting community projects in Palo Alto, Mrs. Packard, both before and after the Mexican stay. Perhaps we could cover those at this point.

Mrs.

Packard: When we first left Delhi we rented a house at 1031 Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley, near Marin Avenue. We lived there for a very short time -- maybe three or four months. Emmy Lou went to the Oxford School that spring. Clara was taken out of the Turlock High School in the middle of the spring term. She was only thirteen, so I entered her in a private school on The Arlington, owned and run by Miss Cora Williams. This school had a high standing and she could get more individual attention and was able to finish her

Mrs.

Packard: freshman year with good grades. The next summer the bank job opened for Walter in Palo Alto and we moved down there. Clara entered the Palo Alto Union High School as a sophomore.

Emmy Lou had not been too well, so the doctor advised sending her to school only half a day so she could rest in the afternoon.

Baum: She was always battling tuberculosis, is that right?

Mrs.

Packard: Not exactly -- she had an infection during early childhood and Dr. Pottenger advised giving her tuberculin shots to build up immunity. She stayed with me at the sanatorium for a few weeks. Later, since she was underweight and not thriving, he took her back to the sanatorium for six months in 1919 and she almost immediately began to gain weight and came back to Delhi with us and went to school there during our stay of four years.

When we came to Palo Alto I wanted to send her to school for half a day so she could rest in the afternoons. But the public schools would not make such an arrangement and advised sending her to one of the several private schools in Palo Alto.

I inquired around and was advised to see Mrs. Frank Duveneck who was interested in starting a new school in which a number of other parents had joined in making plans. At that time, the John Dewey idea of "progressive education" was at its height and this group had been studying the Montessori method and also were very much interested in Antioch College as well as the school of Mrs. Marietta Johnson in Fairhope, Alabama. We had several meetings and I remember that Dr. Arthur Morgan, formerly with the Tennessee

Mrs.

Packard: Valley Authority and later with Antioch College, came as one speaker.

Mrs. Marietta Johnson gave a series of lectures. We also had as a speaker Dr. Lillien Martin, a practicing psychologist, who had retired from the Stanford faculty and opened up a consulting office for children in San Francisco.

With this broad base of publicity, the Peninsula School was finally opened in September, 1925, in the old Spring Mansion between Palo Alto and Menlo Park. About 45 pupils attended that first year, with many of the mothers helping in some capacity. Mrs. Duveneck was the prime mover of the project and taught classes. We hired a few teachers of recognized standing and credentials. Mrs. Eliot Mears taught violin and viola and Mrs. David Webster (Anna) took over the art classes. There was always special emphasis on the arts--music, painting, and writing, as well as the three r's--since the children had to finally fit into the public school system when they went to high school. I kept the books, collected the money and paid the bills for two years. Mrs. Mary Deirup taught the ceramics work and we had a kiln built for firing the pottery. I still have a dozen grill plates made by Emmy Lou and decorated with Mexican designs after our three years in Mexico.

The Peninsula School was an exciting adventure for all of us who were connected with it. It was a very controversial subject around town and became the bridge table controversy over a period of years, as was all so-called "progressive education" which was criticized as "letting the kids do as they pleased," "no discipline," "too much freedom," "too informal", and what have you.

Mrs.

Packard: But being free of hard and fast schedules, we could and did have special visitors. Some of the San Francisco Symphony members came down and once I remember we took our students up to a practice session of the symphony when Yehudi Menuhin was the guest soloist. I still remember him as a nine year old, standing easily and without self-consciousness, slightly on the chubby side and playing with the skill of an old pro.

Henry Cowell gave another of our programs -- some of his very far out and modern music on the piano, which had made such a storm in Europe. Diego Rivera came for a morning with Frieda Kahlo, his wife -- this was following our stay in Mexico when Emmy Lou was in the high school.

Baum: When did Emmy Lou begin to do her art work?

Mrs.

Packard: I first noticed her drawings when she was at the Pottenger Sanatorium when she was eight years old. She wrote scrawly letters to us nearly every day and usually illustrated them with some sort of dog (she was always fond of animals -- especially dogs and cats). Often it would be a character from the funny papers, but her own version of them, not an exact copy. So I bought colored pencils and art paper as well as other materials to encourage this trend and help her keep busy. Also, Walter had an artist cousin, Miss Bertha Heise, who was an art teacher in the Los Angeles schools. She gave her many suggestions and also encouraged her to keep on working. Miss Heise was a competent artist in water colors and pottery. Some of her pottery is now in the Smithsonian Institute as samples of native American pottery.

Baum: The Peninsula School must have been a good place for her to develop this talent.

Mrs.

Packard: Yes, it was one of the reasons why I joined up with the group. Mrs. David Webster (Anna) was in charge of this art work and she encouraged every child to at least try to express himself with poster paints and other materials. Emmy Lou progressed very well there, so was ready for the Mexican experience when we went down there at the time when the Mexican School of Open Air painting was at its height, and the "Big Three" -- Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Siqueiros were being given world-wide publicity for their works of art during the Calles revolution of that period. Miss Heise was also well aware of this and gave us invaluable information about who was who and what to see, before Emmy Lou and I went down there in the fall of 1927 when our family finally met again in Mexico City.

About the end of our two years in Palo Alto, Emmy Lou was ill and Dr. Russell Lee diagnosed her trouble as diabetes! She was twelve years old and probably had had it all her life but no one had detected it. Insulin had been discovered only two years before, and much of the treatment was probably in the experimental stage. It was a great shock to us -- I had thought of it as only an old age trouble. Her grandfather Packard had it in his later years and managed with a special diet. It is now a family classic that Emmy Lou wrote her father who was in Mexico that year, "Dear Daddy: I have diabetes. I got it from Grandpa. Love, Emmy Lou." That was all he knew until my letter came the next day!

Baum: What did you do about the diabetes?

Mrs.

Packard: Dr. Lee advised sending her to Stanford Hospital in San Francisco for further diagnosis and adjusting to diet, but he tried doing it at home for a while. About that time, Dr. Lillien Martin had been lecturing on children's problems and I had consulted her -- she at once told me of the Children's Diabetic Clinic at the Santa Barbara Cottage Hospital which was run by Dr. William Sansum. Walter came home from Mexico for Clara's high school graduation and after long discussions, we decided to send Emmy Lou down to the clinic.

To make a long story short, we sold the house, stored our goods and Walter left for Mexico, taking Clara with him. He had a contract to work for the Comisión Nacional de Irrigación in Mexico City and we were to join him as soon as we could get Emmy Lou adjusted to her routine.

I spent a month there at Santa Barbara and attended classes for parents whose children were in the clinic. It was one of the most profitable experiences and gave both Emmy Lou and me the knowledge and confidence to go on facing a lifetime of insulin injections for her, and the skill of managing her own diet, which she has always done.

That ended her first session at the Peninsula School. When we returned from Mexico, she went into the high school with half a dozen other girls and they had a good time together. But the Peninsula Board decided it was too small a group and closed it down. Most of the girls went to Palo Alto High School, but we were living in the district of Sequoia Union High School in Redwood City. So, Emmy Lou

Mrs.

Packard: went there one year and graduated, and the next year entered the University of California where Clara was already in her second year.

Baum: How could you risk taking Emmy Lou to a place like Mexico where there is so much risk of intestinal infections?

Mrs.

Packard: Dr. Sansum gave us confidence to do this as he assured us that once we and Emmy Lou, as well, had learned the techniques of diet in relation to insulin patients, she was as well off there as anywhere else with proper precautions. After I had finished up the business details of selling the house and leaving Palo Alto, I went to Santa Barbara and spent a month there in a room adjacent to the Cottage Hospital. There was a rather large group of diabetic children there, and Dr. Sansum gave lectures every day to the parents about the basic problems of normal diet, as well as the management of insulin patients, that was invaluable to all of us. He taught the children also -- he had a theory that most diabetic children have a more than average I.Q. But at any rate, they learned rapidly to understand their problems and it was not too long before Emmy Lou could give herself the twice daily shots of insulin.

Baum: Was her diet so different from yours?

Mrs.

Packard: No. Dr. Sansum's theory was that children especially need a normal diet during their growing-up period. So he taught them and their parents the types of food they needed and then balanced this with a big enough insulin dose to digest the food. In the earlier treatments, too liberal amounts of fats were given for calories, since fats do not require insulin -- only the carbohydrates and some protein.

When we came back to Palo Alto after our return from Mexico, a

Mrs.

Packard: community theatre had been started. Emmy Lou and I went over and worked in that while Walter was away on a six months consulting job in Seattle. There was also a community forum which met at the Palo Alto Community House, near the old Southern Pacific Station. It was led by Judge Jackson Ralston, and Lieutenant Commander Stewart Bryant was another member of the committee. I was on the committee, and I did the publicity for the Palo Alto Times. We had many speakers who would come to speak on the background, the reasons for the depression and the problems of the times. Judge Ralston, being a member of the Commonwealth Club, often could get friends of his who were speaking at the Commonwealth Club to come down. Sometimes they'd come as his guests. We had no money to pay anybody. And this was at a time during the depression where there were bread lines in Palo Alto. People were just drifting along the highways trying to find a job or a place to sleep.

There was a very active committee in Palo Alto which was led by an army captain who lived in San Mateo, which organized a work place where people could work, cutting mill ends which had been donated for kindling. There was quite a market for that.

Baum: This was to provide jobs?

Mrs.

Packard: To provide jobs, to bring a little money in, to keep the bread lines fed, and to provide jobs for those who were willing to work and help in the temporary kitchen that was set up to take care of this problem. This lumber was often from wrecked houses and things that didn't cut up evenly and the army captain said, "the trouble with these people

Mrs.

Packard: is that they want pretty kindling wood. They don't buy this stuff."

He was completely indignant at this.

Several people like Waldo Salt and Jimmy Sandoe, who is now in charge of the Shakespeare Theatre up in Ashland, Oregon, along with several Stanford students, used to work in our community theatre. There was also a paid director, Reidar Torgussen. Among others who enjoyed this amateur theatre work was Burton Cairns, then a senior at the University of California School of Architecture. This was the first meeting place and association with Burton, who later became our son-in-law when he and Emmy Lou were married in September, 1934, at the beginning of her junior year at the University of California.

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION, 1933-1934

Marketing Agreement Program for the Pacific Coast

Packard: After my return from a trip to Mexico in the fall of 1933 to salvage what I could from my dust bowl farming operation in Durango, I had an interview with Dr. Harry Wellman who, with Howard Tolley, had been working on the problem of balancing demand and supply in the fruit industry in California. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration had been organized and Dr. Wellman was in charge of operations on the Pacific Coast. Although marketing was not in my field I had had basic training in economics and was offered a position which nominally put me in charge of marketing agreements on the Pacific Coast. I was sent to Washington for a training course in marketing under Dr. Wellman's direction. After a month or so I returned to California where what I did was quite properly, closely supervised by Dr. Wellman.

Baum: Now you were going to be in charge of marketing agreements?

Packard: Yes.

Baum: Through Northern California?

Packard: No, the entire Pacific Coast. Although hops and pears were the only crops outside of California that were included in the marketing agreement program.

The whole approach to the marketing problem appealed to me very much at the time, although years later I felt that the A.A.A. program

Packard: tended to throw too much control into the hands of the large operators. In the end I believed the action taken by the Supreme Court was correct. I was very favorably impressed by the fact that both labor and consumer interests were represented in all hearings preceding the creation of any marketing agreement. Many prominent farmers objected strenuously to this infringement of what they considered to be their private rights as growers. The labor and consumer representative usually got along well together and were responsible for many constructive features of the agreements that were consummated.

The first agreement covered the peach industry. This interested me very much because as superintendent of the Delhi Land Settlement project I had been advised by the University advisors to urge settlers to plant cling peaches for the canning industry. Ten years later I was advised by other University specialists that thousands of peach trees would have to be destroyed to bring production within range of marketing possibilities. In fact, in the spring of 1934, 340,000 tons of peaches were allowed to rot on the ground in order to get a paying price for the peaches that could be sold. The program was a success. The farmers received over six million dollars for their 1934 crop in contrast to a total of about one million dollars for the crop the year before.

Baum: I know the University advisors' job was to grow more and better crops. Marketing was not so much their problem.

Packard: The depression and over-production of some crops certainly drew attention to the need for a careful census of plantings in relation to

Packard: potential markets and prices.

Baum: I think the depression started the new subject of agricultural economics.

Packard: Yes, I think that is true. Howard Tolley was taken from the marketing organization of the United States Department of Agriculture to head the newly established Giannini Foundation of the College of Agriculture of the University of California. The creation of the A.A.A. created the machinery through which a fantastic educational campaign in marketing could be launched. Well attended farmers' meetings all over the state were addressed by economists who discussed demand and supply relationships, and the need for cooperation toward a common goal.

Mrs.

Packard: I remember one incident that happened in Hollister. Mr. Frank Swett was in charge of the Pear Grower's Association at the time. He and Mrs. Swett went with us to a meeting in Hollister where Mr. Packard and Mr. Swett were to explain the government plan to the farmers of limiting their crop sales to get better prices. The audience of fruit growers was very hostile about the plan and booed Mr. Packard -- much to Mr. Swett's indignation. I do not remember the outcome, if they signed agreements or not.

Baum: Were the farmers satisfied?

Packard: Those who survived were very much pleased. But the interests of the sub-marginal growers could not be salvaged. The sub-marginal growers were forced out of the peach industry as a result of over-production in relation to the market.

Packard: I should add, however, that although the peach growers as a class were pleased, they would not agree to sell any of the surplus to the W.P.A. for canning for those on relief. The W.P.A. offered a price of six dollars per ton to cover the cost of picking, but the farmers at a meeting in Marysville voted to let peaches rot on the ground rather than let them go to the W.P.A., even though the W.P.A. peaches were to be given to the migrants from the dustbowl. I attended this meeting and argued for W.P.A. and was really very angry over the outcome. But all was not lost. Many individual growers made individual contracts with W.P.A. which resulted in the canning of many hundreds of tons of peaches which were given to the hungry migrants from the dust bowl.

Baum: Do you remember who was in charge of the peach growers then?

Packard: No, I don't remember.

Baum: The peach growers had some kind of difficulty, hadn't they, with their association?

Packard: There was one incident involving a cooperative cannery.

This cooperative cannery was the only agency among all the agencies that tried to sneak fruit through at night. They were caught sending several carloads of fruit out of the warehouses at night and trucking it down to San Francisco. But that was the only agency in the whole outfit that was caught doing a thing of that kind.

Baum: They weren't living up to the agreement.

Packard: That's right.

Representatives of canners and other processors attended all of the marketing hearings in which they were directly interested.

Packard: Marketing agreements were proposed for peaches, pears, prunes, wine grapes, raisins and hops, but not all of them were consummated.

The hearings were conducted by representatives of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration from the Washington office. Dr. Wellman was the controlling figure. He had the confidence of both growers and processors. One feature of the hearings which interested me was the fact that consumer and labor representatives from the A.A.A. staff participated in all hearings, and contributed greatly to their basic meaning. The objectives were not only to secure profits for growers and processors, but also to protect the interests of both consumers and labor. This feature of the program was not adopted without some very determined opposition from large growers who, in some instances, threatened to withdraw if labor and consumer interests were included.

Baum: Didn't raisins present a special problem?

Packard: Yes. Planting of raisin grape vineyards extended far beyond any possible demand for raisins. One reason for this was that an elaborate plan for marketing raisins cooperatively had been worked out. Ralph Merritt, one of the stars of the College of Agriculture, became head of the enterprise at a salary of \$50,000 per year. The future looked rosy under this optimistic leadership. But at the time of the hearing on the proposed marketing agreement, boxes of unsold raisins were piled twenty feet high covering large lots and a large number of raisin growers faced loss of their farms. Thousands of farms during this period were taken over by the banks.

Baum: Didn't they tear out a lot of vineyards then? And wasn't cotton substituted?

Packard: Yes, that is true. World War II had a great deal to do with the expansion of the cotton plantings.

San Francisco General Strike, Summer 1934

Baum: Didn't the General Strike in the Bay Area occur about that time?

Packard: Yes, it did, and I had a chance to see the issue from two points of view. I was attending a meeting of the Canner's Association in San Francisco when word came in that violence had started on the waterfront. Without any motion to adjourn the men present left the meeting with expressions of rage and a determination to fight back. As I recall it, this was on what came to be called "Bloody Thursday".

The second incident concerned the labor interest. A meeting had been called in Berkeley where Dr. George Hedley was to tell of his experience in his contact with the striking workers in San Francisco. The meeting was held in the First Congregational Church in Berkeley, but was not well attended because people were afraid. At the close of the meeting, a badly crippled man who was conducting a left wing philosopher's school in Oakland, called out, asking the men to remain because he was threatened with violence. I knew the man, whose name I can't remember. I had spoken at one of his open air meetings, as had several University of California professors. I quite naturally went down to see him. He pointed to two men in the back of the room and said that these men had threatened him. A group of us surrounded these two men and asked them what they were doing. They became ap-

Packard: prehensive and moved to the door. As we emerged onto the grass outside Emma felt something hit her foot. It was a large monkey wrench with a wrist band attached that had been dropped by one of the men. We held them and called the police. But instead of the police, a group of Berkeley Nationals showed up. These were civilians who had been deputized because of wild rumors that trouble was brewing. They had official arm bands and demanded custody of the men who were released.

That was the night when the Finnish Hall in Berkeley was ransacked by a mob of direct actionists. It cost the city of Berkeley \$3,000 to repair the damage. We have Kodak pictures of the wrecked Finnish Hall.

Baum: Let's see, these Nationals came and then did the gentleman get home safely or what?

Packard: The two accused men were released because there was nothing to accuse them of. They hadn't done anything.

Baum: I didn't realize that feeling was so tense here in Berkeley.

Packard: It certainly was. Bricks, with menacing notes attached, were thrown through the windows of some who had expressed sympathy for the strikers.

We, like the whole Bay Area, were inconvenienced by the General Strike. Store supplies dwindled rapidly as people bought non-perishables for storage in case the strike lasted for a long time. We managed to get gas and supplies by driving into the country beyond the area affected by the strike where we were able to get what we needed. We were living in Dr. Wellman's house at that time. The Wellmans were in Washington. We had Dr. Carl Sauer as a next door neighbor, which resulted in a lasting friendship.

RURAL RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL
DIRECTOR, 1935 - 1938

Director of Region 9

Purposes of Rural Resettlement Administration

Packard: My assignment with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration ended with the establishment of the Resettlement Administration which, in a sense, supplemented the work of the A.A.A., which was concerned with the overall problems of supply and demand, markets and prices. The Resettlement Administration's concern was centered in the plight of the low income farmer, the sub-marginal producer, and the migratory farm workers, a large proportion of whom were victims of both the depression and the dust bowl. Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, administrator of the new organization had the following to say in his first annual report: "The economic depression placed more than a million farm families on the relief rolls. Farm foreclosures, bankruptcies, and unprecedented low prices for agricultural products caused many farmers, normally self-sustaining, to ask for aid. But a large segment of the rural relief population was constituted of families who even in good times had been living close to the poverty level. These families were primarily the victims of a fundamental maladjustment between our people and our material resources. They were the victims of trends which had manifested themselves over a long period of years. The recovery measures instituted by the government which brought a majority of the rural population

Packard: "back to a self-sustaining basis, still left these families groping with overwhelming forces. The poverty of this section of the population is costly to the people of the nation. In keeping them on relief, other American citizens have been paying out hundreds of millions of dollars each year. Yet this money, while it served a humanitarian purpose of keeping these men, women, and children from starvation, has done little to remedy the causes of their condition. Despite public aid, they have remained outside our economic system made up of producing and consuming members. Schools, roads, and other public services, not to mention their fundamental needs have been paid for by our taxpayers."

Baum: So, resettlement was designed to improve the condition of the lowest income segment of those dependent upon agriculture.

Packard: Yes, in essence that is true.

Baum: Wasn't there an official policy statement made when the Resettlement Administration was created?

Packard: Yes. In the Presidential Executive Order of April 30, 1935 three major functions were designated. The new organization was "to administer approved projects involving the resettlement of destitute or low income families, in both rural and urban areas. It was empowered to carry out a series of land conservation projects. Finally it was charged with the duty of helping farm families on relief become independent by extending to them both financial and technical assistance."

Baum: How did you get involved?

Packard: I, along with many others from various parts of the country, went to Washington to be interviewed by Dr. Tugwell and his administrative staff. The initial plan was to have two directors in each of nine regions covering the United States; one to be in charge of rural rehabilitation, including the purchase of sub-marginal lands and the other to be in charge of the resettlement projects. As it happened, both Dr. Carl Taylor, Director of Resettlement and Dr. L.C. Gray, Director of Rural Rehabilitation, wanted me to be their representative in Region 9, which included the southwestern states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada. Dr. Tugwell, therefore, decided to try the experiment of having only one director in a region, by appointing me as the Director of Region 9. The plan worked out so well that one director replaced the two-man plan in all regions at the beginning of the new year.

The goal of the Rural Rehabilitation Division was not merely to help destitute farm families obtain the minimum of food and clothing during this year and next, but to help make them once more independent. Every family for whom a successful rehabilitation plan was worked out, was a family taken off the public relief rolls. This work was the largest element in the rural program of the Resettlement Administration. Some 500,000 farm families were affected. The care of these families occupied the full time of the largest division of the Resettlement Administration, which maintained a small Washington force, and an organization which reached into every state.

Baum: Rehabilitation was to keep them on the same farm?

Packard: Yes, that is correct. One of the most effective phases of the program was directed by trained home demonstration agents who promoted the production of home gardens, raising chickens, and canning fruits and vegetables for winter use. The money value of the work done by many farm women exceeded the cash return from the farming operations. The tenant purchase and the school lunch programs grew out of the work of this division.

The Resettlement Division, in contrast, was organized to help landless farmers buy farms on which they could make a satisfactory living. I became National Director of this division after six months in Region 9 and will have more to say about it when I get to that point.

The sub-marginal land purchase program was designed to take low producing land out of cultivation and to develop it for other purposes: grazing, reforestation, recreation, and the like. This sort of work was taken over later by the Soil Conservation Service.

Baum: It cut down overproduction a little, I suppose.

Packard: Yes. The actual effect on production was slight because none of the land was producing much for the market.

Another important division of the Resettlement Administration was responsible for the Green Belt town planning program. The principles involved in this program have had a profound influence in town planning ever since.

Baum: Weren't there a number of conflicts of interest created by the establishment of this new organization?

Packard: Yes, that's true. A number of relief agencies were brought together in Washington. In general it was evident that the job of reducing the rural relief load was essentially different from that of providing jobs for disemployed workers in industrial work.

Setting Up Region 9

After a week or ten days of intense briefing covering details of both the work to be done and the organization to be set up, I returned to Berkeley and opened the regional headquarters in the Mercantile Building in Berkeley. Each of the five states in Region 9 had its own organization.

Baum: How was your office organized? I wonder if you got most of your people from the University.

Packard: My office, as Regional Director, was largely supervisional. We also handled the financing. The state organizations did most of the work. Most of the personnel in California were graduated from Cal, but I don't recall that any one resigned from the University to join the Resettlement staff. Paul Taylor was of tremendous help in the migrant labor program, but he served as an advisor rather than a federal employee.

Baum: Didn't you take over most of the work that had been developed by the State Relief Administration under the direction of Dr. Dewey Anderson?

Packard: Yes. Harry Drobish, who was Director of the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the State Relief Administration, became the Director of the Rehabilitation Division of the State Resettlement Administration

Packard: organization. I had known Drobish when he was Farm Advisor in Placer County and had a great deal of respect for his ability. I appointed Jonathan Garst as Director of the Resettlement Division. I had worked with Garst when we were both employed by the State Market Director. I also appointed Mr. Frank Swett as a Regional Supervisor, in charge of approving loans to cooperative organizations. Frank had been Director of the California Pear Grower's Association and was thoroughly grounded in the credit field.

Another responsibility of the Regional Office which deserves special mention was concerned with the building program. I selected Joseph Weston as head of the architectural staff. He had been in charge of the building program on a low cost semi-rural subdivision in Southern California, which had proved to be very successful. Weston employed my son-in-law, Burton Cairns, and Vernon DeMars, as his assistants. This group, together with Maude Wilson, home economist from the Oregon State College, were in charge of the building programs, including the construction work on the labor camps and on all resettlement projects in the Region. This included selection of sites, purchase of land, design of buildings and community services, letting of bids, and supervision of construction. Maude Wilson's contribution concerned the very human side of house planning. Her specialty was the arrangement and management of kitchens. They used a great many of her ideas concerning flow of work, utilization of space, getting your sink the right height, and any number of tricks. She's written a number of books.

Packard: Shortly after the regional and state staffs were organized a conference was held in Salt Lake City where Dr. Carl Taylor and Dr. L.C. Gray outlined the policies to be followed and discussed the programs of work that were being formulated. With these preliminaries out of the way, the real work began.

Baum: Now, what was the program for California?

Packard: The greatest emphasis in California was on handling the migrant labor problem.

Baum: Oh, is that right? I didn't realize that came under Resettlement.

Packard: Yes. That was the principal activity in California.

Migratory Farm Laborers and Labor Camps

Baum: Then the studies that came out of your office when you were Director of Region 9 were to point out what the difficult conditions were that made the work of the Resettlement Administration necessary, and particularly in California?

Packard: Yes. This was perfectly natural because the intensified nature of California agriculture required a large number of seasonal workers. We had the advantage of numerous studies made by the state relief organization. Dr. Paul Taylor's work was particularly helpful. Most of the migrants coming into California during the early '30s were destitute people. They had nothing except what they could carry in their cars. They left their farms in the dust bowl and were dependent wholly on what they could get as itinerant workers. And they were living on ditch banks and along river bottoms, wherever they could find a water supply and some shade. And it represented

Packard: a very deplorable condition. There was no single group in the state at that time that was suffering more than these agricultural migrant workers who had come to California looking for some way of getting re-established. As a result the state of California, first through the State Relief Administration, became very conscious of the fact that something had to be done for these migrant workers.

Dr. Paul Taylor, economist of the University of California and a careful student of labor problems, had this to say:

The spread of an industrial labor pattern is an outstanding fact in the history of farming in California. Intensification of agriculture constituted the physical basis for the shift from dependence upon laborers of family farm hand type to dependence on unstable industrial masses of hand workers. The value of intensive crops represented less than four per cent of a total value of California crops produced in 1879. By 1929 only a half century later, intensive crops represented practically four-fifths of the total. Demand for farm labor in California is not only heavy because of intensive crop production, it is also concentrated to a marked degree because the scale of farm operations -- the large farm is very pre-eminent in the rural economy. And the large grower exercises great influence in the councils of agricultural employers. More than one-third of all large scale farms in the entire country are located in California in 1930. This is from Rural Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 4.

Baum: And what's the name of the article?

Packard: "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor" by Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vaseg.

The reason for concentrating on the plight of the migrant farm workers was further analyzed by Eric Thompson, regional sociologist, in a paper on "Why Plan Security for the Migrant Worker?" read before the California Conference of Social Workers in San Jose, May 12, 1937.

The labor demand for resident migrant workers in California agriculture was officially estimated at from 46,448 in January to 193,349 in September. Last year (1936) 84,000 migrant workers entered the state of California in search of work. Eighty-five per cent of them were from the drought states. Nevertheless, there was a shortage of workers in some areas for the demand for labor was growing tremendously because of the expansion of certain crops. The total irrigated area more than quadrupled from 1890-1930. Our truck acreage, for example, has trebled since the war. Sugar beets more than doubled during the 1920s, cotton increased 150%, 400% to yield. Cotton acreage is still increasing rapidly, and is one of the major reasons for the constant influx at the ratio of some two hundred a day of workers from Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and other cotton states.

Packard: Gregory Silvermaster, at that time, statistician for the California State Department of Labor Statistics, prepared two reports at the time of the agricultural strikes in California in 1933 in an attempt to analyze the basic characteristics of the California agricultural economy.

Baum: Wasn't Silvermaster accused of being a communist and thrown out of the department?

Packard: That occurred some years later in Washington. In my contacts with him I found him to be a very keen observer, fully dedicated to the public interest. Copies of his and many other papers and reports are in my files.

The camps established by the R.R.A. were more elaborate than the ones that had been established by the state. Some of them included labor homes where the family would be on an area of an acre and a half or two acres and would be a part-time farmer. And some had one room shelters that were more or less permanent. Then there

Packard: were a very large number of tent platforms and trailer spaces, where people with trailers would come in to camp. There were thirteen camps established from the beginning and up to 1940 in California and five in Arizona. Five mobile camps which could be moved as the demand arose, were established in California and one in Arizona. A detailed record is presented in the following memorandum: (see page following)

Baum: Was this true in most regions of the United States, that establishing labor camps was a major part of their Resettlement Administration?

Packard: No, the labor camps were concentrated in California and in Arizona. I don't know of any place else, in fact.

Baum: I'm surprised, because I hadn't read of this as one of the major functions of the Resettlement Administration. I suppose it was just this region then.

Packard: Yes. The problem was acute here both because of the high demand for seasonal workers in California's specialized agriculture and the fact that so many landless farmers drifted west from the dust bowl and other depressed areas in the South.

Baum: Wasn't there a lot of opposition to the camp program on the part of the large growers?

Packard: Yes, the opposition was quite intense. There was great fear among the large producers that farm labor would attempt to organize unions and demand higher wages, better living conditions, and more security.

Baum: Well, it was prohibited in the farmers' camps, wasn't it? They called it trespassing if labor organizers tried to enter the camps.

Name and location of camp	Laor homes	One room shelters	Tent platforms	Trailer spaces	Total capacity (family)	Procastie peak season of occupancy
<u>California Camps</u>						
Gridley, Butte County	24	-	102	-	126	July, August & Sept.
Winters, Yolo County	24	-	172	-	196	Apr. through Sept.
Windsor, Sonoma County	-	50	131	-	191	July, August & Sept.
Westley, Stanislaus County	24	56	153	-	233	Apr. July, Aug. & Sept.
Tulare, Tulare County	78	302	64	-	444	Entire year
Shafter, Kern County	40	-	219	26	285	Entire year
Arvin, Kern County	20	102	98	-	220	Entire year
Indio, Riverside County	40	-	185	20	245	Entire year
Brawley, Imperial County	--	5	180	20	205	November through May
Marysville, Yuba County	-	-	155	-	185	May through Sept.
Yuba City, Yuba County	84	204	16	-	304	May through Sept.
Thornton, San Joaquin County	30	98	-	8	136	Entire year
Firebaugh, Fresno County	35	291	12	24	363	Sept. Oct. & Nov.
Mobile #1 (located at Calipatria at present)					200	
Mobile #2 (" Corcoran ")					210	These mobile camps are located in various areas during the periods of greatest demand for farm labor.
Mobile #3 (" Holtville ")					210	
Mobile #4 (Undetermined)					210	
Mobile #5 (")	7				210	
<u>Arizona Camps</u>						
Agua Fria, Maricopa County	36	311	-	-	347	Sept. through June
Somerton, Yuma County	56	279	15	26	356	Sept. through May
111 Mile Corner, Pinal County	48	211	78	36	373	Oct. through Feb.
Mobile #1 (temporarily in storage)					210	
Regional Totals	520	1919	1610	160	5249	

Note: The size of the mobile unit varies depending upon the need. Mobile units usually have tent platforms or trailer space to accommodate from 200 to 210 families if necessary.

Packard: No, that was not the policy. We were sympathetic with the goals of organized labor. Paul Taylor, our labor advisor, was a staunch friend of labor, as we all were.

Our primary aim, however, was to provide some semblance of acceptable living conditions for the farm workers and their families. All of the permanent camps had hot and cold water for showers and washing. Flush toilets were provided and water was piped around the camp for the convenience of the campers. Stationary wash tubs were a part of the central service area building. Most of the camps had playgrounds for the children where the children could be cared for under supervision while the parents were in the fields. Some people criticized the camps for being too elaborate. But when Emma and I revisited some of the camps years later, we were appalled by the meager facilities. This was due in part, perhaps, to the fact that the camps were relatively uncared for and unsupervised when they were transferred to local control.

Mrs.

Packard: I remember visiting a camp in Kern County where the camp manager had an unusual approach. He was always dressed in immaculate white duck trousers and clean white shirt. In visiting the families he would enter the tent and look around for a clean place to sit down. The reaction was always the same. The folks would dust off a chair or a box for him to use. As a result the conditions in the camp improved without his ever saying a word. That was his method of working and they all loved him. (Laughter)

Baum: And they didn't object to this? They didn't think he was acting snooty?

Mrs.

Packard: No, they rather admired him I think. At least that's the impression I got.

The people in Berkeley and the Bay Area were interested in what was being done for these migrant workers and their families. Tons of clothing were collected by church groups and sent by truck to the labor camps. I remember Paul Heyneman donated a thousand pairs of blue jeans. Clark Kerr, a graduate student in labor relations, represented the Quakers on the Berkeley committee. It was during that time that Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath was written and the same time that Carey McWilliams wrote the book Factories in the Field. He was then State Housing Director. And he was very intimately associated with this whole problem.

Baum: I have a few more questions about the Resettlement Administration camps. What was your responsibility in the camp program?

Packard: Our responsibility was to plan the camps, rent or buy the land to be used, finance and supervise the construction, and be responsible, financially and otherwise, for administration of the camps.

Baum: Could you cite any instances of Associated Farmer pressure on the officials to get rid of the camps or whatever they wanted done with the camps; either in the camps or in the offices? Politically?

Packard: Politically, there was always opposition to the camps by the Associated Farmers. But I don't know of any threats to any officials. There was one case in a camp down in Kern County, where the farmers had thought a camp manager was going to organize a union. They threatened vigilante activity. So the camp manager raised an

Packard: American flag on a pole at the camp entrance. When the representatives of the Associated Farmers came to the gate the camp manager stopped them and said, "This is federal property and if you enter to cause trouble I will call a United States marshal and have you evicted. That was enough. The group left and there wasn't any violence at all.

Baum: They didn't ever come as a body to call on the office or the administrators or anybody like that?

Packard: Whenever there was a public hearing the farmer interests were always present. But no attempts were made to contact our office. Opposition to the camps was not universal by any means. Local committees usually sponsored the programs. Opposition came largely from the large operators who were the principal employers of migrant labor.

I remember one instance which illustrates the nature of the thinking of the employer group. It occurred in Imperial Valley where I had gone to look over a proposed camp site near Brawley. I had heard that opposition to the camp program was very active. One official, I was told, said that he would burn any camp down that might be established. I called the head of the Valley Chamber of Commerce, whom I knew, and asked for information regarding the situation. He said that every chamber of commerce in the Valley had passed a resolution condemning the program. I asked him if he had secured the opinion of the migratory workers who would use the camp. He said, "Of course not" which gave me a chance to explain

Packard: the philosophy which we were following. The camp was established and became very popular with the public, as well as with the workers who used it.

Baum: Well, I suppose the objection was that there was a place where all the laborers were congregated and labor organizers might make some headway.

Packard: Yes. Organized labor might strike and make demands which the producers would not want to meet. The producers just didn't want any organization of farm laborers.

Baum: Did labor organizers appear at the camps?

Packard: Yes, occasionally. But nothing significant happened so far as unionization was concerned.

Baum: Then it was camp policy not to permit organizational meetings to take place on the camp grounds?

Packard: Not exactly. The main purpose of the camp programs was to provide improved living conditions.

Baum: And was there any policy regarding union organizers who were, say, living there and were known to be union organizers?

Packard: No, I don't think there was any policy relating to the centers. The Resettlement Administration, in its philosophy, was in favor of the organization of farm workers. They were very anxious to have them organized. But under the circumstances there was no attempt on the part of the Administration to use the camps as centers for union organization. Unofficially, all of the camp managers were very sympathetic to labor. I met with the representative of organized labor

Packard: many times, both in the field and in San Francisco.

Baum: Oh. Was this C.I.O. or A.F.L.?

Packard: The C.I.O. principally.

Baum: Oh yes. I think that was the period when C.I.O. was trying to organize agricultural workers.

Packard: Yes. I was friendly and cooperative, but I did not participate in organizational work.

Baum: Would they come to your office and ask for some kind of assistance?

Packard: Yes. Sometimes they would.

Baum: What kind of assistance would they want you to give or what kind of assistance did they think you could offer?

Packard: I remember one organizer who wanted information about the crucial period for striking so that their strikes would be effective.

Baum: Did they ask for permission to organize in the camps?

Packard: No, at least I do not remember any such request. The use of the camps as centers for union organization would have endangered the primary purpose of the camps which was to provide tolerable living conditions for migrant farm workers. But this does not mean that I and the others were not in favor of organizing farm workers. Opposition by the large farmers to attempts to organize were very intense. For example, my brother John had to be escorted out of Imperial County by motorcycle police on two occasions when he had gone to the Valley as attorney for the Civil Liberties Union to represent arrested workers.

Mrs.

Packard: I remember an incident of some people who were attempting to organize

Mrs.

Packard: down in the San Joaquin Valley somewhere, Madera, and they did arrest some of the people attempting to organize and put them in jail. There was a lot of picketing done and the sympathy of the public was in general with the people who they thought had a perfect right to go ahead and try to organize. I remember a group of Berkeley League of Women Voters went down and marched around the jail, and I went with them.

Baum: Well, did you feel that you could participate in things like picketing, Mrs. Packard, since your husband was in an administrative position?

Mrs.

Packard: I don't know that I ever thought about it at that time. With a group like the League of Women Voters, which was protesting what seemed to be a violation of civil rights, I think the League's stand was a constitutional one.

Baum: So you didn't feel a pressure at that time to keep out of activities.

Mrs.

Packard: Not in this incident. I wouldn't have done anything that would have interfered with what Walter was supposed to do and had to do in his job.

Baum: What about the Salinas lettuce strike?

Packard: Oh, there was a lot of violence in that conflict. That had nothing to do with the camps. That was simply an out-and-out-fight between the C.I.O. and the Associated Farmers.

Baum: Did you have camps there in Salinas?

Packard: Not when I was there.

Baum: There is another thing I want to know. Did the communities accept the camp program?

Packard: Yes, they were always accepted after they were established. In many cases local committees made up of prominent citizens sponsored the programs. There is no question about the fact that the program had popular support. No one other than a few rabid anti-labor elements could object to the meager but badly needed facilities offered by the camps.

Baum: And was there any division between large farmers and small farmers as to how they felt about the camps?

Packard: Generally, it was the large farmer who objected to the camps. The small farmers, however, were usually not pro-labor.

Baum: Was there any evidence of spies in the camps, sent in by Associated Farmers or any of the other organizations?

Packard: No, not that I know of. Spies would be easy to spot. They did not need spies. The large operators were highly organized and fully capable of protecting what they considered to be their rights.

Baum: You mean the Associated Farmers?

Packard: Yes. Their profits depended to a degree upon the maintenance of an ample supply of docile workers and they, therefore, were against anything which seemed to recognize labor's rights. Time has not altered this attitude. But time has emphasized the fact that agricultural workers will have to organize and act collectively in their own interests if they are to get better annual incomes, improved living conditions, and accident and unemployment insurance to meet the unusual hazards faced by farm labor.

Baum: The Delano strikers are doing something about that.

Packard: They sure are and they deserve public backing. There is no other way by which agricultural workers will gain their rights.

Baum: How about the work being done by the Quakers? I understand that they have had a man in Tulare County for some years working with the farm workers.

Packard: Yes, the Quakers have done a wonderful job. They have helped workers to improve their own living conditions by promoting housing programs, and in getting water supplies and sanitary facilities in especially depressed areas. Mr. Bard Mc Allister, the Quaker representative near Visalia, has represented the farm workers viewpoint in local conferences so effectively that some large operators have refused to attend meetings where Mr. McAllister is to be present.*

Baum: Did you have anything to do with this Quaker move?

Packard: Yes I did. I served on the Quaker Committee after I got back from Greece. Emma and I stopped in Visalia on two or three occasions to see the work that was being done. On these occasions, however, we realized that the workers would have to organize in their own interests if any real gains were to be made. The workers must get a sense of community of interest.

Baum: The Quakers are a threat? (Laughter)

Packard: Any organized attempt to improve the conditions of farm labor is considered to be a threat.

Baum: Did you make any provision for migrant families that wanted to settle down?

* Bard McAllister is now in Zambia on a Quaker project - June, 1967. (Mrs. Packard)

Packard: Yes, in two ways. We established a few part-time farms adjacent to one or two of the labor camps in California and two groups of part-time farms in Arizona accommodating ninety-one families as I recall it. Low cost but well designed houses with modern facilities were built on land purchased by the government. The objective was, in part, to enable these families to supplement their wage income by producing garden truck and poultry products for their own use. Two rather elaborate part-time projects were established in Arizona. The second method was through resettlement on farms.

Baum: These part-time farms were like the labor allotments at Delhi, weren't they?

Packard: Yes, the idea was the same. And the results were the same, too. They were not very successful. Like the subsistence homesteads they did not work out as planned.

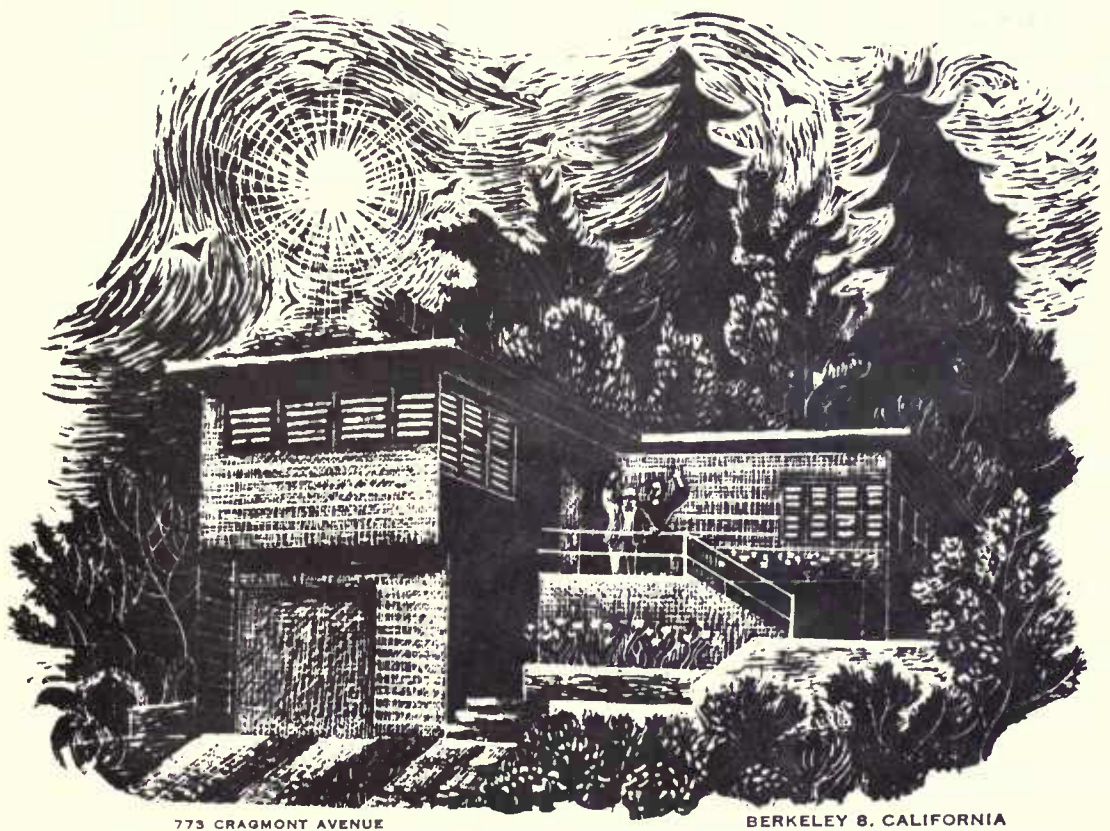
Son-in-Law Burton Cairns, Architect; Daughter Emmy Lou, and
Diego Rivera

Baum: Was Vernon De Mars on your staff at that time?

Packard: Yes, he was. He and my son-in-law, Burton Cairns, Emmy Lou's husband, were both on my staff. They worked together beautifully. Burton, who graduated cum laude from the architectural division of the University, was the older of the two and a natural leader. Eleven pages of a book entitled Twenty Outstanding Contributions to Modern Architecture written by a Swiss architect, were devoted to the work these two young men had done. Only three other American architects were included in the book. Some years later (1938), they designed

THE PACKARD HOME IN BERKELEY

The house was designed by Burton Cairns and Vernon DeMars in 1938 as an experiment in low-cost housing. The landscaping was done by Corwin R. Mocine. Later a separate cement-block study was built in the backyard for Mr. Packard.



773 Cragmont Avenue

Berkeley 8, California

Linoleum blockprint by
Emmy Lou Packard

Packard: our house in Berkeley and supervised its construction. Vernon and his wife Betty were the first to occupy the house when Emma and I were out of the state on some assignment. Burton, who was later appointed head architect for the Farm Security Administration for the Region 9 area, was killed in an automobile accident while on a job in Oregon. This left Emmy Lou with her son Donald, then four years old, to support. This loss affected the course of events for the entire family.

Emmy Lou received a subsistence pension for herself and Donald and entered the California School of Fine Arts for further training as an artist. Following this she went to New York hoping to start a career as an artist there. While she was away Diego Rivera came to San Francisco to paint a large mural in the Art-in-Action section of the Treasure Island Fair. Emma saw Diego and explained Emmy Lou's situation and he promptly offered her a job on the basis of their previous contact in Mexico. The upshot of this was that Emmy Lou became Diego's principal artist assistant. Years later, when damage to the mural had to be repaired, Diego commissioned Emmy Lou to do the work. During his stay Emmy Lou drove Diego to and from his work and was the only one who would stand up to him when he became angry, as he frequently did, when the work did not go to suit him. One time when they were eating lunch on the scaffold Diego poured the sticky syrup from some canned figs on Emmy Lou's head and had a great laugh until Emmy Lou retaliated by throwing the remainder of her coffee in his face.

Packard: On the occasion of Trotsky's death Frida, Diego's wife, called from Mexico City to tell him that she thought his life was in danger. He took the warning quite seriously and for two weeks moved from his apartment into my office in our backyard which we use as a spare guest house on occasion. When the work was finished Emmy Lou and I drove Diego back to Mexico City. During those days I learned a good deal about Trotsky and Diego's association with him. Each night I wrote home telling about what I had learned during the day, but those letters have been lost. One quality which Diego emphasized was Trotsky's kind-hearted love for animals. My impression of Diego's communism was that his ideology was very sketchy, but his hatred of injustice was intense. One evening at a dinner party in a restaurant in Mexico City, Diego drew a sketch of Orozco on the menu card, Orozco retaliated by drawing a cartoon of Diego on the same menu card. Each signed their sketches and gave the card to Emmy Lou for a souvenir. I had to maintain my standing at the dinner by eating six maguery works fried in deep fat, which Diego had prepared for my benefit. (Laughter) But this occurred in 1940. I'm getting ahead of my story.

Arizona and Utah

Packard: One of my duties as Regional Director was to visit each of the state offices and discuss their proposed programs. The migratory labor camp program dominated the work in California. The migratory labor problem was also the dominant interest in

Packard: Arizona. A special project, designed to conserve the range in Arizona was carried out in part under the direction of the Washington office. About 5,000 wild horses were rounded up and sold to a dog food enterprise in Phoenix. The New Mexico group was interested primarily in the rehabilitation program and in the establishment of a resettlement project on land to be irrigated along the Rio Grande.

Rehabilitation, the conservation of water, and the development of range land dominated the program in Utah. My stop in Utah gave me a chance to see a number of Mormon villages where the farm homes are all located in villages in the center of the farming area. I was very favorably impressed with much of what I saw. I was reminded of the villages I had seen in France and Mexico. We were accompanied on a trip through southern Utah by William Palmer, a Mormon who later became assistant director at the United States Bureau of Reclamation.

Baum: I assume you know about the book Box Car in the Sand by Laurence Hewes?

Packard: Yes, I have read it. It is based on the experience Hewes had as a boy when his father was pioneering on a reclamation project in eastern Oregon. Quite a part of the book though deals with Hewes' experience in getting farm workers from Mexico when he was director of Region 9 of the Farm Security Administration. He succeeded Garst who succeeded me in that position.

Baum: I haven't finished the book but I saw a statement about "Paul Taylor,

Baum: "who had launched the first concrete proposal for the camps; Burton Cairnes, a splendid young architect who designed them; Walter Packard and Garst, who had, with Tugwell's backing, got them built." The book also has a statement about the Director of the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of California.

Packard: You mean Crocheron?

Baum: The name was not mentioned, but I assume he referred to Crocheron. He tells about an interview with the Director to discuss the re-settlement programs. Hewes said that "when the Director had warmed up to the subject, he broke into a monologue of denunciation of Roosevelt, Wallace, Ickes, Hopkins and Tugwell. He loathed them all and his loathing plainly included me. He approved a wide hostility toward Farm Security and probably helped promote it."

Packard: That was Crocheron's style. He was against everything connected with the New Deal. He was a terrible autocrat who finally went so far in shaping the Extension Service into a semi-military organization that he had to be ordered to desist. He was one of the reasons why I left the Extension Service.

Baum: I read a statement about him which said "He landed in Berkeley with a bowler hat and spats. And it was very hard for farmers to see him."

National Director of the Rural Resettlement Division

Subsistence vs. Middle-Income Farms

Baum: Then you became National Director of Rural Resettlement. How did that come about?

Packard: Shortly after the work was well started in Region 9, Dr. Tugwell and a number of his staff made an inspection trip to California. We discussed the plans we had made for the various states and made a trip through California, Arizona, and New Mexico. We visited the Delhi colony where I explained the building program, and discussed what I considered to be the good and bad points of the Mead Plan.

Baum: This was in the thirties? And Delhi was going on? It had already been liquidated as any kind of a state project.

Packard: Yes. But many of the original settlers were still there and the orchards, vineyards and alfalfa fields looked good.

We also visited a labor camp in Kern County and, in general, had a chance to discuss a wide range of subjects concerning agriculture and the objectives of the Resettlement Administration. This led to a discussion of a controversial issue which resulted in my transfer to the Washington office as Director of the Resettlement Division of the Resettlement Administration.

Dr. Carl Taylor, a sociologist of national standing, had been a key figure in the Subsistence Homestead Program which had been taken over by the Management Division of the Resettlement Administration. No one had the best interests of the farm families more at heart than did Carl Taylor. I had a very deep regard for his sincerity and humanitarianism, but I did not approve his subsistence

Packard: philosophy, I felt that farmers should have enough land to produce a larger cash income than Dr. Taylor thought necessary. I objected to having the Resettlement Administration accept poverty as a standard, in part, because I believed that the maintenance of rural buying power was a necessary element of a viable total national economy. Dr. Taylor felt that it would be better to establish a large number of small farms of from ten to twenty acres where the farmers would get "much of his satisfaction in seeing things grow" than to establish a smaller number of larger farms of from forty to sixty acres. (This was for the southern states.)

Baum: You wanted middle class farmers and he wanted peasants. Is that right?

Packard: Yes, in a sense that's true. But in either case they would be "tillers of the soil". The difference would be in the degree of well-being. We both put great stress on the production of garden, poultry, and dairy products for home use and upon canning for winter use.

Baum: Does that mean Tugwell didn't agree with his point there?

Packard: Yes. Tugwell supported me, rather than Taylor.

Baum: And the main conflict between you was that he was going for subsistence farms and you felt they had to be an adequate living farm.

Packard: That's right. Since Tugwell favored my viewpoint rather than Taylor's, he asked me to take Taylor's place with the understanding that Taylor would be moved into an advisory position on Dr. Tugwell's staff. So, early in December, 1935, Emma and I packed our things in our car, stored our belongings in Berkeley, and drove to Washington.

Packard: Going through Texas and the southern states, I visited the regional offices along the way to get familiar with their land settlement programs.

Greer, South Carolina -- A Mill Village

Packard: We stopped in Greer, South Carolina -- the mill village where Emma had worked as a Y.W.C.A. secretary back in 1908.

Baum: How did you happen to have been in South Carolina?

Mrs.

Packard: I majored in home economics at Iowa State College and graduated in 1907. The next year I was offered a half-time job in the college library, where I had worked during college to help pay my expenses. So I accepted this and took two courses in college -- beginning French and an English course in writing. It happened that a college friend, Miss Ethel McKinley, had accepted the job of running the new Y.W.C.A. that had been established at the Victor Mills, near Greer, South Carolina, and she urged me to come down the fall of 1908. So I accepted and spent a year teaching girls and women in home economics classes.

Baum: How did this Y.W.C.A. happen to be established there?

Mrs.

Packard: There were several cotton mills in South Carolina which were owned or controlled by the J. Pierpont Morgan interests. An attempt had been made to make the Victor Mills a "showplace" for the industry at a time when there was much agitation about child labor in such industries. Miss Anne Morgan supported the Y.W.C.A. in New York City and conceived the idea of establishing this educational and social center at this mill. She always took an interest in it and visited the Y.W.C.A. after we were well established and the program was under way.

Mrs.

Packard: The mill itself was beautifully landscaped and planned for better working conditions -- good working light, for one thing. I well remember the blazing row of scarlet salvia that ran the full length in front of the block long white mill.

Baum: Were there Negroes in the mill?

Mrs.

Packard: Definitely not. The employees were all white, mostly what are called hillbillies from the Piedmont Mountains. Negroes were employed mostly as servants -- cooks, janitors, etc. Many of them could not read and write, though most of their children were now in school -- at least while living in this village. It was a "company town", with drab gray houses, pretty much alike in design and rented to employee families. In general, the town was pretty well kept up and did not look like a slum. Most families probably lived better than they had in their little cabins in the hills.

Baum: What about working hours at that period of labor history?

Mrs.

Packard: The mill hours were from 6 A.M. until 6 P.M. -- a straight twelve-hour day. My economics professor, Dr. Benjamin Hibbard, suggested that I keep my eyes open for "child labor" which was a subject of agitation by the then Interstate Commerce Commission, of which we heard a good deal in college and the newspapers of the day. Many worked in the mill at the legal age of sixteen. Then I found that there was a "piece rate" -- an arrangement by which papa and mama could be paid by the number of pieces they could do in a day -- but they could also have help from the older children who did not appear on the payroll -- and thus make many more pieces per day.

Mrs.

Packard: This was later forbidden by labor laws. Actually, the mill was rather tolerant of its help so that they could get off from work for a day or two now and then. I do not remember any complaints or labor trouble while I was there.

Baum: What about your second visit in 1935?

Mrs.

Packard: We drove into the little town early one rainy morning in December. It was not salvia season, but I was shocked to see the red flowers replaced by a huge barbed wire entanglement in front of the now unpainted mill. We had read of labor troubles in these mills and this apparently was the result of that struggle for better conditions.

Baum: Did you find anyone you had known twenty-seven years before?

Mrs.

Packard: Yes. I inquired at a home and found that Miss Rowena Westmoreland, who had been our loyal friend and supporter in the Y.W.C.A., was still living and lived nearby in her home where she was taking in boarders for income since she was too old to work in the mill. The woman of whom I inquired turned out to be one I had known as a three-year-old girl whose mother had brought her along to my cooking classes! So she accompanied us to see "Miss Rowena", who at first did not recognize me, until I said... "Don't you remember 'Miss Emmer?'" Then her face lighted up and she fell on my neck and said, "Lor, 'Miss Emmer,' to think I could forget you! I never loved nobody like I did you, 'Miss Emmer.'" I shore will have something to tell the boarders when they come home for dinner!"

Then they told us about the strike and what had happened at the mill. I do not remember the details of this now, but I do remember

Mrs.

Packard: that they said, "The strikers ought to have won. They was right, but they acted bad -- they threw sticks and stones and swore. But if they had just a got down on their knees and prayed, they'd of won. They wuz right in what they was askin's for!" This remark shows the strong religious belief that was almost universal in the village. We visited for two hours and I am sure dinner must have been late that day!

Types of Resettlement Projects

Packard: We arrived in Washington in time to be invited to a reception for new federal employees at the White House. We were thrilled over this invitation until the following morning when the papers noted that another reception had been held at the White House and all the "small fry in Washington" were there. (Laughter)

I felt greatly honored by this appointment, but I had an inner fear of uncertainty about the whole program. Based, in part, on my experience at Delhi I had a feeling that no one knew just what to do. No one, at the time, foresaw the degree to which technological developments would affect agriculture from coast to coast. There was evidence that a new revolutionary approach to agriculture as an industry and as a way of life was in the making. The first mechanical cotton pickers were just being tried out. Their potential use forecast a basic adjustment in the cotton industry. The revolutionary effect of other large scale land preparation, cultivation, and harvesting equipment and of the use of fertilizer, herbicides, and insecticides had not yet been felt. While we were pushing a program

Packard: to resettle people on relatively small farms a basic movement was in the process of reducing the number of farms in the United States by about three million, thus cutting the total number of farms in half.

Baum: You were, in a sense, working in the dark, weren't you?

Packard: Yes. What happened illustrates what I have come to consider a controlling factor in economic and social change. Developing circumstances provide a force which usually demands economic and social adjustments. Planning and design perform their principal functions in constructively guiding the changes that must be made as the result of developing technology.

At that time the Russian experiment on collective farming was receiving a great deal of attention. Here's a clipping from the Washington Post of May 11, 1936, entitled "Tugwell: Farmers' Lot is Sad, Compared to Soviet Film Idyl":

Farm life in Soviet Russia and farm life in America were depicted on a motion picture screen in the Mayflower Hotel last night. And from the standpoint of abundance, both in the matter of food and of fun, the Russian picture was tops by a Siberian mile."

There seemed to be what you might call three alternatives:

- 1) trying to establish a family farm of the traditional type; or
- 2) going to industrialized farms; or 3) having cooperative farms.

Tugwell was very much sold on the idea that very successful cooperative farms could be established in all parts of the United States.

Baum: What was your reaction to this plan?

Packard: I accepted the idea on a strictly experimental basis. My ideas were not congealed, but I had my doubts about the workability of the pattern

Fackard: because I thought producer cooperatives of the kind proposed were not behaviorally sound. My fears were based upon the fact that when workers contribute their energy, skills, and intelligence in the production of a common product there is no way of dividing the claims on supply on a satisfactory basis. In a consumer cooperative the division is made on the basis of what the individual buys and what he buys is a matter of his own concern alone. This consumer relationship is also the primary source of strength of capitalism. Highly competitive stockholders in a corporation can associate amicably because each stockholder has a basic independence. He can buy stock or sell it as he wishes, and what he gets in profits is based very largely upon his own judgment in buying stock. This amicable relationship does not exist in a producer's cooperative of the kind proposed. I felt quite certain, therefore, that the settlers would quarrel among themselves over work assignments, wages, and the like when the project was turned over to settler management. So long as the government employed a project manager with wide powers of decision, I felt the projects might succeed. These thoughts were the beginning of the development of my theory of the consumer-labor approach to social organization. But this is not the time to bring the subject up. I will discuss it later on in proper sequence.

Suffice it to say that I was concerned over the possible impact of mechanization upon old values which I considered valid. The following statement, made at that time, illustrates what I had in mind: "Our objective is to develop patterns of tenure and operation which

Packard: "will pass the advantages of mechanization on to all consumers in lower rates and prices and to all farmers and farm workers in a higher level of living."

Baum: How many resettlement projects were established?

Packard: In answering that question I might as well insert the following classification of projects as recorded on March 3, 1937: (See following page)

Baum: The industrialized projects in this list were the producer cooperatives you mentioned, weren't they?

Packard: Yes, they were.

Baum: How did they work out?

Packard: In the end they all had to be liquidated. C.B. Baldwin, who was the administrator at the time, had this to say at a congressional hearing: "Collective farming, financed with federal funds is now just another noble experiment to be liquidated as rapidly as possible by the Farm Security Administration." Baldwin testified to the fact that these projects included 450 families and covered a total of 63,410 acres as compared to 65 million acres included in the family-type farm ownership and rehabilitation program.

But the fact that these projects failed does not tell the whole story. The projects worked fairly well so long as a project manager employed by the government was in charge. But when the project manager was removed and the projects were turned over to the settler organization, dissension arose and the projects had to be liquidated as producer coops.

<u>Type of Project</u>	<u>Name of Project</u>
Labor Camps:	1. RF-CF-16, California Migratory Labor Camps 2. RF-CF-25, Marysville " " " 3. RF-CF-26, Arvin " " "
Part-time Farms:	1. RF-AZ-7, Arizona Part-Time Farms 2. RR-OH-21, Scioto Farms 3. RR-MT-25, Fairfield Bench Farms 4. RR-CO-7, Western Slope Farms
Industrialized:	1. RR-AZ-6, Casa Grande 2. RR-AK-14, Lake Dick 3. RF-NB-6, Two Rivers 4. RF-NB-7, ScottsBluff 5. RF-NB-8, Fairbury Farmsteads 6. RF-NB-9, Loup City Farmsteads 7. RF-NB-10, Kearney Farmsteads 8. RF-NB-11, Grand Island Farmsteads 9. RF-NB-12, Falls City Farmsteads 10. RF-NB-13, South Sioux City Farmsteads. 11. RR-OH-21, Scioto Farms 12. RR-IN-10, Wabash Farms 13. RF-SD-23, Sioux Falls
Community:	1. RF-AL-16, Cumberland Mountain 2. RF-AK-11, Wright Plantation 3. RR-AK-12, Lakeview 4. RH-GA-2, Piedmont 5. RF-GA-15, Irwinville 6. RF-GA-16, Brier Patch 7. RF-GA-17, Wolf Creek 8. RR-FI-20, Escambia 9. RH-IL-2, Lake County Homesteads 10. RH-MS-12, Richton Homesteads 11. RH-MT-1, Malta 12. RF-NM-16, Bosque 13. RF-NC-10, Roanoke 14. RH-NC-2, Penderlea 15. RF-SC-9, Ashwood 16. RF-SD-23, Sioux Falls 16. RF-TX-18, Wichita Valley Farms 17. RR-TX-25, Fannin Farms 18. RF-VA-1, Shenandoah
Infiltration:	
<u>Tenant:</u>	1. RR-AL-27, Alabama Farm Tenant 2. RR-AK-19, Arkansas " "

Type of ProjectName of Project

Infiltration: - continued

Tenant:

3. RR-GA-26, Georgia Farm Tenant
4. RR-LA-14, Louisiana " "
5. RR-MS-21, Mississippi " "
6. RR-NC-23, North Carolina Farm Tenant
7. RR-OK-23, Oklahoma Farm Tenant
8. RR-SC-20, South Carolina Farm Tenant
9. RR-TN-27, Tennessee Farm Tenant
10. RR-TX-23, Texas Farm Tenant

Other:

1. RF-AL-17, Coffee Farms
2. RR-CO-13, Bowen-Waverly-Morgan
3. RR-KY-14, Christian & Trigg Farms
4. RR-ME-4, State of Maine Farms
5. RR-MN-20, Central Minn. Farms
6. RR-MN-22, Thief River Falls
7. RR-MS-14, N.E. Mississippi Farms
8. RR-MO-17, Osage Farms
9. RR-NM-19, New Mexico Farms
10. RR-NY-12, Finger Lakes Farms
11. RR-NY-14, New York Valley Farms
12. RR-ND-25, Red River Valley Farms
13. RR-OK-22, Boomer Farms
14. RR-OR-10, Yamhill Farms
15. RR-UT-14, Sevier Valley Farms

RECAPITULATION:

Labor Camps.....	3
Part-Time Farms	4
Industrialized	13
Community	18
Infiltration - Tenant.	10
Infiltration - Other .	15
	<u>63</u>

NOTE: RR-OH-21, Scioto Farms, listed under both Part-time and Industrialized Types.
Correct number of Projects, therefore - 62.

Casa Grande, Arizona

Packard: The Casa Grande Project in Arizona is perhaps the best example. It was located on 4,000 acres of good irrigable land. Sixty well designed houses were located along both sides of the main road through the project. Each house was on an acre of land which gave ample space for fruit and garden production. A community center building provided ample facilities for community meetings. The cooperative was organized under state law. A board of directors was elected with the responsibility of developing a farm management plan for the community project, to be submitted to the project manager and through him to the regional office. The land and the facilities built by the government were leased to the cooperative for a period of forty years. Some leases were for 99 years. The objective was to retain land title in the government. The project was designed to accommodate sixty families with the idea that small industries might eventually be added to accommodate a larger number. For a while, the cow testing association stood the highest in the state month after month. The hogs secured top prices on the Los Angeles market. Crop production was satisfactory and the settler relationship was quite amicable. But when the project was turned over to the settler cooperative organization, disruptive quarrels arose and the project, as a cooperative, was abandoned. In settling final equities every settler possessed more assets than they had when they arrived.

The project manager developed some interesting facts which, in principle, have a wide application. He said that about twenty per

Packard: cent of the settlers were highly cooperative and willing to do anything to make the project succeed. About sixty per cent were reasonably cooperative but indifferent. They supported the project so long as it seemed to be working, but showed no vital interest in making the plan work. The remaining twenty per cent tended to be skeptical and often hostile. I found this same thing to be true at Delhi, too.

Another comment worth recording is presented in the following letter dealing with a study of the Casa Grande settlers:

Dear Mr. Packard:

After consulting with Mr. Beatty concerning the classification to which you referred in your letter, we have agreed that we have about six homesteaders at Casa Grande Valley Farms who are finding it very difficult to make the adjustment necessary to congenial project life.

In looking over the history of these six homesteaders, one fact stands out that although they had a farm background and were on farms at the time of their acceptance, they had spent a considerable number of years in industrial work and much of their life had been spent in or near cities, where they worked in organized trade industries. One was a copper roofer for three years, one a plumber and carpenter for two years, one a timber grader and mechanic for thirteen years, one a tractor driver for three and a half years, one a railroad telegrapher for eight years, and one a mechanic for two and a half years. In all but one case, they had come from a better background. Their fathers had been farm owners and the idea of individual ownership had been ingrained since their childhood. They thought the idea of cooperation sounded nice when they were down and out, but now that they have been living fairly comfortably for almost two years, the old individual instincts are coming to the surface again and making them dissatisfied with a cooperative project.

It appears to me that it will be several years before you can really tell much about the people on the project. The first year or two they are buoyed up by enthusiasm and hope. Then after that the daily grind of work and life begins to

show what kind of people you really have and whether they are able to stick to it long enough to become fully adjusted to living and working together.

I hope this will in some way answer your request and if there is any other way I can be of assistance to you, I shall be most happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

THEONE HAUGE,
Family Selectionist

Southern Projects

Packard: Lake Dick was another cooperative project quite different from Casa Grande in some respects. It was in the South, was not settled by migrants from the Dust Bowl, and was not irrigated. The houses were clustered around a small lake which gave it a rather distinctive character. An interesting incident occurred on a visit I made to the project with the Regional Supervisor who was raised in Mississippi. The settlers on the project were all white, but as we approached one end of the cotton field I found Negroes doing the work under the close direction of a white man sitting on a bench at the edge of the field. When I asked for an explanation I was told by the supervisor that the settlers were smart. They hired the "niggers" to do the hoe work at ten cents an hour. The settler who was in charge of the work kept a close account of the time each Negro worked. If he took time out to rest he was docked. (Laughter)

Another incident involving Negroes may be worth recording. It occurred on a rather large plantation in Louisiana that had been

Packard: purchased by the Resettlement Administration. All the families were Negroes. In talking to the former owner, a white man with a great social conscience, I was urged not to let the new supervisor of the plantation displace the Negroes by white families, as he feared might happen. I visited the project at the time that patronage profits from the newly organized cooperative store were being distributed. Everyone seemed pleased, but somewhat confused. I heard one Negro say to another, "Them Northern white folks just ain't smart, I never got no profits from the old plantation store".
(Laughter)

An Urban Project, New Jersey

Baum: Wasn't there an important cooperative project in New Jersey?

Packard: Yes, there was. It was known as the Hightstown Project. The Hightstown Project was, in part, a dream of Mr. David Dubinsky and his garment workers' union. They thought that a cooperative project in the country could provide better living conditions, lower rents, and more profits, especially where the garment industry was associated with cooperative farming. It was a utopian idea which did not work for the reasons I have already outlined. In this case, in addition to the unscientific behavioral relationships inherent in a producer cooperative, the Hightstown Project had the added handicap, created by the fact that the agricultural workers could not earn as much as the garment workers without charging more than the going market price for what they produced. An incident occurred at one of the project meetings which may be worth recording. Mr. Dubinsky invited Albert Einstein to visit the project and advise on procedure.

Packard: Dr. Einstein criticized some of the work of the garment workers and Mr. Dubinsky replied by saying "you may know everything about relativity, but you don't know nothing about the garment industry".*
(Laughter)

Individual Farms

Baum: What you have said so far is about cooperative farms. Didn't the Resettlement program involve providing individual farms for farm families?

Packard: Yes, of course. But the number of family farms established was not large. As I remember it, our goal was 10,000, but the number established was much less than that. The Rehabilitation and Tenant Purchase programs did much more for family farm operators than the Resettlement program did. A fact which sheds some light on the whole concept of planning in a technologically advancing age is that the total number of family farms in the United States declined by three million or so during the thirty years following the establishment of the Resettlement Administration.

Baum: Does that mean that you don't believe in planning?

*Excerpt from a letter to Mrs. Packard from Grace Tugwell (Mrs. Rexford Tugwell), written April 15, 1967: "You will be amused to know that Rex was always rather bitter about Mrs. Roosevelt's Arthurdale project. He thought the concept completely untenable and tried to convince Mrs. R not to push it -- and then he inherited the thing, half finished, and then became the target for all the well-founded criticism."

Packard: By no means. It simply illustrates the force of developing circumstances. Planning and design, to be effective, must anticipate the nature of the impact of developing technology upon economic and social patterns.

Baum: Didn't you specialize in resettling the owners of sub-marginal farms that were purchased in the program?

Packard: No, we did not. Dr. Gray, who was in charge of the sub-marginal land purchase program favored that idea. So did I, but Dr. Tugwell, for some reason, rejected the idea. This did not apply to those who had lost their farms in the Dust Bowl. A special effort was made to provide irrigated farms for these families.

Work of the Washington Office

Baum: (Looking at pamphlet, Low Cost Housing)

This is a suggestion for farmhouses planned for Resettlement projects. Is this a sample of the kind of thing your Washington office would send out?

Packard: Yes.

Baum: But the use of these house designs was not compulsory?

Packard: No. They were simply suggestions. We and the regional offices had good architectural staffs. Our aim was to get the most and best for the money. We wanted houses that had architectural merit but, more than that, houses that served the needs of the family. Consequently the home demonstration agent had quite a bit to say about house design. General directives were sent from the Washington office to the various Regional Directors. Some were issued by the

Packard: Procedure Division, some by Finance and some by the Legal Division. All project plans were sent to my office where they were analyzed by my staff and submitted to me for final judgment before going to Dr. Tugwell for approval. In order to guide the regions in the preparation of these plans, suggestions in the form of memoranda were sent out by the members of my staff who also made trips to the regions for consultation. I also made trips to the regions usually in connection with some regional meeting. I had no authority to direct. When directions were needed they came from the main office.

I attempted to influence the character of the program by preparing papers and delivering talks at various meetings. The subjects included the following: "Achievements and Future Plans of Rural Resettlement," "Food Resources," "Rural Housing Problems," "Our Fallow Economy," "The Government as Real Estate Buyer," "Reasons for not Conveying Title to Farm Security Clients Until the End of Forty Years," "Accomplishments and Larger Purposes of Rural Resettlement" (Agricultural Engineers, Washington), "The Resettlement Program as it will Affect Western Irrigation Projects" (Institute of Irrigation Agriculture, Corvallis, Oregon), "Resumé of the Land Settlement Program," "The Purposes and Accomplishments of the Rural Resettlement Program" (National Conference of Social Work, Indianapolis, Indiana), "The Tenant as a Migrant" (National Conference on Social Work), "The Resettlement Administration and Migratory Labor," "How to Meet the Problem of Marginal Land in Agricultural Land Use Planning," "Agriculture and the Depression," "Why the Way we do Things Now is Becoming Impossible," "Back to the Land Movement with

Packard: "Special Reference to the Jew" (Jewish Community Center, San Francisco), "What the Development of Techniques Requires Us to Do" (Plan Age).

Life in Washington

Baum: What was your life like in Washington?

Mrs.

Packard: It was a very new experience for both of us. We had had a limited experience with politics in California, but now we were in the maelstrom of trying to carry out party promises. We drove our own car across the U.S.A. in December, 1935, stopping at many local Resettlement headquarters in the southern states, where we met hoards of employees until my memory of names and places was completely exhausted -- as we went to dinner after dinner with the various staffs. We were so late getting into Washington that we holed up in an apartment in a hotel just off Lafayette Square with housekeeping arrangements, and spent six months there. It was very conveniently located to office and government buildings and I could stay alone when my husband was out of town, as he often was. If there was room in the auto, I frequently went along on trips out to projects.

Baum: This was the working out of some of the New Deal?

Packard: Yes, the laboratory, as it were. This was also the time when Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. was holding his Labor Committee hearings and many of us wives attended these hearings -- many of which were taking place that year. They were the most exciting thing in Washington that season -- better than the theater for drama.

Baum: For instance?

Mrs.

Packard: Well, the day that Senator La Follette had the Pinkerton Detective Agency on the carpet for their snooping into the labor unions' organizations -- finding out how and where they operated -- also the heads of the labor unions in the southern mines and mills -- sometimes the sheriffs who guarded the company properties.

I remember one day when witnesses of this type were searched for weapons as the atmosphere was so tense. Another day, the Senator had the whole files of the Pinkerton Agency subpoenaed for the hearing. Important employers evaded responsibility for actions. The Senator would ask, "Then who would know about this?" Each man would pass the buck to another until he, one day, had seven top men on the stand trying to get one to take the responsibility for some order or action. That was dramatic as you can imagine. The hearing rooms were crowded.

One evening my husband was invited to dinner with Mr. Morgenthau where the invited group heard Robert La Follette speak. He made the profane statement that "Any one of the vice-presidents (of companies) that I had on the stand would perjure himself, except that he never knew when I had the evidence against him in my hands." Many times I heard him ask a question, get a denial of a fact, and then he would say caustically, "I have in my hand a copy of that letter -- does this refresh your memory?"

Baum: Were there other hearings as well as the Labor Committee?

Mrs.

Packard: Yes. Another one I remember was the one where Dr. Francis Townsend

Mrs.

Packard: was subpoenaed and came with his attorney, Sheridan Downey. We had been through the End Poverty in California (EPIC) campaign in California when Upton Sinclair ran for governor and Dr. Townsend was in all the news for his work for "Senior Citizens" -- probably he invented the term at this time. Dr. Townsend had seen an old woman rummaging in a garbage can for food and it so enraged him that he began his campaign for relief of such people. I forget which men held the hearing on this but they were very discourteous to Dr. Townsend in the morning session, which ended tensely, to be recalled right after lunch. When we returned, Sheridan Downey got up quickly, passed out some copies of a statement that he and Dr. Townsend had signed to the audience. He then read it and quickly, before anyone had a chance to reply, he and Townsend walked out on the hearing and disappeared into a waiting auto and drove to parts unknown, leaving the committee gasping in disbelief. This was clearly contempt of a committee but I do not remember that they were ever disciplined for it. I have somewhere a copy of that statement and hope I can find it for this record.

Another incident impressed itself on my memory. At that time, John L. Lewis was often in the news and at odds with most of the powers-that-be, except for his own union. One day a group of students from out of town arranged an interview with him and I happened to attend, since it was not a closed meeting. The only question that I remember was one asking if he admitted Communists to his union, as he was accused of doing. His reply was to this

Mrs.

Packard: effect: "The union is open to anyone the employers may hire. I can't help it if they employ Communists, can I?" And his eyes twinkled under those famous bushy eyebrows.

Baum: You must have done other things besides hearings!

Mrs.

Packard: Yes, it was a very busy life. There were several official social affairs -- two White House receptions and an afternoon tea. We were there for the second inaugural of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President and saw all we could of that. There were many teas by heads of departments and, of course, purely personal affairs among close friends. There were plays and concerts. I still remember George Gershwin conducting his "Rhapsody in Blue", with himself at the piano, in Constitution Hall -- a thrill to remember.

Baum: What about the many historical places to visit?

Mrs.

Packard: Those, of course, everyone did. I drove people -- visitors -- out to see Mt. Vernon several times and then called a halt. In the spring of 1936 my son-in-law, Burton Cairns, and four of his staff in architecture in Region 9, came to Washington for a month. It was all new to them so I had the fun of going to many places as guide, or to places like Williamsburg, Virginia, which had been restored. We six drove down in my auto and spent the weekend looking over Jamestown, Yorktown, University of Virginia and Thomas Jefferson's home. The young architects were fascinated over the designs and architecture and I was fascinated by looking at these historical places through their eyes. They went over the underpinnings and the rafters of the old buildings at Williamsburg with

Mrs.

Packard: with eager and trained eyes. Maybe the history impressed them, too, but techniques and designs and plans were more important to them. Burton Cairns, Corwin Mocine and Vernon DeMars were along on this trip -- the two latter men are now on the faculty of the University of California, Berkeley, in the Environmental Design Division. The three of them later designed and built our own home and garden at 773 Cragmont Avenue in Berkeley in 1938.

We drove to New York City for weekends with Walter's two sisters. Another time, for a weekend at the Connecticut home of Frances Adams and her husband, Alex Gumberg. Dr. John Dewey was among the guests. I had followed his ideas on "progressive education" with great interest and the Peninsula School had carried out some of his ideas in its organization. We also met Lemuel and Mary Parton, both newspaper writers. Lem had written a personality column for the old San Francisco News, before going to New York where he had a syndicated column. Mary was writing a book on information about jobs and skills for the United States Government, to help young people in viewing the fields of job opportunity. She took me under her wing and we interviewed such people as the policewoman in charge of the delinquent girls in the Washington police department. Another fascinating visit was to the taxidermist who mounted specimens for the Smithsonian Institution. Another day, we went to the United States Weather Bureau for a survey of the kinds of jobs done there. Another time I helped her get ready for an unexpected reception at the White House for the newspaper people -- we managed somehow to find enough of the proper apparel so that

Mrs.

Packard: she went off gaily in many borrowed items of costume.

Personnel

Baum: What did you think of the staff you had to work with in the Resettlement Administration?

Packard: Generally speaking, the people employed by the Resettlement Administration were idealists. They were sincere, capable, and hard working. The situation was very much like the situation that existed when the Reclamation and Forest Services were organized under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, A.P. Davis, and other of the early conservationists. We all felt that we were a part of a movement which would do much for the low income rural population.

Baum: The same group would now be joining the Peace Corps, I suppose.

Packard: Yes, that's true. The same thing was true of the personnel employed in the early part of the Marshall Plan. Several old Resettlement people were in Greece when I was there. Others had joined the United States technical staff. The New Deal agencies formed a sort of training school for later foreign aid projects.

Closing Out of the Resettlement Administration

Packard: The Resettlement Administration, as such, was a short-lived organization. Dr. Tugwell left in 1937 and several changes were made. The name of the organization was changed to the Farm Security Administration and the Land Planning Division, under Dr. Gray, was transferred to the Department of Agriculture. All of

Packard: the cooperative farms were liquidated soon after the Farm Security took over, at the direction of Congress. They felt that they were too much like the Russian experiment. And C.B. (Beany) Baldwin came out with a very strong statement saying that these producer controlled cooperative farms were a failure. And they were given up. Much of the remaining work of the Resettlement Division was taken over by the newly created Tenant Purchase program. Tenant farming created one of the dominant social problems in the southern states. I was transferred back to Berkeley where I became director of the land planning work, which had been separated from Resettlement and later was taken over by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Baum: That was under Dr. Gray, wasn't it?

Packard: Yes, that was under Dr. Gray. Garst had moved the Resettlement office from Berkeley to San Francisco when he became director. When I took charge I transferred the Land Planning Organization back to Berkeley and took the old quarters that we had before.

The Farm Security Administration lasted for a good many years, but finally was transferred to what is now the Farmers' Home Administration, which is essentially a loaning organization. They have operating loans and farm ownership loans and water development and soil conservation loans, a rural housing loan, emergency loans, and watershed loans, and rural area development loans. In general, the objectives are not much different from the original Rehabilitation Division of the Resettlement Administration, based on the principle that "Supervised credit helps farmers improve their farms

THE PAINTINGS OF EMMY LOU PACKARD

In November, 1928, an American woman came to see me to show me the paintings her daughter had done. At that time I was painting the Secretariat of Education murals, in Mexico City, where this child had been living for two years. Her name was Emmy Lou Packard, the excellent painter of today, then only thirteen years old.

I was surprised at the great character, the sensitiveness of tones, and the objective and subjective truth of the paintings of Mexican life that this North-American child had done.

She was a blonde, melancholy little girl, with the face of a French gothic angel plucked from the reliefs of Chartres, but she had been born just two miles from the border of Mexico. Embarrassed and shy, bright and a little savage, she had all the character of the country in which she was born. The first fruits of her life corresponded with the antecedents and the birthplace of the organism which produced them. The seed was French Hugonot, brought here via Holland two centuries ago. With two hundred years of acclimatization and hybridization here, the plant has deep roots in the soil of our continent. Born on the border and growing up in Mexico, this painter is the true type of American, that is, the men and women for whom home is the land from the north of Canada to the tip of Tierra del Fuego.

Today, 1941, Emmy Lou's painting has born fruit for an entire year in Mexico, where thirteen years ago the first buds of the plant appeared. There is no doubt but that Mexican soil is healthy for her. She has unrolled a specific personality. A fine elegance mixed with bitter pride, profound sadness and subtle irony, coming from the original seed, show through in the plant, mixed with the bright courage and the essential, irreducible character of the fertile American desert. The plant has a beauty both new and ancient. The American soil has modeled it, and it maintains its vital proportions apart from any foreign influences, in harmony with our marvelous plastic tradition — as the fruit of our cactus today is the same as it was two million years ago. Fluent form that grows and moves in the drawings like arms and trunks of the Zalhuaros, grays from the humid snowy atmosphere of the north and the dusty plateaus of the South; high tones, pure and brilliant, as in the tropics; fugues of yellows, blues and pinks like the textiles, toys and flowers of Mexico. Emmy Lou's painting, for being organically North-American and Mexican, is truly Pan-American, and this, unusual quality is expressed in plastic values of high quality.

The years Emmy Lou has lived have enriched her pictorial language but have not destroyed in this fine painter of today, who handles beautifully fresco, watercolor and oil, with masterly drawing, the precious qualities of the child I met in Mexico thirteen years ago.

I am sure that all Americans capable of emotion and appreciation before these new plastics values, fruits of our soil, will receive Emmy Lou's paintings and covet them with the emotion and love with which we gather the first fruits of a plant which we have grown ourselves — grown from two centuries of sweat, labor and blood, united with twenty centuries of a marvelous heritage that is just now beginning to become again a living reality.

DIEGO RIVERA.

1. MODESTA
2. JUANITA
3. LANDSCAPE
4. LUCHA WITH PAPER FLOWERS
5. BLIND BEGGAR
6. CURIOUS CHILDREN
7. LUCHA
8. LORENZA WITH FLOWERS
9. JUANITA ASLEEP
10. ABSTRACTION FROM CHILD
11. JUDASES
12. DOGS IN THE GARDEN
13. BULL FROM METEPEC
14. MOVING VAN
15. ISOLDA
16. BOY WITH JUDAS
17. SELF PORTRAIT IN JUNGLE
18. JUANITA WITH MASK
19. WOMAN WITH TWO SOULS
20. MODERN MEXICO
21. GENTLEMAN WITH GLOVES
22. ABSTRACTION
23. WOMAN ON BEACH
24. JUDASES TO BE SOLD
25. LANDSCAPE NEAR SAN TOLO
26. LANDSCAPE NEAR SAN TOLO
27. LANDSCAPE NEAR SAN BARBARA
28. LANDSCAPE AT SUNSET
29. LOLITA LOPEZ
30. SELF PORTRAIT WITH MIRROR
31. STILL LIFE
32. DESERT AT NOON
33. SELF PORTRAIT WITH BEE
34. TOLUCA
35. CABARET LEDA
36. DREAM
37. TARASCAN IDOLS
38. LORENZA

WATER COLORS

1. CHURCH
2. TLALOC IN CHURCH
3. MARKET
4. LANDSCAPE IN TROPICS
5. MOVING VAN
6. DANCE OF SPANISH CONQUEST

7. RAIN
8. CABARET LEDA
9. WORKER
10. MAN SELLING VIOLINS
11. WOMAN SELLING RADIOS
12. DANCER IN MASK

BRUSH DRAWINGS

1. FRIDA
2. ISOLDA
3. CHILD SEATED
4. JUANITA SEATED
5. DANCER AND SPECTATOR
6. CEREMONIAL DANCERS
7. DRUNK
8. DANCERS
9. PELADOS
10. CHILD IN CHAIR
11. WOMAN WITH DUCKS
12. DANCER FROM MICHOACAN
13. BLIND BEGGARS
14. DANCER

Emmy Lou Packard Exhibition, Dec. 2 - 19, 1941

Standahl Art Galleries, 3006 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California

Packard: "and homes, increase their incomes, and make their full contribution to the economic growth of their communities. This combination of credit plus management assistance is a major tool in rural area development."

When I resigned I got a very nice letter from Will W. Alexander, September 22, 1937:

My dear Walter:

I've been away a great deal and when here have been pressed with the details of our reorganization about which you have no doubt seen reports in the press. I have missed you and I wanted to write and tell you so and to say that no one with whom I have been associated with in this work has given me more inspiration than you. The time is coming when we will all be proud of our connection with the early days of this work. Most of what we started is sound and significant and with proper management will vindicate itself and those who strove for its creation. To those beginnings no one made a more sincere, honest, and constructive contribution than yourself. May I assure you of my genuine and abiding friendship. With highest regards to you and Mrs. Packard, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Will W. Alexander

Baum: That's a very nice letter.

Packard: Yes.

Baum: Was he a Tugwell man?

Packard: Oh, definitely. When Tugwell left Dr. Alexander took his place as Administrator. C.B. Baldwin succeeded Dr. Alexander and presided over the liquidation of the Resettlement Administration and the establishment of the Farm Security Administration. Beany Baldwin later became the campaign manager for Henry Wallace in his bid for the presidency. I received a wire from Beany in February, 1948

Packard: asking me to accept a position as one of the national directors of Wallace's campaign. But I acted then as I did when Upton Sinclair was running for governor of California; I did not vote for either man, not because I was conservative (or was I?), but because I was afraid of Wallace's religious mysticism. I was still seeking the answer to problems which I thought were not clearly understood. Tugwell, who was for Wallace in the beginning, withdrew before the campaign ended for reasons similar to mine.

CONSULTING WORK, 1939-1944

Irrigation Projects Near Yuma

Packard: The work of the Land Planning Organization led to the establishment in Berkeley of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It was to become a large organization with quite a staff; they had plans for quite an ambitious study program and a corresponding budget. It appeared then that we would be able to conduct some original investigations along several lines such as: detailed studies of land available for settlement, cost of land development in newly irrigable areas, the relative merits and possibilities of different types of settlement, studies of financial and tenure arrangements for settlers and the like. Although elaborate plans were made, they were not carried out because of financial problems. There were always struggles with Congress about funds. In general, this was to be a study organization. They were going to go into all of the activities of the Department of Agriculture, including the Farm Security Administration, and see where mistakes were made in the hope of developing a philosophy that could be applied so that errors could be avoided in the future. One objective was to develop a really basic farm policy.

One of those plans was a proposed study of the Imperial Valley. It came about in this way: When I first took the office of director in Region 9, I had several wires and telephone messages from Washington to go to Yuma to visit the Mesa area which the Bureau of Reclamation was planning to irrigate. I had been familiar with the area before from my time in Imperial Valley. I was rather

Packard: skeptical because it was an extremely sandy area, where the sand was very porous. I felt it involved settlement problems that couldn't be met at that time. The Yuma people wanted the Farm Security Administration to supplement the work of the Bureau of Reclamation by helping settlers finance their development plans. I went down to Yuma and met with the committee who drove me out over the mesa. I dug around in various places to determine what the soil was like. I came back with the same conclusion that I had when I went there years earlier, that it was not a desirable thing at that time because of the problems involved. A rather funny thing happened on this trip. While we were out on the mesa, the group gathered around me while I was shoveling a hole, and the Christian Science Monitor came out with a picture of the group on its front page, saying "Packard turns the first dirt on new project." Instead of approving it, I turned it down and created quite a lot of resentment in Arizona for a while.

Baum: I didn't understand, quite ... the Yuma people wanted the Bureau of Reclamation to develop --

Packard: No. The Yuma people wanted the Resettlement Administration to finance the settlement of the mesa. The Bureau of Reclamation was to provide the land and the water. The Resettlement Administration would provide loans and advice and direct the planning, sub-dividing, and settling of the land.

Baum: To get a new business venture going, I guess, was their idea.

Packard: Yes. Later on, when the Bureau of Agricultural Economics branch was established in Berkeley this same issue came up again, but in

Packard: a larger way. The Bureau then was building the All American Canal, and there were thousands of acres of land in the east side mesa that required irrigation. So a major project developed in the working out of a plan for the settlement of both the Yuma mesa and the east side mesa in Imperial Valley. As a result of my previous experience in Imperial Valley, I took a leading role in this new venture. In making the plan I was able to get the cooperation of the University of California, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the U.S.D.A. I made several trips to the area and prepared tentative plans for the subdivision and development of the area. I worked closely with Dr. Carl Alsborg who was then head of the Giannini Foundation of the University of California, who took a keen interest in the project. The study was supported by the Imperial Valley Irrigation District and it seemed that everything was favorable to carrying out such a study. John Page, the Commissioner of Reclamation backed the proposed plans. My correspondence with him at that time is a part of the record which I am filing with this report.

I proposed experimental settlement on both the Yuma and Imperial Valley east side mesa in the hope that the special problems associated with the very sandy land could be worked out before actual settlement began. I felt that sprinkle irrigation might be an advantage both because it would cover the land adequately without over-irrigation and without creating a serious drainage problem in the areas already irrigated in the lower areas.

Packard: The whole plan was finally given up, in part because Dr. Gray felt that the Department of Agriculture wasn't in position to go ahead with so large an undertaking. Meanwhile my employment as Director of the Bureau was terminated and I again became a consultant, but with the Farm Security and the Department of Agriculture my main clients.

Study of Baja, California for Jewish Settlement

One of the jobs I had at that time was for a Committee on Jewish Resettlement, whose members wanted to find some place for Jewish settlement that might be an alternative to Israel. The committee was headed by Linton Wells and included a number of well known people: Fay Gillis, Dr. George Richter, Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, Dorothy Thompson, Maurice Wertheim, Stuart Chase, Marian Tyler, Mary Van Cleve, Dr. Alphonse Goldschmidt, Aubrey Neil Morgan, Louise Buckley, Frances Adams, and Alex Gumberg. The committee meeting which I attended was called by Alex Gumberg who was the primary mover in the thing. Dorothy Thompson told what she thought about the need for resettlement and how good it would be to have it in Mexico, if that were possible. I was the second speaker and gave what I knew about Mexico and especially about Lower California. I expressed some skepticism about the undertaking, but as a result of that meeting I was sent to Lower California to make a report on the possibility of having a very large Jewish resettlement there.

Packard: I went to Lower California and was able to get maps and data on rainfall and climate from the Mexican government. In fact, one of the projects that I had worked on when I was working for the Mexican government was a project in Tijuana, so I knew something about the area already and did have contacts. The plan involved the taking over of the lower part of the Imperial Valley below the border. It was then owned by Chandler of the Los Angeles Times. That is, of course, a very rich and productive area. It would support a very sizable colony. It is almost equal in size to Imperial Valley on the United States side of the border. The northern portion of Lower California is much like San Diego County, except that it contains a snowcapped mountain 12,000 feet high which provides some runoff which can be used for irrigation if properly conserved. Both coasts provide excellent fishing grounds.

But most of the land area is desert and almost completely unproductive. I came to realize too that the native population would resent the introduction of hundreds of thousands of non-Mexican peoples. I was told that the Mexican government would object to the project. I came to the conclusion, on balance, that the arguments against the plan were stronger than the favorable points and reported against the venture.

Baum: Did they have a plan for a settlement the size of Israel?

Packard: No, not as large. It would be supplementary.

Baum: It doesn't seem that Lower California would have enough land for that.

Packard: Well, Israel is quite small, you know.

Baum: Yes, and Israel doesn't have very good land either.

Packard: That is right. Its resources are very limited. But, I've been over quite a bit of Israel with Israeli irrigation engineers and I was surprised to see what they've been able to do.

Work with National Youth Administration

Another job that I had as a consultant was with the National Youth Administration. Aubrey Williams was head of that organization. He was very friendly with John Kingsbury, whom I worked under in France. Dr. Kingsbury recommended me to Aubrey Williams as a consultant who might help him get his organization working with the Farm Security Administration or other departments of government in developing opportunities for youth. The Youth Administration would carry through the educational end of it but there would be opportunities in agriculture and in industry that could be developed, if the Youth Administration could make arrangements for help from other agencies.

So I went to Washington and worked with Aubrey off and on for a couple of years. I went ahead with the idea of working with the Farm Security Administration in developing farms for youths, particularly in the South where the local Youth Administration leaders could get opportunities for settlement for young people who came off the farm and had been trained in agriculture but had no place to go. We thought the Farm Security could finance them on farms that would be big enough so they'd make a reasonable living.

Packard: Kingsbury and I went on a trip through the southern states to report on what the National Youth Administration was doing. We went from Georgia to Florida and west through to Arkansas, visiting the National Youth Administration organizations and seeing what they were doing. On this trip with Kingsbury through the South we stopped at the Tennessee Valley Authority area, went over the area with officials of the organization. I made a talk there proposing that the TVA work with the Youth Administration in developing projects in which the Youth Administration could help.

I came back to Washington with a very keen admiration for the work the National Youth Administration was doing in education. They were giving the young people a very practical education, so when they got through they would be able to get jobs away from others who were not so well trained. I felt that they would be a favored economic group. But I didn't see any basic planning on the part of any of the administrators, either local or state. So I came back with the feeling that although these young people were being trained in techniques, etc. they were learning nothing about the society they were living in. They were, consequently, unable to act intelligently to change things, which I felt would be necessary in order to provide employment, because unemployment was a very serious matter, especially in the South.

As a result I thought of preparing an economic primer that could be distributed to the students and administrative personnel, giving the basic facts of life. After working three or four weeks

Packard: on this primer I came to the conclusion that it was far too deep a subject to be covered in so short a time. The book that I've been working on ever since and that I'm still hoping to get out is that primer. (Laughter)

Baum: Were you commissioned to do that?

Packard: Yes. But I gave it up after a short time when I found it was impossible to do what I had in mind.

I did various minor errands for Aubrey Williams, writing material for him and that sort of thing, including some work here in California in cooperation with the local state director.

Consultant for the Farm Security Administration in Oregon

One of the most important assignments I had as a consultant was with the Farm Security Administration in Portland. I followed through on my original study of the Columbia Basin Project. I made a different kind of a report for the Farm Security Administration on the settlement problem. How it could be settled and the plans for doing it whereby the Farm Security Administration in that area would supplement what the Bureau of Reclamation was doing by providing loans for development work and by giving advice to the settlers.

I also made a special study of Linn County in central Oregon,* a typical area on the east side of the Willamette Valley extending to the crest of the Cascade Mountains. The study included both forestry and agriculture. My report was in considerable detail, showing how the economy of the area could be developed with a

* "Post War Future of a Western Community," Farm Security Administration, November, 1943. A copy of this report is available in the Bancroft Library.

Packard: sustained program of reforestation in the mountains, which was not then being done, and where agriculture and forestry could work together in developing as complete a program for the county as we could get. Copies of the study were distributed through the area and as a result the head of the University of Idaho's economics department wanted to have studies of the same kind made in every county in Idaho. I was working under the general supervision of Lee Fryer who later on wrote a book on my Linn County report.*

My work in the Northwest was not continuous. I went back and forth from Berkeley to Portland several times. I filled in this spare time with various short term jobs. One of these included a reconnaissance study of the worst part of the Dust Bowl in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Colorado. I attended a conference on the Dust Bowl problem in Amarillo as a representative of the Farm Security Administration in Region 9.

Baum: Wasn't that for the Bureau of Reclamation?

Packard: No, irrigation was not the main problem. The Bureau of Reclamation is primarily interested in irrigation. The issue was whether or not to try to resettle the area that had been so badly damaged by

*Lee Fryer phoned from Washington, D.C. last August (1966) saying he was using the Linn County report as a basis for work he was doing in the southern states. He was bringing the ideas up to date to adapt to local conditions. I have not heard from him since, so I don't know the results. (E.L.P.)

Packard: drought and winds and how it could be done with safety. H.E. Henson, who had been my chief assistant during my resettlement days in Washington, was in charge of the Amarillo office.

In 1941 I began to have trouble with the eye that had been operated on for cataract in 1930. A Portland doctor prescribed some new glasses which did not help. When I got back to San Francisco I went to my old eye doctor (Otto Barkan) who found that I had an advanced case of glaucoma and needed an immediate operation. The first operation was not successful, but the second, which required eleven stitches, corrected the trouble.

Baum: You were lucky to preserve your eyesight.

Packard: Yes, I was. I depended almost wholly on that left eye until 1947 when I had a cataract operation on my right eye.

Consultant for the United States Indian Service

Another position was with the Indian Service. I was employed as a consultant for summer school work, where Indian Bureau supervisors came from all over the Western states for conference and study. My particular job was dealing with the resettlement and irrigation, principally irrigation. John Collier was head of the Indian Bureau at that time.

The first meeting was at Riverside, California, and it was a delightful experience working with a new group entirely. And to get in touch with what they were doing was really quite inspiring. The second meeting was at Fort Wingate, New Mexico.

Packard: During that time we visited a large number of the interesting Indian settlements in both Arizona and New Mexico. That summer I had to take three days off and fly up to Oregon to meet M.L. Wilson who was coming to visit the Columbia Basin Project. I met him at Wenatchee at the direction of Walter Duffy.

I got back to Fort Wingate and was there not more than ten days when I had to take another leave to fly up to Denver for a meeting in Estes Park on the Great Plains area. This meeting had been called by M.L. Wilson who was Undersecretary of Agriculture at that time. He was a classmate of mine at Ames and I knew him well. He was a very interesting person. He worked with Professor Holden in Iowa during those early days when they were growing "two blades of grass where one grew before". M.L. was Holden's principal assistant. He later went to Montana as head of the Extension Service there. He worked with large wheat growers, including Mr. Campbell who was supposed to be the greatest wheat grower in the world. Because of his experience in large scale wheat farming, Russia asked for his services. That was shortly after President Roosevelt had recognized Russia, when many American technicians, including A.P. Davis, Chief of the Reclamation Service, went to Russia to assist in resources development work.

Baum: Why didn't you go?

Packard: I would like to have gone but I had no skills that the Russians wanted. This was in spite of the recommendation that Rhys Williams,

Packard: whom I have mentioned before, said he gave me. Rhys described me as "a cross between Jesus Christ and Lenin". But that was not enough. (Laughter)

Work with the Commonwealth Club of California

For a period of two years I served as chairman of the Agricultural Section of the Commonwealth Club. We had well-attended regular meetings, discussing a wide range of subjects, most of which were controversial. Harry Mc Clelland, then with the Bank of America and later head of the Marshall Plan work in Italy, and a very good friend of mine, called me the commissar. It was at a time when the Associated Farmers were very active. I had the head of that organization as the speaker at one of the meetings. The work finally resulted in the preparation of a Commonwealth Club report on problems of tenure and the role of the state and federal government in agricultural affairs. It supported the liberal viewpoint and was opposed by some as being too radical. It was, however, generally acclaimed as a constructive document.

California State Land Classification Commission

Towards the end of the Olson administration I was appointed by the governor to the State Land Classification Commission which had been authorized by the state legislature the year before. I'm somewhat reluctant to list this item because my tenure of office was exceedingly short. But the work was somewhat exciting, and the results were very positive. Both during the depression and normal years a large number of parcels of real property became

Packard: delinquent and, after a lapse of five years, were deeded to the state of California for tax delinquency. The total area of delinquent land amounted to an area larger than the state of Connecticut. Some of this land was not really capable of supporting a tax burden and, in fact, some was wasteland. Other land was capable of paying its portion of county taxes in normal years, but by reason of either a depression or the inability of a former owner to exploit its possibilities, they became tax delinquents and were removed from the tax rolls. Under the California system prior to 1941, all this land was subject to redemption at any time prior to tax sales. As an inevitable result the wasteland went back time and time again to private ownership, mainly through tax sales at what looked on the surface like bargain prices. But after a short period it again became delinquent, causing more expense for the county than the tax received. And in many cases this caused financial disaster to the persons who attempted to use the property. The land which was capable of profitable use went back to private ownership to some extent.

But certain problems appeared. In the first place a portion of the land was redeemed by persons who could not or would not operate the property so as to keep it off the delinquent rolls. Secondly, there was a very great deterrent to persons desiring to purchase this land at tax sales because of the possibility that there would be a redemption prior to the date of sale, in which case all their plans and efforts would be wasted. It was

Packard: found also that there was a public need for some of this property which was far more beneficial to the public than would be the case if the properties were in private ownership.

It was felt by those interested in all phases of the problem that the two most important steps to be taken towards a solution were the termination of the rights of redemption and the creation of a system of classification of tax deeded properties. Therefore, at the first extra session of the fifty-third legislature, the legislature enacted and Governor Olson approved, an act for this dual purpose. This act provided for a termination of the rights of redemption of all tax-deeded properties and provided for a Land Classification Commission to be appointed by the governor. The Commission was empowered to classify all tax-deeded lands after proper study into three classifications: suitable for private use, suitable for public use, and wasteland. It was also empowered to seek recommendations for the rehabilitation of wastelands. The right of the legislature to terminate the right of redemption in this was was challenged in the courts, with the result that the State Supreme Court ruled by a 4 to 5 decision that the legislature had no such right.

The Land Classification Commission was appointed in December, 1942, somewhat after the Supreme Court had handed down this decision. It consisted of three members: Louis Bartlett of Berkeley, Carl A. Peterson of Los Angeles, and myself. At the first meeting of the Commission in December, 1942, I was elected

Packard: chairman. The Commission was apprised of the decision of the Court by J. Rupert Mason*, who wanted a rehearing of the case in the hope that the will of the legislature might be carried out. As it happened, Earl Warren was the Attorney General who had presented the case before the Supreme Court which led to the decision, which, in effect, largely nullified the ability of the Commission to fulfill its purposes.

As a result of all this the Commission asked the Democratic Attorney General, Robert W. Kenny, to petition the Court for a rehearing. This was done by the presentation of a brief amicus curiae, by Kenny, the Attorney General, H.H. Kinney, the Assistant Attorney General, Adrian A. Kragen, Deputy Attorney General, and an attorney for the Land Classification Commission. The rehearing was granted and the decision of the court was reversed. The next event so far as I was concerned was the receipt of a letter from Governor Warren announcing my removal from office.

Baum: Warren was in favor of the work that was going to be undertaken

* Bartlett, Louis, "Memoirs", typed transcript of tape-recorded interview, University of California Bancroft Library Regional Oral History Office (Berkeley, 1957) pp. 212.

*Mason, J. Rupert, "On Single Tax, Irrigation Districts, and Municipal Bankruptcy", typed transcript of tape-recorded interview, University of California Bancroft Library Regional Oral History Office (Berkeley, 1958) pp. 355.

Baum: by the Land Classification Commission, wasn't he?

Packard: Warren was the attorney who had carried through the first decision.

Baum: But he had carried it through in favor of the Land Classification Commission?

Packard: No, against it.

Baum: Oh, he had worked against it. Oh, I see.

Packard: The unfavorable decision was carried through the courts by Earl Warren. And then the Democratic governor came in and the thing was reversed. And that ruling has stood ever since.

Baum: After you were removed from the Commission, did the Commission continue with new appointees?

Packard: No, the Commission was abolished by the new governor.

Baum: So the work didn't go forward, anyway.

Packard: No. But the decision stood and the land is being classified in that way. The idea was carried out, although not by the Commission.

Baum: So your part in that government was one month. (Laughter)

Packard: Yes. In later years I got to admire Warren very much. I think he's one of the great men of the age. Everybody recognizes that Governor Warren made a very marked change in his philosophy when he became governor. Whether or not the following had anything to do with it it's an interesting fact: Earl Warren called on my brother in Los Angeles, and said, "I'm illiterate on social problems. I know nothing about them".

Baum: Was this after he was governor?

Packard: No, before, when he was running for governor.

Packard: He said, "I understand you're a socialist." (My brother was one of the national directors of the Socialist Party) "I want to talk with you and I want you to give me some books that I can read and then come back and see you again." So John gave him some books and talked to him about the program of the Socialist Party. He came back two other times for more books and more conversation on social problems. As a result, John was appointed to the Labor Relations Commission. He was a labor lawyer. And he helped organize the first American Civil Liberties Union. He defended Upton Sinclair when he was arrested for reading the Bill of Rights in Long Beach.

Baum: Well, Earl Warren was in favor of the Japanese evacuation. I don't think he would have been in favor of that later.

Packard: I don't believe he would have either. He made a very abrupt change in his whole philosophy. He became a very marvelous liberal governor.

Baum: And more of a change when he became Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Packard: Yes. He's been very excellent.

Work on the Central Valley Project

I became very interested in the Central Valley Project which was then being advocated. The state wanted to transfer water from the Sacramento Valley where water was plentiful to the upper San Joaquin where the water supply was short and where the water table was dropping due to excessive pumping. The group behind this

Packard: proposal wanted to avoid the acreage restriction and public power policies of the Bureau of Reclamation. The large land owners thought they could get the water they needed on their own terms. I became quite active in opposition to this plan and in favor of a similar project to be constructed and controlled by the United States Bureau of Reclamation. The state plan collapsed because of the difficulty of floating the necessarily large bond issue. The only alternative was to appeal to the federal government and accept the provisions of the Reclamation Act.

I have already recorded the work I did for the Bureau of Reclamation in making a reconnaissance soil survey of Tulare County, and making an economic analysis of benefits for the State Engineers' office. My next assignment in connection with the Central Valley Project was to prepare a report on "The Economic Implications of the Central Valley Project" for the Haynes Foundation in Los Angeles. I felt that very little attention was being paid to the economic and social issues involved in the project. (Page 47, report): "The fact that modern equipment enables one man to operate a much larger area than formerly alters many of the basic relationships which are attached, traditionally, to the family farm pattern. The modern mechanized farm operated by the owner is not the family farm of former days. It requires many adjustments in social and economic relationships of a far reaching character. The problems that this type of farm raises are more like those of the larger industrialized farm than like those of the old homestead pattern. Labor relationships, land relationships, markets, con-

Packard: sumer interests all involve new viewpoints and a new social pattern. The old ways of doing things are not suited to present conditions. New policies governing land, labor and capital are needed. New social inventions must be developed to meet the circumstances, just as the corporation was developed to give investors in England an opportunity for participating in overseas enterprise or as democracy developed out of New World experience."

Baum: I know it was a very controversial issue. I guess by 1941 it was very controversial, not so much in 1936 or so.

Packard: The Central Valley Project Act was passed by the Congress to finance this big development. That act declared that "the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Central Valley Project is hereby declared to be in all respects for the welfare and benefit of the people of the state for the improvement of their prosperity and their living conditions. And this act shall be liberally construed to effectuate the purposes and objectives thereof. Unless something is done to prevent it, the construction of the Central Valley Project may enhance an already badly balanced economy."

Baum: So you thought its economic implications were good.

Packard: Yes. But I felt that nobody was paying any attention to the motives and underlying principles of the Bureau of Reclamation. They were just going ahead and building a reclamation project. And the big landowners of the upper San Joaquin Valley were trying in every way to take advantage of the situation and not subdivide their land. And the idea was to have private power.

Packard: The war had started when I was in Portland. And when I came back I found that the Power Committee of the War Production Board had been organized. Mr. James Black, President of P.G. and E., had been appointed as chairman of the committee. One of the first acts of the committee was to stop the development of public power at Shasta Dam and authorize the construction of a much smaller hydroelectric project by the P.G. and E., on the tributary going into the Shasta Reservoir. Well, this irritated me terrifically because I was a very strong believer in public power. But I felt there was nothing to be done.

 But then when I got back to Berkeley and was talking to Paul Taylor, I found that the Kern County Land Company was planning to do a similar thing. They had been able to get a \$25,000,000 appropriation from the Congress to build the Friant-Kern Canal for the war effort so that the Kern County Land Company could get water for their land and "feed the boys over there". It was then up to the War Production Board to determine whether or not this money should be spent as a war effort. So I worked with the men that I had worked with before in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics here in Berkeley and with Paul Taylor. We prepared a six-page letter to Marvin Jones who was the head of that committee that would determine the feasibility of this project as a war measure. I was a consultant then and could do as I pleased. I wasn't restrained by the Hatch Act. So I was the one that had to sign the letter. It was a very definite letter. We sent it out to a

Packard: number of people and I went to Washington at my own expense, thinking that I could supplement the letter by personal contacts.

I went to Ernie Weeking first, because he was head of the Land Planning Division of the United States Department of Agriculture. I showed him my letter. He read the first paragraph and kind of turned pale, and he said, "Walter, has this letter gone out?" And I said, "It has, I've sent it out to as many people as I could think of". Then he looked at the paper through the light. And I said, "No, Ernie, it's not on government stationery. It's on paper that I bought myself". (Laughter) And then he said, "Well, Walter, what do you want me to do?" I said, "All I want is to have some of your boys who helped me prepare this letter in Berkeley come to Washington to help me at the hearing". He said, "Please don't ask me to do that. We've got to let the Kern County Land Company get the water for now and then later on, after the war is over, we'll try and get it back. But we've got to let them have it now." I said, "All right, it doesn't make any difference. If that's the way you feel, why okay."

Then I called Abe Fortas, the Undersecretary of the Department of Interior. He said Mr. Ickes had just received my letter that morning and was very much disturbed because Ickes felt the proposed construction might be an opportunity for the Bureau of Reclamation to help in the war effort. Everybody was trying to justify appropriations on the basis of doing something for the war effort. Mr. Fortas told me that he thought Ickes would prob-

Packard: ably decide to fight me at the hearing but he said he'd call me back. They were having a meeting that afternoon with the Bureau of Reclamation's officials. So he called me back and said that Ickes had decided to go ahead with the project anyway and to fight me at the hearings. He was very much irritated by the whole thing.

Then I called Tom Blaisdell who was Undersecretary of Commerce and talked the thing over with him. He immediately called the War Production Board and got the man who was in charge of this committee that was to hold the hearing. He was an admiral in the navy and he said that he'd just resigned that day and another man was taking over the next day. This man happened to be a friend of Tom Blaisdell's. They had worked together on the Planning Board and he was thoroughly familiar with the idea of economic and social planning. So Tom made an appointment for me with him the next day. I had ample time to present the whole thing; give him my maps and my data and go over the issues in great detail with the technicians of the War Production Board Committee.

By that time the news had gotten out over the state that I was opposing the project and editorials in the paper were very much against me and wondered why I was going there stopping a California project. Wires and telephone messages came to Washington. Finally the deputy engineer of the State Engineer's office, Mr. Matthews, whom I knew, flew into Washington and came to see me right away. He said that if I went to the hearing that afternoon and presented

Packard: what he thought I was going to present, I would never be able to make my living in the state. He said, "Unless you have a private income you won't be able to get a job in the state and we'll see to it that you don't. We just can not have this kind of thing going on." Well, it frightened me considerably. When I went to the hearing, a labor man and I were the only ones that opposed the project. The Department of Agriculture was there supporting it, the Bureau of Reclamation for the Interior was supporting it.

So the next day on my way back to California I stopped in Chicago and dictated a statement for a notary public and signed it, outlining this attempt at blackmail. I sent it along to the chairman of the committee, who by then I'd known quite well. So, when I got back to Berkeley I went to see the Bureau of Agricultural Economics boys here to report and they all had heard that I had given up and that I hadn't made any fight. That was principally because I had done it quietly, ahead of the hearing. So that there wasn't much publicity about it. But that afternoon, while we were there, the radio carried the news that the application was denied. Governor Warren was very much concerned about it and he wired the President saying that this was an outrage and that California should have this project.

So I called Professor Etcheverry, who was head of the Irrigation Engineering Department at the University, and sent him a copy of the letter. He said, "I called in all the old consultants, the

Packard: people who had worked with you before, and we spent several hours in going over your letter, I can tell you that we agreed unanimously that you were correct. And you can tell the governor I said so." So I went right up to Sacramento to see the governor. He was out of town but the head of the Bureau of Public Works was there and I talked with him and explained the issue. He was quite concerned and thought the governor was, perhaps, making a mistake in making this protest. He said he would tell him so.

Then I went over to the State Engineer's Office. I first saw Hyatt, whom I'd known for a long time and had worked for. He called in Edmondson who, when he saw me said, "Goddam you, Walter, you had a hell of a nerve to do what you did". Not to be outdone, I replied by saying, "Goddam you and your office. You had a hell of a nerve to present the sort of testimony you supported in Washington. You were wrong and you know it." After this exchange of courtesies I told them what Matthews had done and explained my position. We talked there for about an hour and a half in very direct conversation, very friendly however. And when we finished Hyatt said, "Walter, I know this won't help the war effort just as well as you do, but as long as I see the government spending other money as uselessly as this, I'm going to support the project." And that was that.

The governor did not withdraw his request for a new hearing. So the War Production Board decided to hold another hearing here in California where California interests could be represented. The man in charge of San Francisco called me and said, "We're

Packard: "not going to invite you to this hearing. But I'm going to give you a transcript of the hearing and ask for your analysis." So when the time came he sent me a copy of all the testimony that had been given at the hearing and I made my comments on it by letter to him. He called me up and I went up to see him and he said, "We're going to back you again. I think you're right. The other people are obviously wrong". So the project didn't go through and, because of that, the 160-acre limitation provision of the Reclamation Act still had some validity. If the proposal had gone through I think that all the efforts to re-establish any economic controls would be hopeless.

Baum: Did Paul Taylor work with you in that particular battle?

Packard: Yes, of course.

Baum: Well, I'm surprised that you could win that battle.

War Related Activities

When it was decided to evacuate the Japanese from coastal areas I felt that the Japanese who were citizens of California had the right to remain where they were. So I called a group together and we wrote a very strong statement to General De Witt, who was in charge of the evacuation, protesting the removal of the Japanese-American citizens. This was signed by Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, by Monroe Deutsch, the Provost Marshall of the University of California, by Frank Duveneck of Palo Alto, and others of that stamp. I got a phone call from Milton Eisenhower, whom I knew, and he wanted me to go over and see him.

Packard: He said, "What business is it of yours, Walter, to write a letter like this? This is ridiculous, this is a war measure." And he gave me a long talk of that kind. It was obvious that nothing could be done. Anyway, that was one protest signed by a great many good people.

Baum: There was a lot about that I guess about a year or so ago. I think there were many protests. I can recall that many people were very concerned about it. A lot of them wrote letters or did something.

Packard: Yes. But this was an official act. The Quakers protested. I went down with a Quaker committee to Tanforan race track, which was the first landing place for many of the Japanese evacuees, some of whom occupied horse stalls.

Another activity was a letter that I wrote to General Hershey, in which I suggested that the army organize the conscientious objectors for work in California. There was a great deal of agricultural work where there was a labor shortage and these conscientious objectors could be used very successfully here in California doing work that was very badly needed.

California Housing and Planning Association

Part of the work I did on the Central Valley Project was done as chairman of the Central Valley Committee of the California Housing and Planning Association. This work was financed by a New York foundation. I had taken a leading part in an effort to get the Bureau of Reclamation to inaugurate a comprehensive study

Packard: of the economic and social implications of the reclamation program, in the hope of finding some way of preserving the social values associated with the concept of the family farm and still gaining the advantages of modern technology. A very elaborate study was carried out under the direction of a geographer at the University of Chicago. But in my judgment the study became so broad that the results were meaningless.

An incident associated with my work for the Housing and Planning Association and the Kern County land case may be worth recording. When I was in Washington on that Kern County land case, Robert Kenny, who was then Attorney General, was in Washington. I told him about Matthews and what Matthews had told me, and secured his complete backing. He said, "Of course you should go to the hearing and you should give your full testimony." There was one particular argument that was presented in favor of getting this appropriation which Kenny said was thoroughly ridiculous. He was very emphatic about it, saying that no one would take the argument seriously. When I got the transcript of the hearing in San Francisco, here was Kenny, the only man in the whole hearing who gave that testimony. He was the only one who mentioned it.

Baum: The one he said was so ridiculous?

Packard: Yes, the same.

At the next annual meeting of the Housing and Planning Association, Bob Kenny was elected president and at the first

Packard: meeting of the new board of directors, of which I had been one, the Central Valley Project Committee was abolished. I have always thought that this action was part of the threat made by Matthews that if I testified at the Washington hearing against the Kern County Land Company, I would not be able to make my living in the state. Just how Kenny got involved has always been a mystery. But the incident marked the end of the old road for me. I was able to get some odd jobs as consultant at a per diem of from \$50 to \$100 per day, but no public employment in which I was interested was open to me. So I wrote to Dr. Tugwell, then Governor of Puerto Rico, telling him of my plight. The return letter offered me a job as land consultant in the governor's office at a salary of \$7,500 per year which I of course accepted.

PUERTO RICO - ADVISOR TO REXFORD TUGWELL, 1945-1947

Getting Settled in Puerto Rico

Packard: I accepted Governor Tugwell's offer by wire and prepared to leave for Puerto Rico. We sold our car at the OPA price, which was much less than we could have gotten on the black market, and very much less than we could have gotten if we'd driven it to Puerto Rico and sold it there. We rented our house, also at OPA prices, and had a rather interesting experience with a tenant who had had experience with other property owners. After telling him what the rental would be, he agreed. And then he asked, "What more do I have to pay?" I said, "What do you mean by that?" And he said, "There's always some kind of a penalty you've got to pay in addition to the OPA rent." I said, "Well, not in this case. The OPA price stands." He was rather surprised to be able to get the house for that price.

Baum: Those were in the days when you paid \$1,000 "for the furniture"-- an old broken-down bed.

Packard: Yes. Well, I went to Puerto Rico ahead of Emma. I met Tugwell in Miami and got a general idea about what I was going to do. I went on from there to San Juan flying over Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo, which gave me a nice bird's eye view of those islands. When I got to Puerto Rico I was very much impressed by the extent of the sugar cane fields that occupied nearly all of the level land on the coastal plains. I was impressed, too, by

Packard: the slums at El Fanguito which we could see quite clearly from the air. The little houses were on stilts in the water and they were connected by boardwalks. You could see, even from the air, what a terrible condition it was in. At that time it was rated as being one of the worst slums in the world.*

Baum: Was the war still in progress when you went to Puerto Rico?

Packard: Yes. The war with Germany was over but the war with Japan was still on.

Nobody met me at the airport so I went directly to the Normandie Hotel where I was told I would stay. I was very much impressed with the large swimming pool in the main lobby but quite shocked to find that my room cost \$15 per day. After getting things settled in my room I took a taxi to La Fortaleza to meet Mrs. Tugwell. We had lunch together on a delightful balcony overlooking San Juan harbor. I found that the government had commandeered the second and third floors of the hotel and that I would be transferred to a room costing \$2.50 per day. The employees living there had organized a special cooperative dining room where we got meals at a very reasonable rate. I walked back to the hotel in high spirits to meet the group with whom I would be associated for the next two and a half years.

Baum: I don't quite understand. You got a room for \$15 a day ...

Packard: Yes. If I had been met by the man that was to meet me -- the Governor's military attaché -- he would have put me into the right quarters. But I didn't know about that. I was rather nervous

*Current reports indicate that, although it has been pushed back, it is still a terrible slum. [E.L.P.]

Packard: for a while because I thought that if I had to pay \$15 for my room I wouldn't make any money.

Mrs. Packard went to New York to be with my sister, Stella, who was quite ill. Emma stayed in New York for two or three months, doing what she could to help Stella. She finally got her into a hospital and got a diagnosis which proved that Stella had a terminal cancer, although she wasn't told.

Mrs.

Packard: I got her into St. Luke's Hospital first, where they couldn't keep her because they didn't keep patients with long illnesses. So I got her into a very lovely Episcopalian place which they called the Home for the Incurables. I understand they've changed their name since. I couldn't get any prediction as to how long she would be there. So I finally decided that I would go on to Puerto Rico. The weather was ghastly hot in New York. And there was nothing I could do but just sit around. There were other close friends and relatives who could do whatever was needed.

Then I flew down to Miami and then to Puerto Rico. I had an interesting experience on the plane. Most of the people on the plane were colored, people going back to Puerto Rico. I happened to be sitting with a very attractive young colored girl. And in talking I found that she was from the Virgin Islands and had gone to Pratt Institute and graduated in dress designing. She had been working with Hattie Carnegie in New York, designing dresses. We stopped off in Miami and stayed overnight. The bus landed us in downtown Miami and porters from the hotels came with

Mrs.

Packard: hand carts to take our baggage. And she had said, "Do you mind if I go to the hotel with you?" And I caught immediately that she was alone and she just didn't know what to do and knew that she'd have trouble, but maybe not if she was with me. So, immediately, the colored boy who had the hand cart said, "No, there ain't no more rooms there". I thought, if I were alone I'm sure there would be. So I said, "Where can you take us?" Nothing at all was said, and he said, "There's a place over here that you can go to. It's a perfectly decent place." We went over and it was completely clean and respectable. There were no questions asked. We went up and took adjoining rooms. So, it was a pleasant association because she was a very superior little gal. Some months later we went over to the Virgin Islands and I tried to find her but she wasn't there. I found out, however, that she finally married a Hawaiian doctor and went to Hawaii. But I found that her family was one of the leading families in St. Thomas.

Packard: Emma finally joined me in Puerto Rico. I met her at the airport and, after depositing her things at the hotel, we had a ride on the streetcar which circled through San Juan and then through Santurce on a figure eight tour. The trade wind was blowing a refreshing breeze while we rode slowly past old Spanish forts and through the bustling streets of that historic setting. Nothing could have been a better introduction to the two and a half years we spent in Puerto Rico.

Our room at the hotel was like all the others. The entrance was on a balcony surrounding the lobby with its large swimming

Packard: pool. A door on the opposite side of the room led to an open air lanai which permitted the trade wind to blow through the room as an endless source of comfort.

One fact which made our stay at the Normandie so pleasant was the character of many of the occupants of the two government reserved floors. Clarence Senior and his charming wife Ruth were our neighbors. Clarence is now on the New York school board but his main interest is still the Puerto Rican problem. Ed and Louise Roskam, Charles and Adele Rotkin, the Jack Delanos, Fred and Janet Farr and their children*, Max and Marjorie Egloff, William and Wilma Ludlow, Vernon and Betty De Mars and others of like character made an interesting company of kindred souls.

Baum: Vernon De Mars was down there then?

Packard: Yes, he came a year after we arrived to serve as the Governor's naval attaché, as well as to work with me on housing design and the like. He had been doing Coast Guard duty in Florida and was available.

Baum: Did all the Americans live at the Normandie?

Packard: No. Some of them chose to rent homes in Santurce or Rio Piedros.

* July, 1967 -- Fred Farr was appointed to a federal job in Washington after the 1966 election when he was defeated as state senator. [E.L.P]

Packard: But wherever they lived they were a part of the congenial group. My office was in La Fortaleza, a beautiful old Spanish building, a portion of which was built in Ponce de Leon's time. A tropical garden and a spacious promenade guarded by ancient Spanish cannons bordered La Fortaleza on the west toward the bay, and formed a perfect setting for official parties. Under a full moon, with a Puerto Rican orchestra playing and Puerto Rican rum flowing rather freely, those parties were something to remember. A pool of cars with drivers was stationed in the patio so that whenever I was on any official business I always had a car with a driver which made it very convenient because we had no car of our own.

Reforms Under the Popular Party and Governor Tugwell

My desk was located on the first floor right next to the desk occupied by Elmer Ellsworth, the Governor's Executive Secretary. Elmer, a Harvard man who owned a small but fascinating "finca" in the mountain area fifteen miles or so south of San Juan, joined a triumverate of Puerto Ricans -- Luis Muñoz Marín, Jesus T. Piñero, and Jaime Benitez who engineered the organization of the Popular Party which took control of the political life of Puerto Rico in a bloodless revolution. I was, therefore, in an excellent position to get the inside story of that rather astonishing movement.

Baum: What was astonishing about it?

Packard: It was the way they reached the people. The standard of living of the rural masses was abysmally low, much below that of the

Packard: peoples of the poorest state in the United States. As Governor Tugwell described it later, "Most of the island's people were sunk in helpless poverty." The group, with Muñoz, always the tireless leader, carried out a tremendous campaign, reaching into every section of the island. They first formulated a program to lift the people out of their poverty and then convinced the voters that they were sincere and that the individual would get much more return by backing the Popular Party than by selling his vote to the conservatives. Where they were kept out of properties by the landowners they reached the people by loudspeakers.

Baum: It was a truly democratic movement?

Packard: Yes, it was. I had never heard of anything quite like it before. This means of gaining political control was used also in maintaining it.

Ed Roskam became head of an educational program while we were in Puerto Rico which impressed me as being a very intelligent means of getting popular support of administration policies. Whenever new programs were to be launched or existing policies defended from attack, this educational group of writers and artists would prepare charts, cartoons, and both still and moving pictures to illustrate the nature and importance of the issues involved. Then, with the aid of a number of jeeps meetings would be held all over the island so that everyone had a chance of becoming informed. The University of Puerto Rico, under the able leadership of Chancellor Jaime Benitez, added greatly to this educational

Packard: program by training technicians. It helped too by training workers for work in the factories and mills. The school system, generally, was greatly expanded.

Mrs. Roosevelt was very active in the establishment of schools and in the establishment of housing. A Housing Authority was created which built low-cost housing throughout the island. They gradually attacked the slum areas. El Fanguito was eventually practically eliminated and the people were given jobs and acquired homes.

Baum: What about hygiene and health problems?

Packard: These issues were often discussed in great detail, with illustrative material, showing how germs act in carrying disease.

The significance of the Popular Party movement was closely associated with the history of events following the Spanish-American War. General Miles, who was the commanding officer in Puerto Rico when the island was taken over by American forces in 1898, made a commitment for the United States which the people of the occupied island still recall. "The military forces came bearing the banner of freedom, bringing the fostering arm of a nation of free people whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its folds." He went on to say that "Americans come not to make war but to bring protection, to promote prosperity, and to bestow the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government". The people of Puerto Rico accepted this as a kind of contract and waited for its fulfillment. But it had never come in such a degree as to

Packard: satisfy the pride and ambition of those who welcomed the occupation. A generation had lived almost a lifetime facing uncompleted promises. Economically, most of the population lived below what was considered by American standards to be a minimum for health. There was widespread malnutrition, a higher incidence of sickness and death than prevail in any part of the United States. Their housing was poor, their institutions -- schools, hospitals, water, sewage disposal system, and welfare services -- were inadequate. It was a matter of doubt whether the mass of the Puerto Rican people faced a future more secure than was the case at the time of the American occupation.

Governor Tugwell's appointment supplemented the election of Muñoz Marín as head of the Popular Party, so there was a complete New Deal administration in the island. Tugwell was actually appointed by the President, but through the Department of the Interior. And the Department of the Interior was responsible, in the United States, for the Reclamation Service with its 160-acre limitation provision, public power policy, and its Works Progress Administration. It was also in charge of Indian Affairs. In other words, the Department was in tune with the needs of the people of the island. So there was no antagonism in theory between American interests and the Puerto Ricans.

Baum: I saw one of Dr. Tugwell's books, Battle for Democracy, and he'd written about three people and one of them was Muñoz Marín. And he called him "an effective democratic leader".

Packard: Yes, Tugwell thought highly of Muñoz Marín's social viewpoint, but they did not always agree on procedures. Tugwell, after all, did not have to rely on votes to keep in office. He gave terrific leadership to the programs of reform of the Popular Party. Many of the projects started were socialistic, that is, involved public ownership of key industries and services, which, of course, disturbed the conservatives in the United States. But the majority of the Puerto Ricans approved everything that was being done.

Tugwell's principal contribution was in ideas and administration. Having been chairman of the New York City Planning Board, the Governor was a strong believer in planning. One of his first acts was to get the National Resources Planning Board of the U.S. to establish a branch in Puerto Rico. This led to the creation of the Puerto Rico Planning Authority, headed by an extremely personable and competent Puerto Rican, Raphael Pico, who later became president of the American Planning Association.

Baum: Were you connected with the Planning Board? That is, did your work fit into the plans of the Board?

Packard: I had no official connection with the Planning Board, but I worked closely with the technicians. Reading the numerous reports put me quickly in touch with what had been done and what was planned. My main interest concerned land and water. A Land Authority, a Power Authority, and a Water Authority had been established to control the use of these three basic resources. I was particularly interested in the Land Authority because of its peculiar responsibility.

The Land Authority: Problems of Large Land Ownership

Packard: Although less than one million people were living in Puerto Rico in 1898 when the United States assumed the responsibility of establishing a form of government for the newly acquired island possession, the members of the Congress were aware that there was a scarcity of land in relation to the growing population. They realized that an already serious economic situation might be made worse if the ownership of the restricted area of good land should pass into the hands of a few corporations. During the debate over the provisions of the Organic Act, a fear was widely expressed that corporations in the United States would soon own all of the valuable agricultural land in Puerto Rico unless the Congress took steps to prevent it. "If such concentration of holding shall become the case" said Congressman Jones, "then the condition of the population will, I believe, be reduced to one of absolute servitude."

As a result of the congressional debate a joint resolution was passed which provided, among other things, that "No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or be permitted to own or hold real estate except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it was created, and every corporation hereafter organized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not more than 500 acres of land, and this provision shall be held to prevent any

Packard: member of a corporation engaged in agriculture from being in any way interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture."

Baum: That 500-acre restriction was very much like the 160-acre restriction of the Bureau of Reclamation, wasn't it?

Packard: Yes, it was, and both came out of the public fear of the giant corporations and their monopoly practices which were a great political issue of the trust-busting days of Theodore Roosevelt.

As opportunity for profits in sugar production increased, little attention was paid to the acreage limitation provision of the Organic Act. The law carried no penalties and efforts to enforce the law were ineffective. The record shows that in 1940, 51 corporations owned 198,871 acres of land in violation of the law and, in addition, operated about 60,000 acres of leased land, also contrary to the law. Moreover, the area held by individuals in excess of 500 acres was a little more than twice the area held by corporations against the law.

Because of these conditions, the problems of land tenure became a primary issue of the Popular Party. The first serious attempt to solve the problem was through the purchase of the Lafayette Central in 1938 and the organization of cooperatives to own and operate both the land and the mills as part of a plan to dissolve all private corporate holdings in excess of 500 acres. This initial plan failed for much the same reasons that the cooperative farms under the Resettlement Administration failed in the United States. A producer cooperative of that sort is not a sound behavioral pattern. In the hope of solving the problem Secretary

Packard: Ickes appointed Dr. Tugwell as head of a commission to study the problem and come up with some workable answer.

Baum: Wasn't Dr. Tugwell a controversial figure at that time?

Packard: Yes he was, but he had the confidence of the administration in Washington. There was no complete unity among either the Puerto Ricans or the Americans about what should be done. Some wanted family farms to spread land ownership as widely as possible. Others wanted to get the advantages of large scale operation without losing the social values that are attached to the family farm pattern if that could be done. Dr. Tugwell favored the collective farm pattern that was tried in the Resettlement program. Muñoz Marín advocated a new pattern, somewhat like the pattern followed by the U.S. Forest Service, where the land would be owned and operated by a public corporation and where any profits would be distributed to workers in proportion to the time they worked. After many meetings and conferences the proportional profit farm idea of Muñoz Marín was adopted and the Land Authority established.

The preamble of the Land Law reads, in part, as follows:

It is evident, therefore, that land concentration has caused in this island a serious social situation by placing the most valuable source of wealth under the control of large interests, among which absentee interests are conspicuous. It is the purpose of this act to put an end to corporate latifundia and to every large concentration of land in the hand of entities legally organized in such ways as to tend to perpetuate themselves and to prevent for all time the division of the great landed estates. This fundamental public policy would not be complete if it were not accompanied by a corollary germane to its nature and scope; the provision that in the case of land where for natural or economic reasons, the division of the land is not advisable from the standpoint of efficiency, the greatest diffusion possible of the economic benefits of the land may still be

Packard: effected, thereby contributing to raise substantially the standard of living of the greatest possible number of families.

Baum: These seem to be very sound objectives. How did they work out in practice?

Packard: Well, I have a record here of what happened at the most successful project at Cambalache, the first property to be purchased under the Act of 1941: The area under cultivation in the proportional profit farms was increased by 37% since title passed to the Land Authority. And the yield per acre increased by 14.4% over the preceding five year average production under private management. In its effort to maximize production the Land Authority is cooperating with the Insular Experiment Station in developing higher yielding varieties of cane, better practices in the use of fertilizer. Both the cultivated area and the yield per acre would be increased by presently planned drainage systems on land belonging to the Authority. In addition, non-cane land is being put into a higher use than formerly. Hill land suitable for forest production was transferred to the Forest Service.

Baum: How did the plan finally work out?

Packard: For a while it gave great promise of success. About forty per cent of the illegal corporate holdings were taken over by the Land Authority, including some sugar mills, and were operated successfully. The corporate interests objected violently, taking the whole question to the courts. The Puerto Rican courts upheld the Land Law and so did the final Court of Appeals in the United States, which took the position that if the people of Puerto Rico wanted

Packard: to own their own land they had a right to do so, even though it might be socialistic as the corporation said it was. Production was under the direction of skilled technicians and results were encouraging for a time.

But labor was greatly disappointed. The distribution of profits did not increase the workers' annual income as much as they had thought it would. On the most successful farm the increase was only eighteen per cent, while on the less successful there was little or no increase. And in all cases the problem of seasonal employment remained. Most workers found it necessary to go to the States for work during the off season. And, of course, the opposition of corporate interests continued. The Land Authority was finally abolished and responsibility for administration was transferred to the College of Agriculture.

About the time that I arrived in Puerto Rico a vigorous attack on the Land Authority was made by the United States Chamber of Commerce. The report was published and widely distributed. After making a study of the Land Law from my viewpoint I prepared a memorandum to Governor Tugwell in defense of the Land Authority. (See Appendix)

Another part of the Land Authority Law which deserves mention was a provision for setting aside tracts of land adjacent to the sugar cane fields that had been purchased where the cane workers could build their homes on about one quarter acre or so of land which would be theirs. The land was purchased by the Land Authority and subdivided into lots on the pattern of a small town and title

Packard: was given to the cane workers without payments. Most of these workers had lived in shacks they built on land they did not own, and therefore had no sense of security. They were squatters who could be put off the land at the whim of the corporation. About 5,000 acres were purchased under this act and this was divided into 19,000 parcels.

Baum: Did the plan supply parcels of land for all the cane workers or only for the workers on the proportionate profit farms?

Packard: Only a fraction of the total number of cane workers (95,000) were accommodated.

When I first visited one of the villages I was depressed by the character of the buildings. The Land Authority provided no credit or architectural help to the families. As a result the houses were mere shacks built out of a variety of materials. This is where I had hoped Vernon De Mars would work some miracle in developing new materials and house designs that would greatly improve the living standard. The plots did not serve as effectively as I thought they would in providing food for the families. The record on individual plots varied widely. One reason for this was that the sites selected for these settlements were usually rather poor from a soil standpoint. The best land had to be conserved for commercial production.

Baum: Were all attempts to reduce the size of land holdings, or to develop agriculture under the Land Authority?

Packard: No. In addition to the Puerto Rican Development Company, organized by Ted Moscoso, an Agricultural Development Company was created to

Packard: carry out a development program in agriculture not covered by the Land Authority. This company was under the direction of Thomas Fennell who had a successful orchid farm in Florida and had worked in Haiti and consequently knew something about the agriculture of the region. He was primarily responsible for developing the live-stock industry and made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to introduce pineapples as an export crop. The Agricultural Development Company was finally abandoned.

It was apparent that the government was going to buy a lot of land in addition to the land they were purchasing for the Land Authority. They had housing programs and school programs. Land values were increasing and it seemed necessary to improve the laws governing condemnation of property. As a result of the seriousness of this problem a law was suggested to prevent speculation and excessive profits in the sale of the land or improvements thereon, and to insure the availability of controlled prices. It was impossible to get agreement on a thorough revision of the Condemnation Law, although no one opposed the basic idea.

We called a meeting in La Fortaleza with everyone that would be involved and discussed the whole problem. There were a number of important considerations that were involved in the disagreement between individuals and agencies. In view of this fact and of the real need for a revision of the law, I recommended to the Governor that he employ an expert to come to Puerto Rico to work with the committee in drafting a measure which could be submitted at the next session of the legislature.

Packard: Nothing developed from this effort. The same is true of an attempt I made to have the government acquire by condemnation the large holding to be provided with water in a southwest irrigation project. I felt that these lands should be purchased and subdivided into family farms and leased or sold on long term payments to Puerto Rican families capable of operating the land efficiently. Because this was not done, a few large land owners secured great increments in land values which should have been distributed or reclaimed by the public.

Later Developments in the Land Authority Program

Baum: At the risk of getting this interview out of chronological order, how would you evaluate the work of the Land Authority, and how did the program eventually work out?

Packard: My last official act in Puerto Rico was the preparation of a pamphlet entitled "The Land Authority and Democratic Processes in Puerto Rico" published by the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico in 1948. Another judgment on the Land Authority was prepared by Keith S. Rosenn in a pamphlet entitled "Puerto Rico Land Reform: The History of an Instructive Experiment". In conclusion, he says, "Thus the Land Authority has been transformed from a vigorous instrumentality of breaking up large latifundias into an instrumentality for stimulating growth and development through new agricultural industries. More and more the Authority has asked private entrepreneurs to assume projects that it has begun, or to assist it in operating projects it has retained. The

Packard: antagonism toward the large sugar corporations has largely disappeared. And the Authority itself has been forced to assume many of the characteristics of the large sugar corporation in the operation of the proportional profit farms. In Puerto Rico, then, politicians originally devoted to a program of land fragmentation and redistribution, seeking both political and economic goals, have largely withdrawn from their program in recognizing both its political expendability and its economic insufficiency in a core program of development to concentrate government efforts in the development of new industry." Well, this was Rosen's judgment, not mine.

Baum: Yes. That sounds like he felt it couldn't have worked anyway, but you attribute this to the failure to carry through on it.

Packard: Yes, I do. I think that was the principal trouble. The plan had merits and should have been supported.

Seven years later, in 1954, after visiting collective and state farms in Yugoslavia and kibbutzim in Israel, I revisited Puerto Rico and had a long talk with Mr. Arrieaga, then director of the Land Authority. He was as convinced as ever that the pattern was sound and would work if he had political backing from Muñoz Marín, which he did not have. He said that Muñoz was sabotaging the whole scheme. He was abandoning the Land Authority itself and putting it in as a department under the Ministry of Agriculture, under a young man that we knew -- a very sincere young fellow but wholly incapable of running a large institution

Packard: of this kind. Mr. Arrieaga pleaded with me to do anything I could to re-establish their authority. He said they were getting along all right and it would succeed but that they could not operate as a department under the Ministry of Agriculture. Their authority was being questioned and their operations were being interfered with. So I wrote a letter to Muñoz expressing my fear about this whole thing. I was supplied with a great deal of documentary evidence on all of this. And I was thoroughly convinced that the director was correct. I asked to see Muñoz but he didn't reply to my letter nor my phone calls. So I left the island without accomplishing anything, but promising that I would continue to do anything I could to help. But nothing came of this.

Baum: Why was this? I thought you said that the proportionate profit farm idea was his.

Packard: Well, by then Muñoz was governor and had come under the influence of Teodoro Moscoso, the dynamic head of the Puerto Rico Development Company, who veered away from socialism and started the "Operation Bootstrap" movement which concentrated on getting United States industries to establish branches in Puerto Rico with the help of the Puerto Rican government. Lower labor costs, exemption from United States corporation income taxes, and a moratorium on Puerto Rican taxes for a period of ten years and free access to United States markets were advantages which proved quite effective. The publicly owned cement plant, glass bottle factory, and paper mill were sold to a Puerto Rican industrialist who was

Packard: a political enemy of Muñoz Marín. The ceramic factory, also publicly owned, was sold to private interests. The government advanced loans to the Hilton chain to build the Caribe Hilton hotel, which did much to increase tourist travel. It is not strange that under this new ideological orientation that the Land Authority should be weakened.

When Tugwell left conditions changed in the island a good deal. I remember seeing him off at the airport and all of the young Puerto Ricans who had worked with him and had been so inspired by the things that they were doing were there to see him off. And when the plane was off the ground, most of them were crying. It showed me what Tugwell had meant to these young Puerto Ricans who were idealists and were trying to go ahead with the program.

Efforts at Birth Control Programs

The second year that I was there they had a Caribbean Conference of all the islands in the Caribbean. This conference was held in Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas Island. This was an extremely interesting occasion for me. I remember hearing an Oxford accent behind me and I turned around expecting to see some tall Englishman and there was a Negro from Jamaica. I got acquainted with Madame Ebonet of Martinique. She was a member of the French Parliament and a very astute Negro woman. They discussed all sorts of problems that the Caribbean area faced.

Baum: Isn't one of those problems the need for birth control?

Packard: Yes, at least in most areas. Cuba is an exception but Cuba was not represented at the conference. The population in Puerto Rico was about two million. The island could support that many if, as Tugwell said, "We can perhaps double production on the land that you have, and we can establish industries and raise the level of living a great deal, but still there does remain the necessity of reducing the birth rate." The death rate had been very heavy and consequently the population hadn't grown so fast. But when they began to put in health programs and eliminate malaria, then the death rate began to decline and the birth rate stayed up, and so the population began to increase fast enough to create a serious population problem.

There was a camp of conscientious objectors at a mountain place called Castañer where they built a crude but serviceable hospital and secured what facilities they could. They handled a wide variety of cases including wounds from fights with machetes. (Laughter) One of these young men was John Jahn, son of the engineer on the Delhi project. He married a Puerto Rican nurse working with the group and is now a doctor in Berkeley. William Ludlow was another conscientious objector who worked with the Planning Board in San Juan. He later joined the planning staff in San Francisco and for some years has been the top planner in Philadelphia. Bill and his wife Wilma, devoted pacifists, have been close friends of ours ever since our Puerto Rican experience. So

Packard: far as the hospital at Castañer is concerned I might add that that is where Nathan Leopold went when he was released from the Joliet prison in Illinois.

Birth control was a great issue in Puerto Rico in spite of the opposition of the Catholic Church. The group at Castañer was particularly active in promoting birth control information. A number of church groups were involved.

Baum: Didn't the Catholic Church oppose these activities?

Packard: One rather interesting incident illustrates the problem: A man came down from one of the foundations in New York hoping to establish a definite area where they could put in a hospital and all of the facilities needed for birth control information and to take care of the women, etc. They planned to take an entire area and try and see whether within five years they could reduce the birth rate very materially. Well, they had to have the government's permission. So I went to Muñoz Marín, who was then the head of the Senate, and told him about it. And I took this man with me and introduced him to Muñoz. And he said, "I'll do everything I can. We'll be right with you." Then as we were about to leave he said, "If you tell anybody I told you this I'll deny I said it." (Laughter) In other words Muñoz was afraid to be quoted as being completely in favor of the program, although he was.

Baum: He had to put it in carefully because of the Church, I guess.

Packard: Yes. He was not particularly religious himself, so he didn't care so much about that.

Packard: When I returned to Puerto Rico some time later, one of the professors at the University was taking his sabbatical and was spending the entire time in studying the birth control problem there. It, of course, is a very important issue.

Appointment of Governor Jesús Piñero

Tugwell resigned as governor in 1946 and went back to the United States where he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago. I stayed on. And at that time they wanted to get a Puerto Rican in as governor. Jesús Piñero, who was the representative of Puerto Rico in Washington -- Resident Commissioner was what he was called -- was the one they thought would make an excellent governor. And since he was known by the Americans they thought he probably would be acceptable. So when Tugwell left he said he'd try to see what he could do in Washington to get Piñero appointed. But he wrote back and said it was utterly impossible. The President considered it illegal, against the Organic Act. Well, I felt that Tugwell hadn't gone into it thoroughly enough, so I went to Muñoz and then to the acting Governor and told him I thought that if they would send me to Washington I could do something about it. So they sent me to Washington.

I saw Tugwell first and he said there was no chance at all. Then I saw Piñero and he said he didn't think there was any chance. But I still thought there was. So I prepared a brief on the subject and I got an appointment with the Secretary of the

Packard: Interior, Julius Krug. He told me that the President was against it and said he wouldn't do anything. And I said, "Isn't there some way we can get the President's mind changed on this?" And he said, "No, I'm against it, too. I agree with the President. I won't do anything." But I was convinced in talking with him that he still had a reasonable mind, that he would consider the thing if it was presented to him properly.

So I went right over to see Abe Fortas and gave him my little brief. I knew the brief I had prepared wasn't adequate. So I did not give it to the Secretary. I went to Fortas and he dropped everything he had and went right to work and prepared a brief giving the legal points on three issues: One was that the Organic Act did not prevent such an appointment. Second, it was very desirable at the time to appoint a Puerto Rican. Third, Piñero, having been the Resident Commissioner for some years, was the man to appoint. So I took this brief, prepared by Abe Fortas, over to Krug.

Baum: What was Abe Fortas' position?

Packard: He used to be Undersecretary of the Interior. He was then a private attorney in Washington. He was the man who supported me when I went to Washington when I exposed the Kern County Land Company's attempt at graft. He is now on the Supreme Court.

Then I got the CIO in Washington quite active in the fight. They saw the Insular Affairs Committee, which was headed by Mr. Taft. I got Philip Murray, the head of the CIO quite active in

Packard: it. I did everything I could to stir up support for the Piñero appointment. Then I left to go back to Puerto Rico, feeling within myself, that it would be done. When I got back to Puerto Rico it was soon announced that the President would appoint Piñero. So the people on the island were delighted.

There was a big reception at La Fortaleza and Muñoz Marín was the leader. When I came through the line and got down to the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Krug, he turned to Muñoz and said, "This is the man that made this possible." And Muñoz said, "Yes, I know." And Fortas was there, too. He was the one that I thought was really responsible because he really drew up the brief. And so they got their first Puerto Rican governor appointed by the President. And the second governor was Muñoz Marín, who was the first elected Puerto Rican governor. And from then on they had their Puerto Rican governors all the time.

Baum: Why did Tugwell give up like that?

Packard: Well it just seemed to him that it was impossible. He tried but he didn't feel it was possible.

Baum: I know he bucked so much opposition in Washington he was probably just tired out. (Laughter)

A Preview of the Communist Take Over in Cuba

On my return to Puerto Rico from Washington I went to Cuba for the then acting governor to see if I could find out why Cuban communists were trying to stir up trouble in Puerto Rico where so much social progress was being made. So Mrs. Packard

Packard: and I flew to Camagüey on the first lap of a very interesting trip. After a day or two there we flew to Havana where I reported to the American ambassador and explained the purpose of my visit. He was somewhat skeptical about it but was cooperative. He gave me an official report on the Communist movement in Cuba to read. And he gave it as his opinion that Cuba would go Communist after the war if there was widespread unemployment in Cuba and full employment in Russia, but would remain in the western camp if there was full employment in Cuba and the United States and unemployment in Russia. I considered this rather a naïve judgment in view of what I learned of conditions in the island.

Fortunately for me, Dr. Lowry Nelson, a sociologist from the University of Minnesota, was in Cuba for the purpose of studying the history and present status of agricultural development in Cuba. Professor Nelson and I had worked together in the Resettlement Administration in Washington and we held the same general philosophy. He and Mrs. Nelson took us on a rather extended trip through parts of western Cuba and gave us what information they could on the Communist activity.

Conditions in Havana were chaotic. We saw many houses of government officials that were protected by armed guards night and day. The condition of the workers was pitiable. So far as economic and social legislation was concerned, Cuba was far behind Puerto Rico. Public ownership of any meaningful kind did

Packard: not exist. The principal industries were owned very largely by American corporations, including a large proportion of the sugar cane lands. Democracy as it was being carried out in Puerto Rico was just not apparent.

One striking difference between the two islands, Puerto Rico and Cuba, was the difference in the character of the official American influence. Governor Tugwell was a liberal who viewed the problems of the island from the standpoint of American corporations interested in dominating the economy. In Cuba the United States was represented by officials of the State Department whose primary interest was in protecting the interests of the American investors in Cuban resources and key industries. The American officials there, of course, were not interested in any program of nationalization, as Tugwell was in Puerto Rico. I did not contact any communist leaders because it seemed unnecessary and, perhaps, unwise. It was evident, however, that they had not been able to make much headway so far as getting any liberal legislation was concerned. From the standpoint of history it seems reasonable to assume that this failure to make any progress in social legislation was a strong factor leading to the communist take over under Castro. I can only report that it seemed unlikely that Cuban communists would have very much influence in Puerto Rico.

Advisor to Governor Piñero

- Packard: Soon after my return from Cuba, Piñero took office. I submitted my resignation in a letter saying that I felt he should be free to keep me on or to dismiss me in the development of his staff. I said that I would like to stay if he wanted me to. And he answered by saying that he wanted me to remain. So I remained in my old office in La Fortaleza. And as I look over the record now I'm rather surprised at the number of things I advised the governor on.
- Baum: Your position was, particularly, advisor to the government on land problems, is that right?
- Packard: Yes.
- Baum: Piñero came in about July, 1946, right?
- Packard: Yes, and I continued my old duties including the making of reports on various issues such as the following: "Recommendations Regarding Title 5 Programs", "Progress Report to Governor Piñero on the Southwestern Puerto Rican Project". I recommended also that the Bureau of Reclamation take an interest in Puerto Rico and do something about it. And as a result Michael Straus, the Commissioner of Reclamation in Washington, came to Puerto Rico to confer with the governor and Muñoz Marín about the possibility of the Bureau coming down and taking over the project. But I was opposed by two Americans: one was head of the Power Authority and the other was employed as an agricultural engineer. He didn't care whether the speculators got the land or not. He

Packard: had no sympathy for any of the ideas I had. He said they were all socialistic and he didn't believe in any of them. And he said, "No matter what you say, we're going ahead the other way." So I don't know what the result was. I left shortly after that. I got a letter from someone several years later saying that they did not follow my plan and as a result the land speculators took a hold of the project and all that I had predicted came true.

Baum: Was Piñero less liberal than Tugwell? He was governor for a short time.

Packard: Yes. He was governor for only a short time. Muñoz Marín became the first elected governor and served for many years. He resigned as governor in 1964.

An extremely sad thing happened at home while we were in Puerto Rico. Bobby -- Robert Boman -- my daughter Clara's three and a half year old son, died suddenly of encephalitis after an attack of the measles. He was an extremely bright child in whom we all had great hopes. Immediately following the receipt of the telegram telling of Bobby's passing, we arranged for Emma's flight back to Napa where she stayed with Clara until she felt she could leave to rejoin me.

VENEZUELA, 1947 (Tape Number 13, July 13, 1964 -- The transcript of this interview was not corrected by Mr. Packard.)

Packard: Knowing that my stay in Puerto Rico would not last, I began to look for other employment. So, in July, 1947 I made a two-week trip to Venezuela as guest of the Ministry of Agriculture. It came about in this way: Mr. Henry Klumb, the leading architect in Puerto Rico, was doing some work in Caracas and became interested in the land problem which was attracting a good deal of attention. Land reform was one of the principal objectives of the newly established regime under President Romulo Betancourt whose Acción Democratica Party was the first democratically elected government in the history of the country. Mr. Klumb suggested that I be invited to inspect the work that was being done and to offer any suggestions that might arise out of my Puerto Rican and other experiences. The land problem was made more pressing by the fact that Venezuela was actively engaged in resettling a large number of refugees from Europe.

In due time I received a round-trip ticket and an invitation from Eduardo Mendoza Corticon, Minister of Agriculture. I flew to Venezuela in a Pan Am plane which landed in Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and at Willemstad on the Dutch island of Curacao, and finally at the airport in Maiquetía, on the Venezuelan coast. The few minutes we stopped at Trujillo was enough to give me some impression of the tight security measures

Packard: in force. Soldiers were everywhere around the airport. I was told by an American leaving on the plane that the country was as much a police state as Hitler's Germany. In sharp contrast, Willemstad exuded the atmosphere and sense of orderliness of Holland.

I was met at the airport in Venezuela by representatives of the Ministry and driven the thirty-five miles up the mountain highway to Caracas, which is at an elevation of over 3,000 feet. And consequently I enjoyed cool weather during the time I was there.

The morning following my arrival I called on the Minister of Agriculture and had a fruitful talk with him and his assistant, Dr. Pinto. They both expressed agreement with the ideas I presented. And I, in turn, was very much impressed with both of them. They were obviously intelligent, sincere, and well informed. The Minister himself was one of the principal drafters of the new constitution and a leader in the revolutionary Acción Democrática Party which corresponded, it seems to me, very closely with the Popular Party of Muñoz Marín in Puerto Rico. The party polled 90% of the vote in what was considered to be a fair election. The Communist Party had about 20,000 members and received about 100,000 votes of the total of 1,300,000.

The program for my visit was outlined at this meeting. I went directly to the American Embassy from the Ministry, where I had a good talk with the Undersecretary. The Ambassador was

Packard: out of town. I found the Undersecretary to be a genial Irish Catholic who was quite frank in telling what he thought. He said, among other things, "We don't much care what the country does, just so we get the oil that we want". He arranged an appointment with Mr. Hempton, the agricultural attaché, who was very cordial. We pretty well covered the field in an hour and a half talk. We found that our ideas were very much alike. He was very cooperative in giving me all the help I needed.

I had lunch that day at the American Club with Mr. Arensen, Mr. Klumb's friend. During our two-hour visit I met several other people and was able to broaden my knowledge of the country and of the attitude of the American group, all of whom seemed to be living on a rather high scale. One man was doubling his \$18,000 salary by raising fowl in his backyard for sale to the oil company commissaries. He flew in baby chicks from the United States and followed the latest methods in feeding care. Mr. Arensen took me to the headquarters of the Rockefeller organization where I met Mr. Peterson and Mr. John Camp, who is a brother of our Associated Farmer and Bank of America friend in California, Bill Camp.* Camp was first in charge of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, originally sponsored by Nelson Rockefeller, and later taken over by the United States State Department. Camp is now in charge of the work being carried

* Wofford B. Camp, Bakersfield farmer, who was being interviewed by the Regional Oral History Office in the summer of 1964.

Packard: out by the Rockefeller organization, called the Venezuela Basic Economy Corporation, one of whose primary objectives is to get government land into private ownership. The nature and extent of the work being done is illustrated by the following quote from a letter from Nelson Rockefeller to President Betancourt: ...

"As I told you during those conversations, it is my firm belief that peace, individual liberty and respect for human dignity cannot be attained in the world until standards of living are raised and peoples enjoy good health, education and well-being. Certainly it is a privilege for me to come to your country to cooperate with you and with your government toward the fulfillment of these aims. I sincerely believe that efficient cooperation between the government and private enterprise is a most important factor in the fulfillment of these objectives.

Therefore, Mr. President, permit me to express my desire and that of my associates to contribute, in every possible way, to the economic and social development of Venezuela, and at the same time, to set forth in the enclosed document the main points agreed upon in our conversation of the sixteenth regarding the policies and orientation of our work in Venezuela.

It seems to me that the dynamic force of private enterprise, acting within the framework of a democracy, has the necessary creative energy to stimulate the production of such items as food and other products of prime necessity required by the Venezuelan economy. The knowledge that we can count on your good will and cooperation in our effort to contribute to the increase of such production gives us great encouragement and pleasure." This is dated

Packard: June 19, 1947.

I met a second Mr. Camp in Caracas, who is not related to our California friend. I knew him in Washington where he was a land planner for the Forest Service. He was then working for the Venezuelan government in their forestry development program. I liked him very much.

I also met General Meyers, representing the UN. He is in charge of European immigration. He received me most cordially and expressed the hope that I might remain in the country. He took me through the Institute of Immigration and gave me a good idea of some of the problems he faced. I visited a large apartment house in the poorest part of the town where a large number of recently arrived refugees from Eastern Europe were housed pending their transfer to settlement areas in the country. The families were all from the American Zone, mostly from Russia, from the Ukraine; a few from Poland. Some had learned to speak English and when they found that I was an American they all wanted to know what they could do to get them to the United States. They were a sturdy lot. The plan was to settle them on small farms in some of the newly developed reclamation projects, a plan which seemed to me doomed to failure because the men and women I talked with were semi-skilled people who wanted good jobs.

Some days later I visited the camps in the country, where they were being stationed pending their transfer to their final destination. They were living in quonset huts under conditions

Packard: that were not too promising. The prospects in the country seemed pretty poor. Farm wages were low and employment was seasonal. But there was need for increased agricultural production. The country was not able to support itself. I later found farming practices to be very backward; little fertilizer was used, imported food was very high, Washington apples cost sixty cents a piece, a can of Del Monte fruit salad cost \$1.10. Bananas, starch and root crops, beans and brown rice and so forth, seemed to be plentiful on the market.

I made two trips over the country, one by car and the other by plane and car. The first trip took me from Caracas to Maracay and to Valencia and Barquisimeto, on the western slopes of the Andes, then southeast to a point on the upper border of the great flat plains of the Arauca River, where rice was being grown on an experimental basis. We traveled a total distance of seven hundred miles.

The second trip took me by plane across the northern extension of the Andes to the town of Valera, from which I went by car to the town of Mene Grande, near the eastern shore of Lake Maracaibo. From there I flew in a one-motor Cessna plane across the laké and over some of the area south of the lake, where the Rockefellers were carrying out one of the principal agricultural development programs. We also flew over a rather extended area on the east shore of the lake where the Ministry was planning to establish a new project. I rode and walked over a portion of this proposed

Packard: irrigation system on the Chereque River, where a dam was to be built to store water in the foothills of the Andes for the irrigation of an area which was covered, in part, by a tropical forest from which the valuable timber had been removed. The clearing was done by heavy bulldozers which could be used to push over very large trees. I later used this same plan in similar work in Greece. The soil appeared to be thoroughly leached and in need of heavy fertilization, as is true in most tropical areas.

In the Valencia Lake area I was driven over representative portions of the reclamation project being carried out by the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture together. It took a jeep to get through much of the area because of the bad roads. A large area of the land was formerly owned by dictator Gomez. It was used largely for cattle raising. When the government acquired it some of the land was subdivided into very small subsistence-sized farms, each with a small house. Too much faith was placed in the value of land ownership and too little faith was placed in the economic practicability of the project. The solution of the problem demands some form of planned agriculture in which trained management and efficient methods of production are put into effect. This original resettlement did not work out. But the Ministry was now approaching the problem from a very much more modern viewpoint.

The area around Lake Valencia is by nature divided into three distinct zones; an area of muckland, immediately adjacent to the

Packard: lake, which will not permit the use of heavy equipment but is suited to the production of plantains, bananas, yucca, tobacco, and beans. It was to be settled by small farmers who could get along without heavy equipment even though the use of horses was difficult in the area. The next zone is a flat area of good soil suited to the large scale production of other crops such as corn, sugar cane, sesame, and fodder crops. The third zone is in the foothill country and is suited to the production of oranges, lemons, avocados, corn, bananas, and so forth, and was suited to the development of small, family-type farms.

In some of this area the development was very modern indeed. Two or three different types of settlement were being carried out on an experimental basis. In some cases the people were supposed to live in villages and go to the country, which they do in Europe.

I arranged with the Ministry to submit a report on my return to Caracas. I was invited to return for an indefinite period at a salary of \$15,000 a year when I had finished my work in Puerto Rico. The nature of my report is illustrated by the following letter to Mr. Mendoza, August 8, 1947:

The comments and suggestions which follow are based upon field observations and a study of various reports during my two-week stay in Venezuela. ... But the fact must be kept in mind that those who are dis-employed in the process of mechanization can be re-employed in industry -- especially service industries -- which expand more or less automatically as the income per man increases provided, of course, that the general economy is organized on a basis which does not stymie enterprise through a concentration of income in the hands of a few who do not keep the flow of income moving.

Packard: I returned to Puerto Rico expecting to go back to Venezuela later on but nothing developed. The Acción Democratica Party had been working against terrific odds ever since it took office following the revolution of October, 1945. The members of the old regime were sniping from exile, while powerful elements within the country were working more or less openly to restore the old regime. The new constitution set up a framework of enlightened democracy, which seemed to be suited to conditions. In going from office to office in Caracas I constantly encountered military officers and just missed an armed revolt by air force officers in Maracay. I was astonished to meet an American officer in uniform at the Grace Hotel, built by Gomez. He was there to train Venezuelan officers in the use of surplus planes which the United States was selling to Venezuela. He said that he had done similar work in other Latin American countries. Almost his first question was about Russia and the danger of war. He appeared to be extremely naïve. He said that he had not seen any outside papers for some time and was fearful that there might be trouble with Russia.

History records the fact that Jimenez overthrew the Acción Democratica Party, put Betancourt in jail, established a dictatorship; the country was put under strict military laws, and Falangists were imported from Spain to organize a secret police force of 15,000 men. Some 18,000 political prisoners were put in jail, where an estimated 20% died. This undoubtedly included many of

Packard: the men that I had been working with. Jimenez later was decorated by President Eisenhower and was supported completely by his administration. Then later on when Nixon visited Caracas he was spit on, which seemed to me to be a rather logical consequence of that kind of thing.

Baum: Was it hard to get outside information there? You said this American officer didn't have much information.

Packard: He was in the country, you see, not in Caracas. In Caracas you got everything. He apparently was a naïve man, very cordial and that sort of thing. But he was just afraid of Russia. He was thinking there was going to be a fight with Russia. It was very real in his mind.

When I returned to Puerto Rico I had a conference with Governor Piñero, who was anxious that I remain on the island. But his attitude toward the Land Authority and other social programs in which I was especially interested was very disappointing. It was obvious that if I remained I would be engaged in resettlement work associated with an expanded housing program or in teaching at the Mayaguez Agricultural Institute, where Jaime Benitez offered me a position. I did not like this prospect and therefore resigned and planned to return to the United States. Emma and I had Thanksgiving dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Muñoz Marín the day before we left, and I was pleased to have Muñoz say that I could come back at any time that I changed my mind.

Packard: We returned by boat to New Orleans. We left from the port of Mayaguez and I shall never forget the beautiful scene with the palm covered shore circled by a complete rainbow. We passed through the delta of the Mississippi River, where the flames from burning natural gas were seen on both sides. Emma went to Iowa for a visit with her family, while I went to New York and Washington to seek other possible employment.

DIPLOMATIC PASSPORTS 1948



Mr. Packard



Puerto Rico - 1946.



Mrs. Packard



Unveiling of the Bust of Walter Packard, Anthili, Greece - June 1954.

GREECE, 1948-1954

First Assignment, Irrigation Specialist for American Mission
for Aid to Greece (AMAG)

Packard: The circumstances surrounding my assignment for work in Greece were completely fortuitous, and illustrate the part played by mere chance in one's career. On returning to Berkeley from Puerto Rico my first act was to have a cataract operation on my right eye, since my left eye which had been operated on three times was deteriorating. While wandering around town with one eye bandaged I dropped in to the old Irrigation Investigation Office of the United States Department of Agriculture, which I'd worked for in 1909 to pass the time of day with the old associates. As it happened the office had received a telegram from the State Department that day asking if they had a man who could fill a four-months special assignment to Greece as an irrigation specialist for the American Mission for Aid to Greece, at a salary of \$10,000 a year. At that time that was above the usual pay in the United States. I said, of course, that I would be glad to go.

I immediately went to my doctor in San Francisco to ask him to hurry up my new glasses, which he was willing to do. The Irrigation Office wired the State Department saying that I was available. The reply came back the next day saying that I

Packard: would be all right if it was acceptable to the Department of Agriculture. So, another wire went off to the Department of Agriculture. And in about a week the reply came back that my appointment would be satisfactory. And by that time my eyes were improved enough so that I could get some new glasses and be on my way.

On arriving in Washington I was told that I would have to have a security clearance. I said that that would take quite a long time and that I didn't see why on a four-months assignment I would have to have a clearance. But they said it might be necessary. I said that I was not a Communist and never had been and didn't intend to be and that I saw no reason for delaying my appointment on that account. So, finally, they had me sign a statement that I would pay my way home if they found out that I was a security risk after the investigation had been carried out. So after going through all of the medical tests and receiving all of the injections that were necessary I went to New York and flew from there to Greece, landing in Ireland, Paris, Geneva, and Rome on the way. I was met in Athens by a representative of the American Mission with a Greek official who got me through customs without delay.

Although my original appointment was for the four months remaining for the American Mission for Aid to Greece under the Truman Doctrine, I was re-employed on July 1st, 1948, for two

Packard: years with the Economic Cooperative Administration under the Marshall Plan. I remained in Greece for six and a half years and then retired at the age of seventy. No other period of my life compares with my Greek experience in interest, excitement, and sense of accomplishment. To live in a country with such a rich, historical background was an incomparable treat. Every area in which I worked was associated in some way with important events of ancient history. In a somewhat similar way the hot war that was going on in Greece when I arrived seemed to be a carry-over from the wars between the ancient city-states.

War Conditions in Greece

Travel in Greece at that time was not very safe, because the Andarte groups (guerrillas) were pretty well in control of all of the area of Greece outside of the cities. So you had to travel during the day if you went into the country at all. And often you had to wait until the roads were cleared by the army.

In some of the areas where I went I'd ride in a jeep sitting on a wet sand sack with my feet on another wet sand sack in order to absorb the shock of a blast if we happened to hit a mine. Another time I remember was in Agrinion where we were out on a field survey near a lake and we could see the resistance forces in the mountains on a pass not too far away. We were somewhat fearful of being fired at. When I first went to Salonika I got there on the morning when 500 people had been arrested. They were marched down the street and put on boats and taken to an

Packard: island. Finally the number of prisoners on this island was in the neighborhood of 15,000. Many of them were not Communists according to the testimony of Charley House, head of the American Farm School, who had lived in Greece most of his life and knew these people well. He said many of them were just liberal people who wanted reforms. Others -- the majority -- were poor, landless people seeking a way to improve their lot.

Baum: What was this school?

Packard: The American Farm School.

Baum: This was a private agricultural mission.

Packard: Yes. It was founded by John House, who was the father of Charles House, and a Congregational Church minister in Bulgaria. When the Balkan Wars got so hot that he couldn't stay in Bulgaria, he came to Greece. And with every cent he had, plus all he could get from friends and church associates, he bought 500 acres of land about five miles east of Salonika and founded this school. It's become a very famous school for Greek farm boys. The school accepts two boys from each farm village who are supposed to return home after graduation and teach the methods they have learned at the school and try to build up the village's agriculture. Many had no money and had to pay the costs by contributing farm products instead of cash. At present there are many scholarships and many graduates who send back money, so it's become relatively prosperous compared with the shoestring it was started on.*

* Following Mr. Packard's death, a Walter Packard Memorial Fund was established to aid the American Farm School; one of the benefits of this fund was a 5000 cm irrigation tank designated the "Walter Packard Memorial Tank." ELP

Baum: So Charley House had contacts all through the country.

Packard: Oh yes, he was revered by everyone. He protected many people who had been unjustly arrested. At one time some twenty boys in the school were kidnapped by the Communists and taken to the mountains but before long all returned with varying stories of their means of escape.

Communism was not a recent development in Greece as evidenced by the experience of Miss Susan Stone, a missionary working with Dr. John House way back in 1902. Miss Stone was captured by the andartes of that time who were fighting the Turks. She was held for a \$60,000 ransom which Dr. House managed to pay in gold from contributions from all over the United States, a fund to which I contributed as a member of a Sunday school class. When Miss Stone reached the mountain hideout she urged her captors to read the Bible. They said they would if she would read their Bible. She, of course, agreed and was given a copy of Karl Marx's Das Kapital. This was in 1902, fifteen years before the Russian Revolution.

Since I am discussing communism I might continue by inserting the story of an incident which occurred in the town of Serres, in western Thrace. I was on an inspection trip to visit some reclamation projects in that part of Greece and was accompanied by Emma, a representative from the United Nations and his wife, and by Orestis Christides of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. We went from Salonika to Serres on a road recently surfaced by the Mission.

Packard: We stayed in a small cabin owned by the government, and were awakened about four a.m. by machine gun fire and occasional cannonading. Soon after sunrise we climbed a small hill in back of the cabin where we could watch Spitfires dive-bombing the andartes north of town. Two of the Spitfires were shot down while we stood on the hill. A third was shot down later on and landed in a Bermuda grass pasture about 100 yards from where I stood south of town. We learned that the town had been attacked by about 1,000 andartes who had blown up a new bridge leading into the town.

On the third day of the fighting I asked the commanding officer to let me talk with some of the prisoners. I wanted to find out what was in their minds. He granted permission and had all of the prisoners who were not wounded taken out of the warehouse where they were staying. They were very morose at first and were wondering why an American wanted to see them. I walked up to the group and said, "I am an American who came to Greece to help you irrigate your land, drain your swamps, and reforest your mountains, and I can not understand why you blew up the beautiful bridge which the American Mission had built. I came to Greece as your friend, wanting to help you develop your resources." On the basis of this statement they all gathered around me and told me of their poverty. Their stories were the same ones that I had heard in villages from one end of Greece to the other. None of them were doctrinaire communists, although I was told by the officer that a doctrinaire communist was captured but was mortally

Packard: wounded. I chose not to see him. The incident confirmed my belief that poverty was the root of the trouble.

Baum: But they didn't explain why they blew up the bridge.

Packard: No. They apparently blew up the bridge because they were against the government in the Civil War. They were trying to win a war and that was part of it. I found out later that most of these people were sent back to their villages and there was nothing done about them.

One of the experiences that shocked me very much was when I first went to the town of Lamia, about a hundred miles northwest of Athens where I saw a group of andarte prisoners in a schoolyard, perhaps three or four hundred of them. They ranged all the way from white-haired old men down to young boys of 17 or 18 years. They were all wearing homespun clothes and were obviously mountain people. I talked with one of the Greek agricultural agents about them, who said they were just poor people who had joined the revolution because of their poverty. They were starving to death in their mountain villages and had to have land to make a living. Some six weeks later I had breakfast with an American officer whom I had known previously who was in charge of the Lamia area for the American army. He was their adviser. I said, "What did you do with those prisoners you had in the schoolyard there in Lamia?" He said, "We shot a lot of them." And I said, "You shot a lot of them. How many did you kill?" He said, "I don't remember. We killed a lot of them." I said, "That's very indefinite, haven't you got some definite figure?" He said, "No, we shot seven this

Packard: "morning before I left for Athens." And I said, "What did you do, give them trials?" "No," he said, "We just looked them up and if they were Communists we shot them." Well, I was completely shocked by this. And later on I took the matter up with the ambassador, Henry Grady, who had formerly been head of the School of Business Administration at the University of California and, consequently, a man whom I knew very well. He told me that "We're going to continue to kill them and the American people have got to get used to killing." The situation got so bad that Mr. John Nuveen the head of the American Mission, who was under the ambassador, came to me and wanted me to again interview the ambassador to see whether something couldn't be done to stop this shooting of prisoners. He said he had tried but he'd had no success; and felt that since I knew Mr. Grady that I might be able to get something done to stop the killing. But I was not able to make any impression at all. Mr. Nuveen was transferred shortly after that to Belgium, where he was not involved in the Greek picture.

Baum: Did the military segment disagree with the shooting, or was that their idea?

Packard: It's hard to know but General James Van Fleet was called "the killer" by some of the Greeks. Our American officers who were there didn't do the actual shooting. But they didn't stop the shooting, certainly. The report was that something over 3,000 Greek prisoners were shot during that period. Emma had an experience which might be recorded here.

Baum: What happened?

Mrs.

Packard: I was invited by the American-born Greek wife of one of our American employees in the Mission to go with her to visit the sister of her Greek maid, who was a prisoner in the Women's Prison in the center of Athens. The army or the Greek government had made an offer to the so-called Communists who were in prison that if they would sign certain papers agreeing to the conditions set forth, that they would be released from the prison. My friend was attempting to convince this girl that it was to her interest to sign these papers. ... The matron in charge brought in the woman -- a peasant type of about thirty years, with a strong and intelligent face. I could not understand the conversation, but it was evident that she was antagonistic to the idea and she did not consent to sign.

Baum: Would she be shot if she did not?

Mrs.

Packard: I don't know. I never heard about her again. However while I observed the room, I saw another village peasant woman talking with her undersized fourteen year old son. Later the matron told us that she was a "Communist" who was saying goodbye to her son and she was to be shot the next day. The matron seemed a kindly sort of person and asked if we would see a young physician among the prisoners who was much concerned about the health of the children in the prison.

Baum: Do you mean they put children in jail?

Mrs.

Packard: Some of them were born in jail and it was the policy to allow children under three years of age to be with their mothers who were in jail -- these were "political" prisoners, you understand, who had not been tried in court. When these children reached the age of three years, they were taken to an orphanage for care and schooling. The American women sponsored one such orphanage, helping with clothing, other supplies and recreation for these unfortunate children.

Baum: Was this physician employed to care for the prisoners?

Mrs.

Packard: No. She herself was arrested on charges of being a Communist. She was a small, dainty Greek woman of about 35 or 40 years, and she concerned herself with the children especially. She brought a couple of them in to show us how their teeth had not come in properly or had immediately decayed off to the gums because of lack of milk and other proper foods. We were taken out into their exercise yard to see where they could walk and get fresh air. ... As distressed as we were, it seemed a touchy diplomatic question as to how we American women could help "Communists" in jail in a Greek prison during a Greek civil war, and I think we ended by doing nothing except what was done for those children who finally were put in the orphanage. I remember they were brought to an American Christmas party with a big Christmas tree with gifts for each child. ... This young doctor was only one of many teachers and professional people who saw the poverty and wanted

Mrs.

Packard: to do something about it, but ended up in prison as "Communists".

One will never know the final statistics on this situation but it was very sad especially for some of us who had been out into the countryside and saw first hand the poverty and deprivations of so many villagers without much economic hope -- underfed and cold.

I have just read (August, 1966) William Hard's book Raymond Robins' Story, in which Robins makes a strong point of what he calls the "Indoor Mind" of the diplomats in Russia of that time, who never got out into the country and widened their views to an "Outdoor Mind" which saw the conditions which had forced the revolution of 93% of the Russian people against the 7% who had control of the land and resources, leaving the 93% destitute and "under the knout" of the Army, Cossacks, and Czar. Tolstoy had told the story -- Can people learn from history?

Packard: The Civil War in Greece began as a result of the decision of Winston Churchill to support the return to Greece of the government-in-exile, as against the resistance group that had stayed in Greece to fight the Germans. In the case of Yugoslavia, Mr. Churchill selected Tito, a Communist leader, against Mihailovic, a non-Communist anti-German man. But in Greece he selected the government-in-exile. He arranged for a plebiscite that was supervised by Dr. Henry Grady. That arrangement was not acceptable to many of the resistance forces who refused to participate in the election and went out in a civil war. It started in Athens, where

Packard: there was a great deal of shooting, but soon spread to the hills and mountains. Some of the American technicians were captured by the andartes and held for some days. But no American was ever seriously injured.

One of my first encounters with the violence of the revolution was when I visited the Copais project for the first time, in the Spring of 1948. I went over the project with the Englishman who was in charge and went out to the power plant that had been smashed by the andartes just a few days before. And I was told that the man who did the damage was caught in one of the villages near there and his head was put on a pike and carried around from one village to another as a warning to others.

Anyway, the Copais project covered about 50,000 acres. It used to be a swamp. And in the 1880's the French started to drain it. They dug deep drains and a tunnel through the mountains to carry the water into the sea. The plan worked very well until the peat caught fire and burned for several years. Finally the level of the lake got so low that it wouldn't drain. The French were going broke and the British came in and bought them out. They flooded the area to put the fire out, dug deeper drains and lowered the tunnel so that the drainage system would work. Then they irrigated by occasionally stopping the drains and letting the water table rise until all the surface was wet. And then they'd open the drains and the water level would go down again. Cotton was the only irrigated crop and the yields were very low because the

Packard: lower root system would rot when the water level was raised. I demonstrated this by digging up some of the cotton plants showing the rotted roots.

The British manager lived rather sumptuously at the ranch headquarters surrounded by trees and gardens. The Greek government took over the property in 1953, in what they considered to be the public interest. I was asked by the Greek Minister of Agriculture to suggest a man to take over the management of the ranch. I selected Kimon Constantinides who was a part of the YPEM organization, which was a Greek government division of the Irrigation Division. He experimented with sprinkle irrigation to avoid the over-irrigation and rotting of roots by the old subirrigation system. Under his management the area was enlarged and production increased.

Baum: When you say the British owned it, do you mean it was government owned or owned by a British firm?

Packard: No, not government, it was owned by a British company.

Baum: When the Greek government took over the project did they subdivide the land and distribute it, as they did in other cases?

Packard: Since the project was a rather complicated drainage and irrigation project it had to be managed in an orderly way. The villagers in the areas surrounding the project did participate, but the final arrangement was made after I left.

Baum: And I wonder how that works. A lot of people feel people will not manage their property sufficiently.

- Packard: Well, that's the only way they've ever done it in Greece. It's very much like the Mormons do in Utah. They live in their villages and go out to their farms. It works fairly well.
- Baum: I think it sounds much better socially than isolating each person out on his own little plot.
- Packard: Yes. And from the standpoint of protection, it's much better to live in a village than out.
- Baum: I read somewhere that one of the problems was coordination and for a while the Mission was divided between military and economic contingents and that this didn't work.
- Packard: Yes, that's right. Whenever we'd have a staff meeting and the military would come in, nobody spoke his mind at all. What the military said went. I never heard of any members of the economic mission meeting with the military staff. (Laughter) There was a civil war going on and Americans were helping the government side. And the war took precedence over everything else. There was no discussion of military affairs in the economic aid staff meetings.
- Baum: But that wasn't true all the time you were there because after a while the military situation became less serious.
- Packard: Well, the military was there all the time I was there.
- Baum: But I mean the crucial part of the war was less.
- Packard: The shooting war only lasted a couple of years. By 1950 it was pretty well over. But during all the time I was in Greece, there was the atmosphere of a police state. Even during my last few months in Greece when I'd make trips into the field, I'd often be stopped as many as ten times a day by gendarmes who would make

Packard: the people in the car show written statements from the president of their village or some other authority for their right to be riding with me. It was very difficult. I remember one time when we were in Missolonghi we were going up to the Agrinion Plains to visit some projects on the way. Well, the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture in Missolonghi had a car which he drove to the first project. Then somebody else took his car and went on. So he was left and had to ride in my car. When we got close to Agrinion, within about a quarter of a mile of the edge of the town, he got out and walked in because he didn't want to be found riding in my car without a permit although his car was already in town. He just was afraid of being arrested.

Another time when we were down in the lower Nestos River ...

Baum: Now was this before 1950?

Packard: No. This was 1954.

Baum: Was there any legitimate reason for this kind of ...

Packard: I didn't think so. I resented it all the way. I was especially provoked when, on returning after the curfew hour from the Nestos River Delta where we were stuck in the mud, the engineers in one of the cars were arrested for being out after ten o'clock. I, of course, went to the jail and demanded that I be arrested along with the rest. I also demanded the right to call the Prime Minister and the Mission Chief. I was, I presume, a little obnoxious. In any case, after an hour or so everyone was released and we went on our way and got to our quarters about two in the morning without being arrested again. It wasn't funny for a

Packard: Greek though.

Baum: No, and it sounds like it certainly slowed down your work.

Packard: Oh it did, definitely.

Baum: Do you think these petty annoyances were small gendarmes that were taking their responsibilities beyond the point that they were supposed to be carried?

Packard: No. It was part of a police state, which seemed to be accepted.

I had an interesting experience down in the lower delta of the Acheloos River in southwestern Greece. We were going to the village to suggest that we reclaim some land south of the village and we thought we could reclaim quite an area. So we first went to the village and discussed the plans with the group in a taverna. Then we went out with a committee from the village to look at the land. And I noticed a group of young people over to one side who apparently wanted to talk to me. So, with one of my engineer friends who could speak Greek, I went over to talk with them. They said they were sons of poor landless farmers. They had no land and no jobs, and didn't know what they were going to do. And while we were standing there planes were flying over from an adjoining airfield where they were taking off to bomb the andartes in the hills on both sides of this valley. It was rather dramatic. I said, "We hope to reclaim this land. This will create many productive farms. We are planning to build a big hydro-electric project on that river that would create power and bring in industry." And they said, "That's all right when you say so, but

Packard: "when you leave what are we going to do? The Greek government won't do this for us." And I said, "Yes, they will."

Baum: They had more confidence in the American Mission than in the Greek government?

Packard: Oh yes. At that time they did.

Problems of Financial and Political Support for Reclamation
Work

There was another time when the Communist issue came up in a rather interesting way. I had gone along with reclamation work and I was spending a considerable amount of money. And the Washington office wanted to curtail because there was a degree of inflation. Money was going down in value and inflation was taking place. And so they picked on my program as one of the programs they could shut down so that they would stop spending money. So I was ordered to close down my projects. I had to dismiss several thousand men who were working on these projects. So I became sort of desperate. I hated to do what I was ordered to do. But if we couldn't get the money I couldn't do anything else.

So finally I arranged to have the group at the head office take a trip up to Salonika, and from there go by car through a portion of Macedonia and over into Thrace to see what we were doing. I took them over some reclamation projects and a rice field where we were leveling land just ready to put in the crop.

Packard: Then I took them into the mountains to show one of our forestry programs where we were reforesting an area. That night, when we were coming down a mountain road that had been made by the Mission, not many miles from the Bulgarian border, about forty or fifty Greek men stopped us on the road. They said they wanted to have the Americans know that they hadn't been paid for forty days. They'd been working on this project and they couldn't even be paid for what they'd done and their store credit was gone and their families were suffering. They said they wanted the Americans to know. Well, I was delighted with this because I thought now the officials will be convinced. But when I got back to Athens the answer was still no. They wouldn't do anything.

So, about a week later the head of the biggest labor union in Salonika came down to Athens to see me. And he told quite a story again about how labor was suffering. He said they had a meeting of their union, which was the biggest union in Macedonia, and they came within a few votes of going Communist. And he said, "If you don't get those men back to work it will go Communist." So I took this man right in to see Mr. Roger Lapham, who was then the Mission Chief.* And Lapham had been ordered not to spend

*Lapham, Roger, "An Interview on Shipping, Labor, City Government, and American Foreign Aid," typed transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted by Corinne L. Gilb, University of California General Library, Regional Cultural History Project, (Berkeley, 1957), pp. 496.

Packard: money, just as I had. But he said, "The hell with Washington," and he assigned enough money to me right then to go ahead and re-hire these people. And he said, "They can fire me in Washington but I'm not going to let them do this." So we got the program going again and rehired the people.

Baum: I've heard it said that if you want American aid, raise some communist issue and you will get it. (Laughter)

Packard: That seemed to be the case in this instance. But finally when we really got the work finished the Washington group recognized that what we had done in increasing production of agricultural crops had done more in a positive way to stop inflation than any other thing because they were raising their own food. So they were very favorable to what I had done after this was all over.

Baum: At what point had the decision been made to cut your program? Was it in Washington or was it in Greece?

Packard: It was in Washington. And I think at least a third of my time was taken up in revamping programs. When appropriations were made on the first of July they'd say, now you have so much money. So we'd lay out a program for that amount of money. Then months later they'd say we hadn't got that much money so you've got to cut-back. And we'd revamp and revamp. It was terribly irritating and terribly frustrating. It cut down the work a great deal because I could have been spending my time on other things. In retrospect I think I must have been somewhat stubborn. (Laughter) I was in my later sixties and probably a little set in my ways as

Packard: indicated by the following poem presented at my 70th birthday
by Charles White, the Comptroller for the Mission:

"Shall we Retrench or Re-trench", February 22, 1954

Our Walter went down to his office one day
To find that his money had all gone away
Inflation is rampant they said at FP (Finance and Planning)
So our drachmas are scarce, they're as scarce as can be
The cables say cut back the projects you run
Although they all knew it ain't any fun
They claim reclamation has now got to stop,
When Walter heard this he just blew his top
We've worked and we've slaved and we've struggled for years
We're making great progress in spite of our fears
And now when we're getting so near to the end
They tell us to stop. So a cable We'll send
To Connolly, Acheson, Truman and Taft
To tell them this time they surely are daft
For how can we ever get Greece off our back
Until they produce all the food that they lack
That your jobs are expensive, we're sure you'll agree
Oh, not by a damn site replied Walter P.
We mustn't relax. We must stand up and fight 'em
I'll keep up the argument ad infinitum
So among all the rows and among all the bitching
We know that our Walter is still in there pitching
Now here's to you Walter. Keep up the good fight,
And perhaps in the end they'll decide you are right.

Baum: You must have been a thorn in the side of the administration.

Packard: I presume I was. There was quite a bit of opposition to me in
Washington. Brice Mace, who was head of the Agricultural Division
in Greece was in a Paris conference with the Washington group.
And he said he'd never attended a meeting where there was such
an insistent demand that a man be fired as there was that I be
fired at that time. Because I was trying to do things and the
Washington office was constantly trying to hold us up. They
didn't know what we were doing. They were just an annoyance and
I didn't like it. And consequently I didn't take it very well.

- Packard: One time Francis Lincoln, who represented the State Department, was in from Washington and he said, "Walter, if you go ahead and give a report..." I was going to give a report on how my work was being curtailed and how important I thought it was. He said, "You put in that report and you'll be fired. I can tell you that you'll be fired." So I thought if I'm going to be fired I'd better do it well. So I asked for a special meeting of the Mission staff, which Mr. Lapham granted. I had maps and diagrams and made a very good impression. They liked it.
- Baum: So, some of the foot dragging was coming from right within the Mission.
- Packard: No, the foot dragging was in the Washington office that was supplying the funds. And they were just constantly changing the programs around. I was always careful not to disobey the security rules no matter how silly I thought most of them to be. If you got three black marks you had to leave. One morning I found a censure note from security on my desk and went immediately to find out what I had done. I found that I was criticized for having a map of Greece on my office wall with pins showing the location of the reclamation projects. The security officer said that any Russian coming into the office could learn where all the projects were located. I asked him what I could do, I needed the maps. He said that if I cut the edges off the map showing the latitude and longitude, the black mark against me would be removed. (Laughter)

Greek Technical Assistants

Baum: You told me that many of the men you worked with were Greeks, and that they sometimes encountered security problems because of alleged Communist sympathies. Could you give some examples of your assistants and how the situation was for them?

Packard: Yes. For example, one of my Greek assistants, a very intense fellow, and an excellent engineer, had worked up a new device for flying that would simulate the type of flying that humming birds do. Very fast moving, they could dart back and forth and up and down. And he had written articles in two or three standard American technical magazines on aeronautics, and was intensely interested in the development of this device. And the air force was interested, too. But security had said that he had favored the Communists at some time and that they had something against him. I saw his machine and I was very much impressed. I wrote a lot of letters trying to get some decent judgment on his situation but to no avail. He was very anxious to get to the United States to accept an invitation he had to work with American technicians. But I was never able to get any accommodation at all. It was impossible for me to do anything.

Well there was still another case where a Greek engineer who was a captain in the resistance movement had been hired by an American previously to work with UNNRA. And this American was then in the Mission and knew him very well and recommended him very highly. He was on the island with other supposed Communists.

Packard: But through a relative of his, a general in the army, he was released. And on the recommendation of this American, who had employed him before, I hired him myself as an engineer. He could speak English, French, and Greek and he was a very capable engineer. He hadn't been there more than two or three weeks before our security required that I fire him. So I had to. But I still needed his skills. So I suggested to the Ministry of Agriculture in the Greek government that they take him on so that we could continue to work together. They said, "We can't do that if the Americans have fired him." So I knew a Greek friend who was a very good friend of the then prime minister, Plastiris, and she arranged for us all to have dinner. I told him about this young man -- and he said he'd get him employed immediately and the next morning he was put on the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture. He remained there all the time that I was there and some years later. And then went into consulting work as a private engineer and is doing very well.

But then to show the mixture of people that I had to work with, there was another young fellow that I employed; he was a very capable engineer, young and rather small, very agile and rather nervous. He was educated in England. He told me, "I want you to know just what I am. I'm a Fascist. I'm against the Communists. If I saw one of those god damn Communists, I'd shoot him." But when he dealt with me his attitude couldn't have been better. He wanted to do everything we wanted to do.

Packard: He was for what we were doing. And he was a very capable fellow. Finally he had to leave because he got a very good job with the government in developing some hydro-electric project. And when he left he wrote me one of the most beautiful letters I've ever received. It was an emotional letter supporting me in every way possible. And it really affected me very deeply.

Then I had another man on my staff, Trimis, who was an older man and an agriculturist. Security said that he had tuberculosis and he couldn't work in the office. Nobody could see that he had tuberculosis. He was going along all right so far as I could see. His wife had been taken prisoner by the andartes and forced to walk 125 miles from Athens up to Lamia. As a result, she's been an invalid for the rest of her life. So he was completely anti-communist. But I worked with him very nicely. And like Exidis, he was very anxious to do everything. So I got him a job in the Ministry of Agriculture so that he continued working with me. He worked with me all the rest of the time I was in Greece. I got his daughter a job as secretary in the Mission to help the family out. They lost everything during the Second World War. One of his sons was educated in this country. He came to see us here in Berkeley. He married an American girl that he'd met in college, and they went back and were at the American Farm School. He's devoting his life now to the American Farm School.

Baum: I've been reading that in some of the African nations you can't do any business because you can't find the minister in charge. He hasn't got a phone, he's moved his office to some secret

Baum: place.

Packard: Well, that wasn't true in Greece. In the beginning of our stay in Greece, the Ministry of Coordination had a large oval table in a big room. And there were earphones so that everything that was said was translated from English to Greek and Greek to English, so you could get the conversation going on at all times. And I used to attend those meetings. It was an excellent way of getting in touch with the Greek officials and their ideas.

Baum: So most of your contact was man to man, rather than going through the correct channels.

Packard: Yes, it was. I had to go through channels but they were always receptive. And we never had any difficulties from that standpoint. Perhaps I shouldn't have started this Greek story with an account of the difficulties I encountered but, after all, the Civil War dominated everything for a while.

Life in Greece

Mrs. Packard Comes to Greece

Baum: Was Mrs. Packard with you at that time or not yet?

Packard: No. She did not come out with me because the job was only for a four months appointment when I went in March, 1948. We had just returned to our home in Berkeley after two years away in Puerto Rico, and it seemed best for her to await developments there.

Mrs.

Packard: Walter left for Greece in March. In June I had word from him that the job had been extended for a period of two years and that

Mrs.

Packard: I was to come to Greece as soon as they could get him cleared through the FBI. At that time he was transferred from AMAG to the new Foreign Aid program, Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA).

Packard: Here I might say that I was sent without FBI clearance because they were in a hurry to get the work done. But they warned me that if I did not finally get the clearance that I would have to pay my own way back home!

Mrs.

Packard: Neighbors told me that they were being questioned by the FBI about us but time dragged on until September. Then I had a telephone call from the State Department saying that I could now come to Greece, by plane or ship, and giving some instructions about baggage and passports. So I assumed that the FBI clearance had been given.

I finally flew to New York and took passage on the re-conditioned Greek ship the Nea Hellas, a combined freight and passenger ship. The trip took sixteen days from New York to the Athens port at Piraeus where we finally disembarked on November 8, 1948.

Baum: Were there other Americans on the ship?

Mrs.
Packard: Yes. I think most of the first class passengers were Americans on their way to Greece. A few were men but mostly they were American women joining their husbands in Athens -- embassy, army, or civilian employees... Among them was Mrs. Paul Jenkins whose husband later became head of "Food and Agriculture" Division in

Mrs.

Packard: the American Mission. My roommate happened to be an employee of the United States Embassy. Afterward I found out that she was one of the "secret code breakers" of the Embassy and that she was the one who translated the message from the FBI which sent us home the next March!

It was a very happy trip across, with long hours of stops at Lisbon, Gibraltar, Naples, and, finally, Piraeus. We were able to go sightseeing via taxis at these ports and managed to visit the ruins at Pompeii. All of these ports mentioned were filled with the wrecks of sunken ships -- the wreckage of World War II -- war damage was very much in evidence everywhere we landed.

The U.S.A. election of 1948 took place during that trip. We Americans listened to the ship's radio and heard the returns coming in, which gradually showed that Truman was winning over Dewey and a groan of disappointment was heard, since most of the Americans aboard were Republicans, it seemed. So far as we could determine, my roommate and I were the only Democrats on board. The others went to the bar to try to forget and we went to our stateroom and chuckled!

Walter and Paul Jenkins managed to board the ship with the pilot and accompanied us through the customs proceedings in Piraeus. The harbor at Piraeus was full of sunken ships and the docks were in ruins. I remember some of the passengers let their hand luggage over the side of the ship by ropes and we had to descend a shaky ladder to the makeshift dock. Everywhere there

Baum: Was the hotel food safe to eat? I mean, it did not make you sick as it sometimes does in Mexico?

Mrs.

Packard: The food was safe in the good hotels, although there was always risk in eating uncooked foods or unpeeled fruits. When traveling out into the countryside we tried to stick to cooked foods at the local restaurants. Even so, there was some trouble with digestive upsets. There was one epidemic of infectious hepatitis among Americans but we escaped that.

Baum: What about medical care?

Packard: The armed forces had a big clinic in Athens, with four army or navy doctors on call, which took care of the army personnel, the American embassy, and ECA employees and their families. This was our first experience with "socialized medicine" and it was free for the most part, except for about four dollars a day for board and room if we were sent to the hospital.

Baum: Was that an American hospital?

Packard: The Americans had a wing of the big Greek hospital but mostly used the Greek facilities of X-ray and such equipment. The Greeks had free medical services in the cities at that time, as well as tuberculosis hospitals in the country near Athens.

Baum: Did all the American employees live at the various hotels?

Packard: No. If it is safe to generalize, one might say that finally the families with children tried to rent homes, many of which were available in Athens and especially in the various suburbs such as Kifisia and Psychico. Many of the wealthier Greeks had

Packard: summer homes in Kifisia where the altitude of about a thousand feet made for a much cooler climate during the very hot summers. These were often rented by Americans on a year round lease. Single people were apt to stay at the hotels or rent apartments and many of the older couples without children remained in the hotels.

Baum: What did the American women do with their time in a foreign country? Did they keep house or hire servants?

Mrs.

Packard: Those who lived in houses almost had to depend upon servants. In the first place, it was difficult to cope with the sometimes primitive (comparatively) equipment, and language difficulties of marketing. Also, there were so many applicants for such jobs that one felt obliged to give work -- in self defense, almost, since they kept applying if no one was hired. Some of these women were the only support of their families. Some of them spoke English but the American children soon learned to speak enough Greek to translate for their parents. Greeks love children.

Baum: What about social life?

Mrs.

Packard: During the first two years when the Civil War was in progress, there was almost no social life. Dancing was forbidden to the Greeks. Fuel was scarce and expensive so homes were cold and there was a curfew.

American Women's Activities in Greece - AWOOG

Baum: What about clubs or group activities?

Mrs.

Packard: I suppose this is a good place to introduce the "American Women of Greece", known as AWOOG. Dr. Henry Francis Grady was appointed as ambassador to Greece and arrived with his wife, Lucretia Del Valle Grady, in the late summer of 1948. We first knew Mrs. Grady in Mexico and later in Berkeley where Dr. Grady was on the faculty at the University of California. Mrs. Grady, with her characteristic energy and imagination, began to organize the American women in various activities. The first one I remember was a fashion show at the Gran Bretagne Hotel in Athens which was staged a few days after my arrival in November.

Baum: Why a fashion show during such a hard period?

Mrs.

Packard: I think mostly for the stimulus to the Greek industry of silk-making and tailoring. People must wear clothes and the Greek women have an innate pride of dress and appearance. Few, if any, ready-made clothing was available and many women made the family living by sewing. The markets were full of hand-woven as well as factory made materials -- silk, cotton, and woolens. There were couturier shops, often patterned on the French styles in Athens which catered to the wealthier Greeks. Mrs. Grady hoped to promote more business abroad for these materials and the fashion show was later taken to the United States and a show given in San Francisco, among other cities.

Baum: You spoke of silks -- do they raise the silkworms there?

Mrs.

Packard: Yes, it is an important industry, especially in Macedonia where the mulberry trees thrive and produce the food for the worms. The Greek government has promoted this work and the manufacture of the high grade silks.

Baum: When was AWOG started?

Mrs.

Packard: I find in an old summary of AWOG activities that I made in 1954, that the first year's membership for 1948-1949 was 398. I think Mrs. Grady was instrumental in this first organization. By May, 1950, the club had joined with the American Federation of Women's Clubs. I have copies of some of the yearbooks and the constitutions which we printed and can deposit them with this record.

Baum: What kind of work did the club do?

Mrs.

Packard: It was usually organized around some need that we saw among the Greeks and adapted to local conditions. The club was organized into sections, with a chairman for each, who, with the elected officers made up the board which planned the work and programs. Finance, education, and foreign affairs were three of the active groups. I was chairman of the latter and we planned programs for monthly meetings around some "hot spot", of which there were many at that time. One I remember was the Tunisian revolt and Bourguiba was the leader who was giving France a headache. I tried to find a speaker and finally went to the French Embassy-- I remember the man in charge was quite irked by the American official attitude toward the Tunisian situation but he did suggest

Mrs.

Packard: a speaker -- a French girl, married to one of our American Embassy employees, whose parents owned a date garden in Tunisia... Her attitude toward the Arabs who were the labor force hired to do the work was pretty much the same as the Southern attitude toward our Negroes -- that they are lazy, ignorant and undependable -- the classic colonial estimate of natives who do the work... We were amused to learn that her parents owned a large estate in France, near the Swiss border, and that Gertrude Stein lived in one of their cottages for many years. Our speaker's name was Rose and she proved to be the very child about whom Gertrude Stein wrote the famous poem "A rose is a rose is a rose"...

One of our largest meetings was held in the American Embassy, with husbands invited. The subject was "Irrigating the Garden of Eden", with Charles Travis as speaker. He was the engineer in charge of the master plan for irrigating Greece and his company (known briefly as "Knappen Tippetts") had a similar project for the Iraqi government, centered in Baghdad. Ambassador John Peurifoy and his wife attended this lecture, and had as their guest one of the Cabots (of Massachusetts), "who speak only to God", who had been on a diplomatic mission to Egypt. Mr. Travis gave a very enlightening lecture, illustrated with maps, of the plan for restoring the ancient irrigation systems of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in the modern development of Iraq. Not long after this meeting Mr. Travis was killed in an airplane crash while on a trip in the Middle East -- a shocking tragedy to the American colony.

Baum: What about the welfare work the club did?

Mrs.

Packard: Thousands of children were evacuated from villages during the Civil War and placed in hospitals where they had care and some schooling. Some were orphans -- their fathers were mostly in the Greek army. This was a project of Queen Fredericka. I don't know who financed it -- probably the U.S.A. and the Greek government.

I have in my old report a list of the various organizations that the club helped, as follows: Soteria -- a TB hospital; Queen Sophia Childrens' Hospitals; maternity hospitals; the Leprosarium Orphanage (children were taken from leper parents to prevent infections), foundling homes; day nurseries; blind school. We could not do much, but often held Christmas parties with small gifts for the children or patients.

There were many sewing groups where the women met to make clothing for orphanages from materials purchased with our funds. Another activity was collecting used clothing for distribution in refugee camps or poorer villages. I remember a committee took two truck loads up to a mountain village and distributed the garments. Later, as the war conditions eased a little, we concentrated our funds more on education -- scholarships to promising individuals and to colleges. Among these were the American Farm School in Salonika, Pierce College for Girls (founded by the Congregational Church) and Athens College for Boys. The head of this school for many years was Homer Davis, a graduate of the University of California

Mrs.
Packard: at Berkeley.

Another project was a series of eight lectures and tours to classical sites on Saturdays. The American School for Classical Studies cooperated and furnished the speakers. The hat was passed after each lecture and the money -- a total of \$7,000 over the years, was donated to the school as matching funds for the Rockefeller Foundation to be used in the restoration of the Stoa of Attalus. This work has now been completed in the ancient site of Athens, below the Acropolis.

The finance committee raised funds in some of the following ways -- e.g., in 1950-51 my record shows: Christmas card sale, \$2,020; Moonlight Ball, \$1,070; Christmas TB seals, \$1,680; Total, \$4,770. Together with the \$5.00 annual dues, it totaled \$5,500. Total money raised for six years: \$30,649.95

Average income per year, \$5,108.32

Total scholarships (6-year period) , \$6,688.46

Total welfare, (6-year period), \$20,436.54

The membership varied from a low of 202 in 1950-51 to a high of 398 -- an average per year of 293 members.

Baum: Were there other clubs besides this one?

Mrs.

Packard: The wives of American armed forces personnel had their own club. The Hellenic-American Club was organized with an equal number of Greek and American women members. This was largely a get-acquainted cultural club that met once a month. The Greeks put on a program

Mrs.

Packard: one month and the Americans the next. The programs tended to be musical or literary. One program was a reading of his poetry by Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, our American Pulitzer Prize winning poet from Bowdoin College, Maine, who spent a year lecturing in the University of Athens. I have copies of some of the lectures that he gave at the University, which many of us attended.

Because of our work in donating to the Stoa of Attalus, the American School for Classical Studies invited our group to watch the opening of an ancient grave that had just been discovered by the archeologists at the foot of the Acropolis. The workmen carefully excavated a large vase or amphora, about three feet tall -- lying on its side. It was taken to the workroom for careful examination. They found the fragile skull of a child and small pieces of pottery. Later, when the work of restoration was finished, we were invited to the exhibition.

Baum: Is AWOOG still in existence?

Mrs.

Packard: Yes. I had a letter recently from a Greek secretary who is now working for our embassy. She told of entering some of her water colors in an art exhibition sponsored by AWOOG. Since there must still be hundreds of American women living in Greece, working in the embassy, educational institutions, or in private business, it is likely to keep alive indefinitely.

Public vs. Private Development of Hydroelectric Power

FAO Memorandum

Packard: On arriving in Greece I was given a copy of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) report prepared by a group which preceded the American Mission to Greece, of which I was a part. They made a rather exhaustive study of the whole reclamation field, including the development of hydropower as part of what they recommended as multi-purpose projects. They were very insistent that all this should go together -- drainage, irrigation, flood control, and power.

The Greek government, following the FAO memorandum, got out a report of what they thought the Greek hydroelectric potential might be, at least in the immediate future, called: "Memorandum on the Four Year Plan for Electric Power of the Greek Government." This report showed that the potential hydroelectric power output from six rivers representing the major source of hydroelectric power in Greece was estimated at 5,724,000,000 KWH per year, according to the program of rehabilitation of the country published by the Greek government in 1947. This roughly approximates the initial output of 4,380,000 KWH at Boulder Dam, later increased to more than double that figure. Although this potential power resource does not represent an abundant supply for a population of seven and a half million people, it was the only significant native source of energy in Greece other than human labor, the power of draft animals,

Packard: and deposits of low grade lignite.

I soon found that the State Department had employed W.E. Corfitzen, an hydraulic engineer with fifteen years experience with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, as part of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and he became Commissioner of the Water Economy of the Division of the Ministry of Public Works, reporting to AMAG through the Reconstruction Division of the Mission. In this position Corfitzen was in charge of all hydroelectric development in Greece. No project, in theory, could be constructed with American aid without his approval. He proceeded to study the situation in Greece and develop plans for project development along the lines recommended in the FAO report. He, of course, knew William L. Newmeyer the Bureau of Reclamation engineer who prepared that portion of the FAO report dealing with reclamation work and hydroelectric development.

The Scharff Report

"The Scharff Report: Without consulting Corfitzen, Mr. Gilmore, head of the Industry Division of the American Mission, employed Maurice R. Scharff who proposed a contract between the Greek state and the Hellenic Hydroelectric and Metallurgical Corporation, an American corporation which had a concession for power development on the Acheloos River." (Paragraph 6 Scharff report)

This concession was secured during the Metaxas dictatorship some years before the American Mission was established. The Greek government was not inclined to recognize this concession because

Packard: it was against the public interest. It was a pre-war arrangement that had not been carried out. (For details see page 5 of memo of July 5, 1949, written by Walter Packard.)

Baum: Could you explain why there had been no contact between Mr. Corfitzen and Mr. Scharff?

Packard: I can't tell you why, no. Mr. Scharff was an engineer for the Electric Bond and Share Company (EBASCO) and he just made his own study independently. Perhaps he didn't know Corfitzen was there. There definitely was a lack of coordination in the Mission. The Industry Division particularly was inclined to go off on its own as will be seen later.

Baum: It must have made for bad feelings.

Packard: Well, it did. It caused quite a lot of bad feeling later on.

The Gilmore Memorandum

"The Gilmore Memorandum: On the basis of the Scharff report, Mr. Gilmore proceeded to draft a memorandum to the Paris office of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to be signed by Mr. Griswold who was in charge of foreign policy. It set forth a program to be used at the Paris conference as a basis for the establishment of a power policy for ECA which was to replace AMAG. A few days later Mr. Corfitzen left for Washington and before going told me that he would not return if the Gilmore policy were put into effect." (Pages 6 and 7, memorandum of July 5, 1949, Walter Packard.)

Packard: Corfitzen returned for a while but was quite ill and I carried on in his place and was appointed as chairman of the Power Committee, including Greeks and Americans, by Mr. John Nuveen, the first administrator of the ECA program.

Baum: Who was Mr. Corfitzen? Where did he come from?

Packard: He was a Bureau of Reclamation engineer that the Mission had hired in the very beginning.

Baum: It sounded like he was holding positions in the Greek government.

Packard: He was, yes. He was director of this joint effort between the Mission and the Greek government.

(Pages 7 and 8 of memo of July 5, 1949)

"Following his policy of overlooking Mr. Corfitzen and the Water Economy of the Ministry of Public Works...the Gilmore report recommends that all three hydroelectric power projects mentioned in the memorandum be turned over to American corporations, or to Greek corporations controlled or to be controlled by American corporations." (Source of quote, 4th paragraph Griswold memorandum.)

"The memorandum suggested that the Ladhon project be turned over to the Athens Piraeus Electricity Company which was one of the largest and best established companies in Greece and was controlled by Bodossaki Athanasiados." (Source of quote, paragraph 14 Gilmore memorandum.)

Incidentally, it was the Bodossaki Corporation that got practically every one of the private loans made by the Mission

Packard: during the six and a half years that I was there. All the rest of the aid money, comprising 85% of all aid was spent in developing either public enterprise or consumer cooperatives. (Continued page 9, Packard memo.)

Well, I was shocked by this report. Mr. Corfitzen went to Mr. Griswold and presented the case to him. He promised that nothing would be done until there was a hearing so that both sides could be presented. But I found that two days later the Industry Division had sent their committee of three men to Paris with this report. And they came back two weeks later with the complete approval of the Paris office of their plan for having EBASCO take over the power.

John Nuveen, New Chief of the Mission

Then there was a change in the Mission. ECA was created and Mr. John Nuveen came to Greece as the new Chief of the Mission. He was a Republican, a banker from Chicago. And I felt quite disheartened because I was quite sure that I would not get too favorable a hearing. But I found that his bank specialized in municipal utilities and he was, therefore, completely familiar with the whole problem of public ownership. So I saw him and explained the situation. I said I thought we should have a hearing. And he said of course we should. He said he would arrange the hearing for the next day. Well, I presented the public power program giving an outline of what the Greek government had already done

Packard: in outlining plans for a series of hydroelectric projects to be tied together with a common carrier transmission line. The Industry Division presented the private power angle. Well Mr. Nuveen made the decision right there and said that he thought that power in Greece should be publicly owned because of the conditions in the country. And he appointed me as chairman of the power committee. No men from the Industry Division were put on the committee.

Well, from then on I worked with Mr. Pezopoulos, the head of the Electrical Engineering Department of the University of Athens, in preparing a new report -- the first official report from ECA to the Paris office. It is entitled Water and Power Development: July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949. The statements concerning the policy of public versus private ownership was stated as follows: (page 8)

The need for public ownership: The need for power income makes public ownership of hydroelectric plants a necessary element of any financially sound river development program... Under private ownership this income would remain in private hands and the unmet costs of irrigation and flood control would be added to the general tax burden.

Within a few days after this report reached the Paris office the engineer in charge of power policies came to Athens and wanted to know who it was that wanted public power. I said that the people of Greece wanted it. His reply was, "What have they got to say about it? Who's putting up the money?" That statement reflects the attitude of the officers in the Paris office. (From Packard memo of July 5, 1949.)

At that time it seemed that Dewey would be elected President and I was quite afraid that we would be defeated. So when Walter Sissler, former vice-president of Edison Electric of Detroit, who

Packard: had been appointed as head of the Power Division of the ECA in Washington, came to Greece with the man from the Paris office, whose name I do not recall, I was willing to compromise by saying it would be all right for EBASCO to make the necessary study if it was understood that when the studies were completed no policy decision would be made until there was a complete evaluation of the public vs. private power issue. That was agreed to.

And about three weeks later two men from EBASCO showed up. One was one of their old-time engineers, very familiar with power. The other was a Greek-American who was president of the American Hellenic Hydroelectric and Metallurgical Corporation of New York, who held the concession for power on the Acheloos River, the most promising hydroelectric potential in the country. He had received this concession during the dictatorship of Metaxas and was quite certain that he could maintain his ownership rights. I went right to Mr. Nuveen that afternoon and explained that this man was here representing EBASCO. He was fired that night. A very hot letter was sent off both to Washington and to EBASCO, saying that an arrangement like that where the American Mission was employing the president of a company that held the concession on the river to advise the Mission as to what it should do with the concession was impossible.

Baum: When was this?

Packard: That was in the fall of 1948.

Baum: And I don't understand why there were so many Republicans in the Mission.

Packard: They were technical men.

Baum: Yes. But were they hired just as technical men?

Packard: Well, I don't know. In the case of Mr. Nuveen, he happened to be very liberal.

Finally, the Greek government did cancel the concession. And they organized the Public Power Corporation, a Greek organization similar to the TVA.

A Defeat for Public Power

During this time APECO (Athens-Piraeus Electric Company) wanted to get more generating power. And they wanted a loan from the Mission to finance the construction of a new block of steam power to add to the power they already had in Athens and Piraeus. I felt that this power should be developed by the Greek government as part of the program -- that the Mission should finance this through the newly organized public corporation. They were anxious to do this. I talked it over with Mr. Nuveen, who believed as I did, but he was going to Washington and left the matter in the hands of Mr. Grady.

Baum: Well now, did Mr. Grady favor public power or private power?

Packard: In Mr. Nuveen's absence Mr. Grady had to make the decision regarding APECO. He called a hearing and the Industry Division was represented by a number of men. And I presented the case for public ownership of this power, as Chairman of the Power Committee, assuming that public ownership would come ultimately and that it

Packard: should start now. The Greeks said that they could supply the power to APECO all right. But at this hearing Mr. Grady favored APECO so a loan was made to APECO to install this new block of steam power, using oil imported from the Middle East. And following this meeting I sent the following memorandum to Mr. Grady: February 2, 1949, "Contrary to Ken Iverson's statement yesterday, I am not the only one opposing the support of private power by ECA funds. ...There is no action, in my judgment, that could be taken which will adversely effect the battle for democracy more directly than the support of private power interests before ECA has had an opportunity to study all of the facts involved."

Another difficulty arose because of the opposition of some of the people employed in the Mission. In a memorandum that I sent to Mr. K. Iverson, Deputy for Operations, on February 10, 1949 I said this: "I wish to call your attention to four incidents which affect the position which you have asked me to take regarding discussions of public vs. private ownership power in Greece. ... They are economic and social issues, not engineering issues, and they should be faced before the combination of private interests now operating in Greece have an opportunity to create circumstances which favor private power." (pp. 1-2)

Following this I talked with Alan Strachan about the issue and he prepared a statement on behalf of the Labor and Manpower Division which reads as follows: Labor and Manpower Division, ECA, Greece Proposal for Hydroelectric Power Policy: "With the completion of the preliminary survey of the power potentials of Greece as re-

Packard: "ported by EBASCO... The Labor and Manpower Division urges the Mission to Greece to resist any proposal for what would be our greatest undoing, and go on record for retaining Greece for the Greeks, and against exploitation from within and from without."
(Pages 1-3)

Return to Washington for a Security Hearing, 1949

Failure to Get a Security Clearance

One morning, some weeks later, I was called by Mr. Nuveen on the phone and asked to see him. And when I went into his office I could see that he was embarrassed. He read me a telegram from Washington from the head of ECA there demanding my immediate dismissal on the grounds of an F.B.I. investigation. He said, "I can't show you this F.B.I. report, but I'll read some of it to you and then you give me your answers." And the first question was, "Are you a member of the Labor School in San Francisco?" And I said, "No, I wasn't, but I had sponsored it." And he said, "Sponsoring is just as bad. That makes it impossible to be employed by the ECA because the ECA law says, 'no member of any subversive organization listed by the Attorney General could be employed by ECA.'"

Another charge was that I as president of the Berkeley Democratic Club, had spoken on a platform with two known Communists. I didn't know who they were but I presumed they were C.I.O. men who were then rather leftist. Then I was also charged with attending a water meeting in Fresno where there were three known Communists in the audience. I again assumed that they were C.I.O.

Packard: men. And I said, "I didn't know whether they were Communists or not."

So I told Mr. Nuveen that I was not ashamed of anything I had done. I simply wanted everyone to know why I was going because it would be quite embarrassing to go home without anybody knowing why. He suggested that they have a testimonial dinner for me at the Gran Bretagne Hotel, which they did. Mr. Nuveen presided. They gave me a briefcase and agreed to name a school after me in Macedonia. And it was quite an emotional meeting. It was really a wonderful affair from my standpoint. Nobody in the Mission avoided us. In fact they all went out of their way to ask us to dinner and to put on parties.

Side Trip to Israel

I had been scheduled to go to Egypt to attend an irrigation conference. I couldn't go, but I was able to get a free ride on a U.N. plane to Israel. So I spent a week in Israel during the time I was waiting to go home.

I went immediately to the American Embassy in Tel Aviv and introduced myself. They were rather embarrassed because the situation was still very serious. There was still shooting. And they wondered why I had come. But there was one man in the Embassy who had met me in Athens. And he invited me to have lunch with him that day. We were walking along the Mediterranean coast at a very beautiful spot when he asked me, "Would you be willing to come to Israel as agricultural attaché of the embassy?" I had to explain

Packard: very embarrassingly that I was on my way home. (Laughter) I was a "subversive". And so that ended that. But the Israeli government did assign a car and driver to me. And the driver happened to be a former professor of agriculture at Davis. While waiting for him I took a bus ride to Jerusalem which took me on the narrow strip that was being shot at at the time. There were probably forty trucks and cars that had been blown up along the highway on the way to Jerusalem.

Baum: It sounds like you're always driving along dangerous roads. (Laughter)

Packard: I saw as much of Jerusalem as I could in a very short time. Then when I got back to Tel Aviv this man with the car was waiting for me. We drove south to the Negev Desert. And there we came to a little cooperative town where each individual owned his own house and lot, but they owned a cooperative dairy and so on. The spirit of the settlement was wonderful. I had lunch that day with an old couple whose two teen-age sons had been killed in the trench that connected their yard with all the yards in the village.

Baum: Killed by Arabs?

Packard: Yes. That was the town where they had stopped the northern march of the Egyptian army when they attacked Israel. I started to express sympathy to the mother and she stopped me right away and said, "Don't say anything. Those boys died for Israel." The expression of feeling was just wonderful. You just couldn't have a more wonderful statement.

Well, we got just to the edge of the Negev Desert and came back and then drove north from Tel Aviv up the coast and then

Packard: across the mountains to the Plains of Judea. We stayed that night in a kibbutz where we had dinner and breakfast. We went over the land and buildings and met many people. I think there were six people there from the University of California. And we got a very good idea of the organization of a kibbutz and how it was handled. They all ate in a common dining room. Each family was assigned a room. And the children, even the very young babies, were taken to a nursery school. The parents came and took the children home after work. They had excellent care, trained nurses, and so on. At breakfast time on the door was a list of assignments. So each person went to the list and saw what work he was assigned to that day. One of the men from the University of California, an engineer, was assigned that day to garbage collection.

Baum: Were these University of California people living there?

Packard: Yes.

Baum: Oh, they had left. They had emigrated.

Packard: Yes. They were living there. They were part of the kibbutz. I had a discussion that evening with some of them and presented my idea that that sort of thing was behaviorally disruptive -- where they are all working together to produce a common product with no way of dividing the claims on the supply automatically. They could see my point, but they were still thinking that they might work it out anyway. The spirit of the kibbutz was fine. They had a dairy, a fruit orchard, and gardens. So they were

Packard: producing everything they wanted on the kibbutz. The idea seemed to fit in very well with the situation in Israel at that time because people were coming in without anything at all. And they could go to these kibbutzim and have a place to sleep and some food to eat right away, and start to earn their living without any hesitation at all. So it was a very successful thing from that standpoint.

Baum: You didn't think this would be successful over a long time though.

Packard: Well I thought at the time it was a very successful operation, but I did not think it would last too long because I thought that behavioral relationships might prove unworkable. I haven't returned to Israel since but I have read reports that indicate that the kibbutzim are on the way out. The emergency which brought them into being is passing.

Baum: I guess another thing that people are always interested in is how you think the family relationship is because of the child-rearing practices?

Packard: Well, the impression I had was not too favorable. The parents would be living in a room and the children would be off at the nursery. In some ways it was very excellent. You couldn't object to what they were doing in the nursery. The children were learning to get along with other children. They were taken care of beautifully. From that standpoint it was quite ideal.

The next morning we drove west across the Plains of Judea and came to a sign by the road marked sea level. Well we looked

Packard: from there on down to the Sea of Galilee which was about six hundred feet down a steep slope and from there the Jordan River ran on down south. I understand that the Jordan Valley was part of the same formation as the Rift in Kenya, Africa. I found that a Berkeley man whom I knew quite well had worked out a plan where they could bring water through the hills bordering the Mediterranean and form a power plant, dropping the water down six hundred feet to the Jordan River, and create a large amount of hydro-electric power. The plan was to take the water out of the Jordan for irrigation of land that needed irrigation very badly, and then turn this salty water into the Jordan channel and carry it down to the Dead Sea where it would keep that sea at a proper level.

Baum: Was that Mr. Lowdermilk?

Packard: Yes.

Baum: I once heard him give a speech on that plan and it just sounded marvelous.*

Packard: Yes. And when you look down into the Jordan Valley, it just seems the most obvious thing in the world. Anyway, we went down to see the Sea of Galilee and to the Jordan River. We visited another kibbutz in the upper area of the Jordan Valley. This was quite a prosperous area where they had citrus fruits and bananas. It was one of the older kibbutzim. Then we came back and went over to

* Dr. Walter Lowdermilk is being interviewed by ROHO, Spring 1968.

Packard: Haifa, which was the end of an oil pipeline coming in from the oil fields in the East. Anyway, the big refinery was there and the enemies of Israel had blown up the pipeline and the refinery was not operating.

I found there, as I found over other parts of Israel, that some of the houses that had belonged to the Arabs had been blown up with dynamite from the inside. I talked to the taxi man who said that the Israeli government had blown them up because they wanted to have the Arabs discouraged when they came back so they wouldn't want to return to their old property. Then I went to Tel Aviv and took a plane back to Athens. My general reaction was that I was very much impressed by what the Israeli government was doing -- terrifically impressed. I was very impressed by the spirit of the people that I met. But I had a certain feeling of sympathy for the Arabs.

I returned to Athens, but before leaving for Washington in March, 1949, I submitted a memorandum to Paul Jenkins who was then Chief of the Food and Agricultural Division of the Mission. I, at the time, did not expect to return to Greece. And I said in the beginning, "The following remarks are in a sense my final report as a member of the Power Committee of ECA." (This memo is on file.)

On our way home we took a plane to Rome and then to Zurich, where we stopped for a couple of days to take a bus ride through Switzerland. We went to Geneva and then flew from there to Paris.

Packard: We spent several days in Paris, thinking this might be the last chance we might have to see Paris. We then went to London and did the same thing there. And, interestingly enough, we were in London shortly after the street lights were turned on for the first time, after the years of war "blackouts". There was one family that had come in from the country. The children had never seen London lighted before. It had always been dark all through World War II. They had an official ceremony turning on the lights.

Packard Cleared and Sent Back to Greece

Then we flew to New York, where Frankie Adams and Emmy Lou were there to meet us. They were all excited about the report that I had been fired. And they both were rather inclined to want me to exploit it. But I decided not to do that. I went to Washington and I reported first to Abe Fortas. I explained my situation and I wanted to know if he would defend me. And he said he would. He'd be very glad to defend me. And I asked him how much it would cost. And he said, "It will cost you nothing at all." So I said, "On that basis, you're hired." (Laughter) He told me to stay away from ECA, not to report there until he told me to. So, meanwhile he went over to talk to the attorneys for ECA and he brought up the point that the law said nothing about sponsoring an organization on the Attorney General's list. Therefore from a technical standpoint I was not guilty under the law. I was not a member of the Labor School. I had only sponsored it. And there was nothing in the law that would convict me. So the ECA attorney took that as a technical answer to a technical charge.

Packard: And then they arranged for a hearing. The hearing was to be held as soon as they could get a group together.

Meanwhile, on the boat coming home I had realized that I was getting glaucoma in the eye that had been operated on recently for cataract. So I had a glaucoma operation in Washington while I was waiting for the hearings. I went around a good deal of the time with one eye bandaged. So I spent my time in getting as much information as I could from the Federal Power Commission, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the TVA on the arguments supporting public power. As a result, when I returned to Greece I was pretty well prepared to fight for the creation of a public power corporation of the TVA type. I also wrote, wired and phoned many of my friends asking for character references. These are the letters that Abe Fortas received when he was conducting my defense in Washington. Letters came from the following individuals: H.R. Wellman, Carl C. Taylor, Richard R. Perkins, Amos Buckley, Monroe E. Deutsch, Henry E. Erdman, Murray R. Benedict, Stuart Chase, Raymond C. Smith, Oscar L. Chapman, and Helen Gahagan Douglas. A formal hearing was held by a specially appointed commission to hear my case. The Undersecretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior; M.L. Wilson, Thomas Blaisdell, and Oscar Chapman, testified in my defense and I was cleared by unanimous vote. Mr. Nuveen was in Washington at that time and asked for my reappointment. My way could be paid on the theory that I was in Washington on a conference. But they couldn't send Emma back because there's no

Packard: authority in law to send her back under the circumstances. So by rehiring me on a completely new contract they could send us both back. So we both went back by plane.

Baum: I hope they paid your way back when you came back from Greece to Washington. (Laughter)

Packard: They paid all that. They had forgotten all about the agreement I'd signed. So everything was paid, except our living expenses at the hotel. Part of the time we stayed with friends in Washington.

We were supposed to land at the Athens airport at 2:00 in the morning. But we were two hours late. But when we got there, there were eleven Greeks and Americans there to meet us with big bouquets of flowers. Well, it was the most emotional event I ever encountered. They took us up to the King George Hotel where they had a long table where all our friends could join us for breakfast and welcome us home.

When we left Athens, Greeks and Americans came down to the airport to see us off. Mrs. Grady, the wife of the ambassador was there, and she said that she had also sponsored the Labor School and she knew that Bob Sproul had sponsored the same thing.

Baum: Ambassadors don't have to pass security checks like ECA employees? (Laughter)

Packard: They do. I suppose they're well combed over before they pick them at all.

Oh yes, the Greek engineers came to the airport and gave us

Packard: various silver things. I have an engraved silver tray and Emma has a bracelet from the Greeks, who were very much concerned that the American government would send me home. So when I came back it was a great thing for the Greeks to know that I could go to Washington, have a hearing, and come back. It made quite an impression on them.

Baum: Well I'm glad it ended with a favorable impression. It sounds rather poor to begin with.

Packard: Yes. It's the only favorable hearing I've ever heard of. I guess you don't hear of them if they're favorable. It's only the scandal that you hear of.

I had brought over all of our electrical equipment such as a toaster and a hot plate from home, because you couldn't get anything like that in Greece, at the time. And I had to sell all those things when we left Greece. So it meant restocking again in Washington and shipping these all back at government expense again. (Laughter)

Development of Public Power Corporation

Less than a year later, Mr. Nuveen had been sent to Belgium and a new man had been sent in, Paul Porter. Well, Mr. Porter, in contrast to Mr. Nuveen, had been a member of the executive committee of the Socialist Party in the United States. My brother was a member of the same executive committee. So, instead of having a Republican banker in charge we had a former socialist.

Packard: I had never met him before but we became great friends. And when he was leaving, after he had been there for about a year, he called a meeting of all the employees of the Mission, Greek and American, which nearly filled one of the theaters in Athens. And he said, "I'm going to do something that I've never done before. I don't think it's a good thing policywise generally, but in this case I think it's justified. I'm going to name four people that I think have done outstanding work." Well, he named me as the first of the four. And we were known from then on as the "Big Four". But that wasn't a good policy.

Baum: Yes.

Packard: But it was rather a complete vindication of me. I was terrifically pleased to get that after having been sent home -- the only one that was sent home and got back. There were others who were sent home, but I was the only one that got back, which makes quite a difference.*

I consider what I did in developing the Public Power Corporation to be my greatest contribution to the Greek economy. On returning to Greece I prepared a brief on the power issue based upon the information I had been able to get in Washington. I had this brief mimeographed in English and translated into Greek and then mimeographed in Greek. I then distributed the copies as quickly as possible without the Industry Division knowing that I'd done it. And when the Industry Division saw the report, they became quite concerned and wanted to have the report withdrawn. But it couldn't

* Mr. Packard's philosophy is clearly expressed in "How to Win With Foreign Aid", The Nation, April 8, 1961, pp. 302-304.

Packard: be withdrawn because it was already pretty widely distributed. It was a convincing document and had quite a bit to do with the final decision to create the Public Power Commission on the TVA pattern, especially because I was able to get the brief into the hands of Averell Harriman, then acting as roving ambassador. I accomplished this through Pat Frayne, a San Francisco labor leader who was traveling with Mr. Harriman, and whom I had met at the Paris office of ECA on my way to Washington after my dismissal. I have no way of proving it, but I think that it was Mr. Harriman's influence in Washington which led to the adoption of the public power policy.

As a precautionary measure, a measure which I favored, the Mission employed Walton Seymour, an experienced electrical engineer and strong supporter of public power, to work with EBASCO, as a direct employee of the Mission. In the end, a very efficient public power network, where hydroelectric power was firmed up by a steam plant fueled by processed lignite, was established. The public power authority finally purchased the Athens-Piraeus Company and bought every other system. It's the most successful corporation they have in Greece. Its bonds sell at a higher figure than any other bonds on the market. So that the efforts we made in that paid off.

Baum: It sounds like you were just about beaten though.

Packard: Well, I was. I was up against an awful lot of opposition.

Baum: Were there any other forces supporting your view?

Packard: Oh yes, the Greeks were.

Baum: Were they effectively working for it?

Packard: Oh yes. They were as effective as they could be. Professor G.N. Pezopoulos was the head of the Electrical Engineering Division of the University of Athens. I worked with him during the entire time. And he was the man who had developed the original report under the Greek government and was the principal technician in the Greek government. And he became president of the new corporation and remained there until 1958.

Baum: How could the Greeks put pressure on?

Packard: They would go to their politicians and through their ministries support the Greek interests. It wasn't unanimous in the Greek government, but it was the dominant force at that time. Everything else -- railroads, telephone lines, hospitals, schools, etc. were public, so they were used to the idea.

Although I consider what I did in developing the Public Power Corporation to be my greatest contribution to the Greek economy, most of what I did, especially after the first year, concerned flood control, drainage and irrigation. We had the advantage of having a very competent report from the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations as a guide. It said, in part, the people of Greece are:

poor because they have little land per family compared with most other countries, and because they generally produce relatively little per acre on the land they have. ... Increase of agricultural productivity in Greece must therefore look forward to both increasing the land available, and raising the output per acre. (FAO Report, p. 2.)

Packard: So that was the situation we faced when we got there and that was

Packard: the program that we had to meet. I'll read from my last report before I left Greece: Can Greece Feed, Clothe and House its Growing Population?

"In order to increase the land available and raise the output per acre and per man, the FOA Commission recommended a program which would provide for:-

'The expansion of agricultural areas through flood control, drainage and irrigation, with related hydroelectric developments, reforestation and controlled grazing; the intensification of production through a gradual and partial shift in suitable areas from extensive to intensive crops, including fruits, vegetables and expansion in livestock and livestock products, and improvement in the quality of agricultural products for domestic consumption and for export; reduction of labor requirements and of the number of workers in agriculture in non-intensive areas through gradual extension of modern machinery and modern cultural methods; a great increase in output per acre and per man through improvement in the variety of seeds and the quality of livestock; improved cultural practices, improved and more extensive use of fertilizers and general modernization of agricultural practices; and great improvements in the fisheries output, from the use of better gear, control of fishing in the interest of maximum production and better marketing. Appropriate research, extension, and educational facilities to help bring about these changes, and financial aid through the Agricultural Bank and the public works agencies of Greece, are recommended elsewhere. The great increase in commercial agriculture and in exports would in turn pay for increased imports of equipment, tools, grains, metals and other goods and services needed by Greece to help raise standards of both production and consumption.'

b) The Accomplishments

With the knowledge of conditions gained from the FAO Report, the Greek Ministry of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Division of the American Mission for Aid to Greece, created July 1, 1947, began an intensive drive toward the goals set. The results have been greater than anticipated. Total annual pre-war production of selected crops, representing 84 percent of the total calorie intake, was doubled by December 30, 1953.

"The percentage increases by crops range from 143.8 percent for pulses to 1,600 percent for rice. The increase of 182.5 percent of wheat, 382.0 percent for vegetables and 305.2 percent for potatoes are particularly significant because they alone account for 60.0 percent of the total calorie intake. Livestock and livestock products lagged largely because of the civil war which resulted in a serious decline in the livestock population of the mountain areas. The detailed figures showing the results of increased production of selected crops are presented in Table 1.

T A B L E 1

Comparison between Prewar production and production in 1953-54 for selected items which together account for 84.5 percent of the total calorie intake of the Greek people in 1953-54.

C r o p	Calorie Intake 1953-54	Production	Production	Percentage increase in production in 1953-54
		1935-38	1953-54	
in 1,000 M.T.				
Wheat	1,263	767.3	1,400.0	182.5
Other cereals	127	668.2	836.6	125.0
Rice	37	4.1	65.5	1,600.0
Potatoes	74	146.2	445.5	305.2
Vegetables	55	233.0	891.1	382.0
Pulses	102	71.9	103.0	143.8
Nuts-Sesame	45	40.3	62.8	155.5
Citrus	15	55.5	177.7	320.0
Olives	19	35.6	55.6	156.0
Other fruit	75	573.1	857.6	149.0
Veg. oils	327	114.5	180.6	158.0
T o t a l	2,139	2,709.7	5,076.0	187.3

"This marked record of increase in production was directly reflected in a lowered need for food imports financed by aid funds. This decrease has been progressive as shown by the following figures:-

Value in Million Dollars Equivalent

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports of Agricultural products primarily for human consumption *</u>
1948-49	167.0 Mill \$
1949-50	122.0 " "
1950-51	112.2 " "
1951-52	107.2 " "
1952-53	59.0 " "
1953-54	40.2 " "

Moreover, \$22,070,000 or 54 percent of the \$40,200,000 value of imports for 1953-54 consists of sugar, coffee, dried fish, cocoa beans, tea and spices, none of which are produced in Greece, plus a stock piling of vegetable oils which is not a recurring item. The net saving of import expenditures in 1953-54, as compared to 1948-49, amounted to \$ 126,785,000.

The increase in production recorded in Table 1 resulted from (1) an increase in the area under cultivation and (2) an increase in the yield per stremma. It should be emphasized here that resources development is only one phase of the total agricultural production program. The other phase includes the improvement in cultural practices, better land preparation,

* From Table Page XI of "Greece Import Data Book", Fiscal Year 1953-54, vol I, FP Div. Am. Mission.

improved irrigation methods, the development and use of better seed, more and better use of fertilizers, improved livestock, better methods of control of weeds, insects and disease and such other items as food preservation and preparation and problems relating to land tenure, size of holding and production per person working on the land. These latter items are the responsibilities of Experiment Stations and the Extension Service. The two broad branches of the agricultural program - resources development, on the one hand and the proper use of resources on the other -, go hand in hand. The Technical Service in charge of resources development and the Experiment Stations and Extension Service in charge of the development of new techniques of production and their adoption by farmers, are complimentary responsibilities with a gradually increasing emphasis on the latter, as the opportunities for increasing land resources declines because of the limited total area of arable land. This particular report covers only the first of these two phases or branches of the total program.

The increase in the area under cultivation had an appreciable effect upon total production. In 1953-54 there were 3,557,000 more stremmas cultivated with selected principal crops than in 1935-38 - an increase of 18.2 percent. The detailed figures are presented in Table 2." (Pages 3-6)

Rebuilding War-Damaged Structures

Packard: The work that had to be done at first was related almost wholly to the rehabilitation of projects that had been constructed in former years, prior to the war. Many structures had been damaged or blown up by the Germans. Roads all over Greece were in terrible condition. Six hundred bridges had been blown up. And it was very difficult to get around at all. So a great deal of the work in the beginning was rehabilitation, as it was in the other phases of the Greek aid program. The harbor in Piraeus was full of sunken ships that had to be removed before you could do anything else. The main job of reclamation rehabilitation was in Salonika where a very large canal, perhaps seventy-five feet across the bottom, had been constructed after the First World War with help from the Near East Relief. It was for the purpose of reclaiming the central portion of the Salonika Plains by intercepting the runoff from the north slope of Mount Olympus which had run into the Salonika Plains, creating a big lake. This artificial channel carried the water down to the Aliakmon River and thence on into the sea. The banks of this channel were weakened and some of the structures were gone, while the canal was clogged with mud.

This rehabilitation work was done by the Ministry of Public Works of Greece. A large floating dredge was used to clear mud from the channel which proved to be a continuing job. An extensive drainage system, started by the Near East Foundation following the First World War to reclaim the swamp area occupying the central

Packard: portion of the Salonika Plains was enlarged and necessary structure installed. This was a difficult task because the floor of the plains was very little above sea level.

Another large reclamation job was the rehabilitation and enlargement of a drainage system in Thrace started with the aid of the Near East Foundation to reclaim a large swamp bordering the ancient city of Philippi. Associated with this was the reconstruction of a dam on the Strymon River and the rehabilitation and enlargement of an irrigation system in the Serres plain.

A third large reclamation job involved the rehabilitation of the levees of an extensive flood control project in Thessaly. In Arta, in the Epirus area of Greece, the Boot Company of England had been hired by the Near East Relief to develop drainage, irrigation and flood control works for that potentially productive delta area. The American Mission financed the Boot Company in carrying this work on for the rest of the time that I was there. This job, like all other large projects, was supervised by the Ministry of Public Works.

Baum: What company was that?

Packard: B-O-O-T.

Baum: Is that an engineering company?

Packard: Yes. It was a British concern.

Relationship between the Mission and the Greek Government

Ministries

- Baum: What was the relationship between the Mission and the Ministry of Public Works?
- Packard: At first there was considerable confusion because the administration of aid money was divided both within the Mission and the Greek government. The Ministry of Public Works was responsible for the larger projects involving the construction of levees, the building of dams, and the excavation of large canals. The Ministry of Agriculture was responsible for the construction of some projects and often for the excavation of the distributing system of large irrigation projects and feeder ditches in drainage projects. This led to great confusion and rivalry between the two ministries. Within the Mission, the Construction Division was responsible for the work of the Ministry of Public Works, while the Division of Agriculture was responsible for the work of the Ministry of Agriculture. This was remedied, so far as the Mission was concerned, a year or so after my arrival by combining all administrative responsibility for land reclamation work in the Agricultural Division. I became responsible for the administration of American aid to both ministries. Charles Harris, formerly with the Bureau of Reclamation served as irrigation engineer on my staff. Dr. Frixos Letsas, an extremely efficient and hard working Greek engineer who had been trained in Germany, was my chief assistant. An incident in Salonika illustrated the need for coordination in the reclamation field. Two Greek organizations,

Packard: with headquarters on the same floor in an office building in Salonika were responsible for the work of the two ministries in northeastern Greece. For some months I had been working with Mr. Orestis Christides, head of YPEM, the organization of the Ministry of Agriculture. On my first visit to Salonika following my appointment as head of a unified reclamation program within the Mission I encountered a jurisdictional dispute as to which ministry was responsible for certain work on the Salonika Plains. I said to Christides, "Let's go down the hall and talk the issue out with the YPEM representative of the Ministry of Public Works." Christides said he couldn't do that because all contact between the two ministries had to take place in Athens. He said he would write a letter to the Ministry of Agriculture in Athens explaining the situation but could do nothing without authority. However I insisted on taking him down the hall to the office of the representative of the Ministry of Public Works where the issue was settled amicably.

One of my problems was to prevent unnecessary duplication of equipment and facilities as between the two ministries. If one secured additional facilities the other immediately wanted to duplicate them. This rivalry created quite a problem. (Laughter)

Baum: That sounds like a problem you'd met before.

Packard: Yes, it was a constant problem.

The Mechanical Cultivation Service

Baum: How was the work done outside of the areas under the supervision of the two Greek organizations you called EPAM and YPEM?

Packard: The Ministry of Public Works in Athens administered the work under its jurisdiction while most of the land reclamation work of the Ministry of Agriculture was administered by the Mechanical Cultivation Service (MSC), an organization within the Ministry but administered by John Paleologue, a very dedicated and efficient public servant. The MSC was organized after the First World War through the assistance of the Near East Foundation. The Service was badly disorganized by the effects of World War II. Much of the equipment had been stolen or destroyed. But the organization itself seemed to be sound. The Land Reclamation Division of the Mission consequently did much to put the organization back on its feet. We financed the building of five very well equipped tractor stations with sub-stations where needed to service the equipment. Carpenter shops, lathes, and forges were a part of each shop. A large number of war damaged tractors, trucks and other equipment was turned over to the Mechanical Cultivation Service for repair and rehabilitation. As I recall it the MSC had about 600 caterpillar type tractors in all. This equipment plus 150 new Fiat tractors from Italy and a large number (125) of new, large and small, dragline, ditching machines and a number of flat top trucks needed to transport the heavy equipment from one job to another were supplied through Marshall Plan aid.

Baum: Why did Italy supply tractors? Did it represent reparations payments?

Packard: Yes, the tractors were part of the reparations.

Baum: Was this equipment available for use by farmers?

Packard: No. Most of the equipment was for construction beyond the range of individual farmers. When farmers needed tractors for plowing or land levelling the work was done by experienced MSC men paid for by the landowner. In order to enable the peasants to do some of their own land preparation for irrigation, I had a USDA bulletin with drawings of homemade ditches and land levelling devices, translated into Greek and distributed through the MSC which made a number of representative samples in its shops to demonstrate their use.

Baum: It sounds like there were a lot of trained men in Greece.

Packard: Not at the beginning. But a well trained staff was soon developed through the vigorous and efficient leadership of John Paleologue and his lieutenants. The capacity of young Greeks to learn was rather dramatically demonstrated one day on a project in the lower Acheloos delta. I was taking the Comptroller of the Mission and his wife on an inspection tour to get him in touch with the actual work in the field. The dirt roads over the projects were too rough and muddy to permit the use of a car so the MSC engineers hooked a heavy hay rack equipped with railing so that you couldn't fall off onto a caterpillar tractor driven expertly by a 17-year-old village boy. It was the roughest inspection trip I was ever on, but it served its purpose. (Laughter) The Comptroller was impressed by what was being done and I got the money I needed.

Another experience which rather astonished some top level administrators and their wives occurred in the delta of the Nestos

Packard: River in Thrace. The delta was a rough sandy area covered with brush and trees (cottonwood providing a home for a number of timber wolves). The MSC was clearing land for cultivation by uprooting both the brush and the trees no matter how large. The wood was then sawed up into usable lengths and sold to villagers for nominal sums. The work was rather spectacular and gained the immediate support of my guests, whom I wanted to influence.

Because so much of the area of Greece is a porous limestone foundation, springs are very common. I was surprised, therefore, to find so many springs where no use was being made of the water. Utilizing these springs became a primary responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture. This first project I visited in Greece was one of this kind. The Mechanical Cultivation Service was excavating a ditch to reclaim an area of potentially rich land that had always been a swamp, fed by a nearby spring. Later on, the water was carried down to a delta of the river for the irrigation of rice, thus combining drainage with irrigation. Another interesting dual-purpose project was near Drama in Thrace. Here a sizable spring was flowing out of a limestone cave. In this case YPEM constructed a small dam across the stream and diverted the water to irrigation systems on both sides of the stream.

Baum: That sounds like an obvious thing to do. Why was it not done before?

Packard: I am sure I don't know.

Some months later YPEM carried out another project which appeared to be associated with this same spring. Limestone caves at

Packard: the lower end of a valley into which two stream flows were being clogged so badly that water tended to back up and form a lake during the rainy season. It was presumed that the drainage from this valley provided the main source of water for the spring, 1,000 or more feet below and some miles away. At any rate a small track used in mining operations was laid into the main cave and hundreds of tons of debris were carried out, including tree trunks and sand. Within a few yards of the entrance, the cave opened up into a large chamber which narrowed abruptly to an opening hardly wide enough for a man to crawl through. This led to another large chamber similar to the first. Thus again a drainage project was presumably associated with an irrigation project.

River Development for Flood Control and Irrigation -- Master Plans by Foreign Companies

Although the ministries of Public Works and Agriculture were able to carry on the relatively small projects that were carried on during the beginning of the work of the Mission, including the rehabilitation of projects established prior to the war, there were other large projects that could not be carried on by the Greek government because they didn't have enough well trained technical men with experience. So, it was decided to have master plans made in various fields by employing foreign companies .

Knappen-Tippetts Corporation of New York

The Knappen, Tippetts, Abbott, McCarthy Engineering Corporation of New York was employed by the Greek government with Marshall Plan

Packard: money. This company reported to both the Greek government and the Land Reclamation Division in the Mission and did a major job in preparing master plans for the development of the major river basins in Greece, including the Megdova River Project, and projects in the Lower Acheloos area, the Xanthi-Komotini Plains, Sperchios River Basin, Peneos River Basin, Voha-Stymphalia Plains, Kalamas River Basin, Upper Messinia Plain.

The Knappen-Tippetts organization sent in their best engineers in the reclamation field, employed a soil specialist from the University of Oregon, and then filled in their staff with quite a number of Greek engineers and technicians. So that one of the purposes of having the Knappen-Tippetts Company there was to train young Greek engineers in this field. So that when the Knappen-Tippetts contract was finished, Greece would have people that could go ahead and carry on without any further technical help from the U.S.

Baum: Was this part of the American plan to use as many Greek technicians as possible?

Packard: Yes. We had originally planned to use the Bureau of Reclamation to take over the responsibility for developing these master plans. But the Bureau was reluctant to do it because so many other countries under the Marshall Plan were demanding help from them that they had to neglect their work at home. It put too much of a burden on them.

Baum: So most of this was done by this Knappen-Tippetts Company on a private contract.

Packard: Yes. "And in addition they prepared final designs for the construc-

Packard: "tion of diversion dams on the Axios and Aliakmon rivers and made recommendations regarding the improvement of conditions on the Strymon River based upon a study of the river and the problem presented by it." (pp. 28-29 of June 7, 1954 report)

They were then employed, as I left, to build or supervise the construction of three dams: one on the Acheloos, another on the Axios and another on the Aliakmon. None of these dams, however, were structures that I thought should be put in at that time because some basic soil and drainage problems were unsolved. They were ordered by Mr. Karamanlis without any consultation with the Mission at all. He had apparently rather resented my desire to have all of the reclamation work unified under the Ministry of Agriculture. So that when he became Prime Minister he took things into his own hands and ordered the construction of these dams. Years later, when I was talking with one of the Knappen-Tippetts men who visited us here in Berkeley, I learned that the dam on the Acheloos had never been used.

There was one project, however, that they did design that I thought was unusually good. In the Agrinion Valley there were two rather large lakes that covered several hundred acres. They were fed by springs and there was a constant outflow of several hundred second feet going into the Acheloos River all year round. At the lower end of this drainage area several hundred acres were flooded and producing nothing but tules. And the farmers in the area were not able to use that land. When they irrigated the land above to grow rice, it raised the level of the water in the swamp and flooded out other land. The farmers in a little village down the river were

Packard: damaged very materially by the rice program above. So the Knappen-Tippetts Company surveyed a line that would take water out of this channel, run through a tunnel in the hills to carry water down to the delta of the Acheloos River where there was another rice program. The project would develop enough hydroelectric energy to light the villages below and supply power for the drainage pumps, beside providing water for the irrigation of most of the area between the hill and the sea. I have been told that this project is now under construction.

Baum: It sounds like a very ambitious plan.

Packard: It was a logical way of meeting the conditions that existed.

The Harza Engineering Company of Chicago

The Harza Engineering Company of Chicago was given the responsibility of preparing a master plan for the development of the Evros River which forms the boundary between Greece and Turkey. The problem was largely flood control which was made all but impossible by the fact that the main watershed was in Bulgaria. This project was administered by a joint commission between Greece, Turkey, and the United States where I represented the United States. The group met alternately in Athens and Istanbul, which gave me a chance to contact Turkish officials.

An incident which illustrates a common weakness of Americans abroad occurred in Istanbul during a celebration over the return of the first veterans from the Korean War. Another American and I together with two Greek engineers had an opportunity to meet the President of Turkey who could not speak English. The result was that

Packard: my American friend and I stood dumbly by while our Greek associate carried on a brisk conversation with the President in French.

I found the Turkish representatives on the Commission to be very nice fellows personally but when they came to judging the rights of Turkey as against the rights of Greece, they were intransigent. They just wouldn't give in on anything. It was almost impossible to get them to realize the most obvious facts. So it was rather difficult to work with them.

Baum: Are Greeks able to work with each other or with other people or are they the same intransigent sort of people?

Packard: It all depends upon the circumstances.

Baum: Well, could they work with each other, first of all? I suppose there were a lot of compromises required between Greeks and Greeks.

Packard: Oh yes. I have already recorded a number of instances where Greeks were unable to work together. Difficulties often arose between the Mission and the Greek officials especially when the Greeks felt, rightly or wrongly, that their prerogatives were being ignored. An amusing incident occurred at one time which involved me. The Chief of the Mission announced at a staff meeting that he had not been able to contact the Minister of Coordination for two weeks and he didn't know how to proceed. It happened that I had an appointment with the minister that afternoon, made at his request. I was, therefore, able to present the issue which concerned the Mission without difficulty.

Baum: Was that true of government ministries, that you couldn't reach them

Baum: through regular channels?

Packard: No, ordinarily you could reach them rather easily. And I always had access to the Ministry of Agriculture and Public Works, as well.

But this conflict of personalities was not confined to relationships with the Greeks. A young soil scientist had been transferred to my department. On entering his office one day for a conference, I found him sitting in his chair with his feet on his desk. Without moving he began to tell me off and a day or two later filed charges against me which required a hearing. The most serious charge was that I had wasted 600,000 drachma by permitting the Ministry of Public Works to proceed with an unsound flood control venture rather than following the advice of Harris, the irrigation engineer on my staff. When I pointed out that I had had the work stopped the day I took over responsibility for public works projects he said, "There is no record of such an order in the files". I said there was no written order. I had just arranged for a conference with the head engineer in the Public Works Ministry and convinced him that what he was doing was not sound. He sent a wire to the field stopping the work that afternoon. I was completely exonerated and the young man was transferred to other work. That is the way I proceeded in contacting the ministries. I assumed that I had no right to give orders. Instead I relied on friendly conferences. It is true, of course, that I had an advantage, being in a position to withhold aid funds where I was certain mistakes were being made. On strictly engineering questions I relied on Charles Harris who was a former Bureau of

Packard: Reclamation engineer who was on my staff. I relied too on the advice of Dr. Frixos Letsas, a German trained Greek engineer of unusual capacity.

Baum: To get back to the work of the Harza Company, did it work out?

Packard: In spite of the difficulties a reasonably satisfactory flood control project was carried out.

Grontmij Company of Holland

The Grontmij Company of Holland was employed to study the river deltas and lagoons along the Greek coast and to prepare master plans for Zuider Zee-type projects where conditions favored such development. The Dutch were a very practical lot who got along well with the Greeks and wasted no time in getting down to work. It was thought that by building levees out into the sea and then pumping the water out as they do in the Zuider Zee, they could reclaim quite a lot of land.

I went to Holland to see what they were doing there. I visited one of the polders reclaiming a 125,000 acre area -- the newest polder in Holland. The water stood twenty-five feet against the levees, showing the extent to which they went to reclaim the land. And they put drainage ditches in and had to pump the water out because it was below sea level. The land there was rather porous so that they got rid of the salt rather quickly. Tile drains at frequent intervals carried water to the open drains. The drainage system in Holland was very much more detailed in design than the projects in Greece.

Packard: At the present time they're beginning to use tile in Greece. But in Holland everything was drained by tile.

Baum: And what was it drained by in Greece?

Packard: Open ditches. But since the open ditches take so much land, tile drains are being used wherever possible, I understand. The Grontmij Company worked first in the Messenia area where there were hundreds of acres flooded with sea water from the Gulf of Corinth where the Greeks had developed quite a fishing industry. Consequently there was quite an argument as to whether or not agriculture would produce more wealth or more food than the fishing industry. In any case the Grontmij Company made an elaborate master plan for the development of the area.

Baum: Who selected these companies? Was that part of the Marshall Plan work?

Packard: Yes, the American Mission cooperated with the ministries of Agriculture and Public Works in selecting the companies and in outlining the work to be done.

Boot Company of London

In addition to the Harza and Grontmij companies, the Boot Company from London was employed to carry out geophysical studies of ground water resources in Greece. The company had had wide experience in developing well water in North Africa and in India. In the beginning, Howard Haworth was director of the well program for the Mission. He had three practical well drillers as field workers, all of whom remained throughout my stay in Greece. But when the reclamation program was coordinated in my division, Hayworth and his men were trans-

Packard: ferred but remained in charge of the well program. These men worked with the well drilling division of the Ministry of Agriculture, which, with American aid purchased twenty-five American well drilling rigs including both percussion and hydraulic rigs of modern make. These rigs were in great demand especially by towns needing fresh well water. A very striking change took place in the Thebes Valley while I was there. Irrigation wells with deep well pumps had transformed the area from winter wheat growing into a rich green irrigated valley producing potatoes, and other truck crops as well as cotton.

Baum: Was it lack of water that prevented earlier development?

Packard: No, it was lack of well drilling equipment and proper pumps. Most of the old wells were dug by hand and were not very deep.

Baum: I thought irrigation had been invented in those countries thousands of years ago. (Laughter)

Packard: Yes, so did I. (Laughter) I saw many remains of fantastic domestic water supply systems built during Roman times but I can understand why there was so little irrigation.

Forest and Range Land Rehabilitation

In the beginning, the forestry work was under an American forester who had come over from Italy to take charge of what was to be done in the rehabilitation of the forest resources in Greece. But he didn't last very long. He didn't get along very well with the Greeks. He was dictatorial and wanted to have them immediately change over their systems very drastically. And it's very hard to get the Greeks

Packard: to do that unless you have a very good reason. So that the forest and range land work was also turned over to me as another resource development. Martin Klemme, a forest and range land specialist, was appointed to my staff.

Baum: Now, what was the name of your department?

Packard: I had the title of Chief of the Land and Water Resources Development Program. This included the development of both forest and range land. These two categories plus barren land accounted for 71% of the total land area divided as follows:

<u>Type of land resource</u>	<u>Per Cent of total area</u>
Forest land	14.80
Range land	40.20
Barren land	10.00
Total	<u>71.00</u>

A statement of the problem and a summary of the results attained are given in Part II of the document entitled Can Greece Feed, Clothe, and House its Growing Population?, which I prepared before leaving Greece, June, 1954. (Copy on file) The record includes the construction or improvement of 280 kilometers of forest roads, the production of 153,000,000 trees in forest nurseries, the construction of many permanent and temporary erosion control dams and structures, and the construction of troughs and reservoirs in the range country for use by sheep in expanding the useable range.

Baum: I always think of Greek trees as being low. I have no concept of big trees.

Packard: Oh yes, they have big trees. Then they also have hardwood variety timber that could produce all the hardwood they need. It's snowy and cold in the mountains in the winter and pine trees grow well there, too.

Baum: I guess I think of low, jagged, dry hills with brush.

Packard: That's true in the low areas. But in the mountains it's just like in the Sierras. The mountains go up to 12,000 feet. I'll read some of this now: (Pages 37 -39 and Pages 45-46 of the report entitled Can Greece Feed, Clothe, and House its Growing Population?)

Although a program of further development in 1952-53 and 1953-54 was outlined and Mission approval of a further grant in aid was indicated, no money from the State Investment Fund was spent because the proposed plans for expansion of the program were not approved by the Greek Government.

Largely, as a result of the program carried out between 1947 and 1952, production of sawn soft-wood timber in 1953-54 about doubles the pre-war figure while importation was reduced by an estimated 129,700 cubic meters or a reduction of 56 percent, based on pre-war imports. The detailed figures are shown in Table 10.

T A B L E 10

Construction Timber
(Cubic meters)

Year	Production of sawn soft wood	Civilian Imports Construct- ion Timber*	Total	Imports for re- construct- ion **	Total avail- abilities
1	2	3	4=2,3	5	6= 4+ 5
1938	62,440	289,700	352,140	-	352,140
1939	61,926	264,500	326,426	-	326,426
1949	51,885	146,328	198,213	117,150	315,363
1950	124,559	234,852	359,411	177,000	536,411
1951	100,093	270,517	370,610	56,700	427,310
1952	111,725	260,895	372,620	11,705	384,325
1953	124,000	169,760	293,760	-	293,760
1954	160,000***	160,000	320,000	-	320,000

* From Table I page 189 of "Greece Import Data Book" Fiscal Year 1953-54, M.S.A. Operations Mission to Greece, FP Division.

** Source: Ministry of Public Works

*** Preliminary Estimates

The quality of the lumber produced by the Forest Service from National forests is not equal to imported lumber, in large part, because the Forest Service is forced, by good forest practices, to harvest the over-matured trees first in order to improve conditions in the forests. This condition will be gradually altered as the over-mature trees disappear.

The records covering production, importation and exportation of hardwoods were affected by a marked substitution of metals for hardwood in the construction of many items in consumer use. For example, before the war, all bus bodies manufactured in Greece were made of hardwood. Now they are made of steel, aluminum or other metals. Again, before the war, freight transportation was made on a large scale by wooden horse-drawn wagons manufactured in Greece from hardwood. Now automobiles and trucks have largely replaced the old wagons. In large, because of these and other similar changes, imports of hardwood have dropped from 11,043 MT in 1938 to 863 MT in 1952, while exports have dropped from 879 MT to 153 MT during the same period. Total production declined only slightly or from 27,336 MT in 1938 to 23,448 MT in 1952.*

Range management improvement work has been covered, in detail, in other reports, and need not be repeated in here. Suffice it to say that the program consisted chiefly of the construction of water holes in high mountain areas and in carrying out numerous demonstrations of a wide variety of pasture grasses and legumes.

* From Table entitled "Hardwood Production, Imports, Exports Consumption" page 193, "Greece Import Data Book" vol II FP Div.FOA.

The Rangeland improvement is a vital part of the food production program and is closely associated with the irrigation of the plains and delta areas. The construction of water holes and other range improvement work in the high mountains will greatly increase the carrying capacity of the summer range. In like manner, the production of alfalfa and various summer growing grains and forage crops in irrigated areas will greatly increase the carrying capacity of the winter range. With these improvements in the winter and summer ranges the spring and fall range lands need not be overgrazed as at present and will, therefore, provide better Spring and Fall pasture than now. The detailed record of accomplishments and costs is presented in Table 9.

3. Future Development and Financing

Now, as to the future: The possibilities are intreauging. Detailed plans have been prepared for the initial development of the forest and rangeland resources, on a sustained yield basis, in eleven selected areas. If these plans are carried out, production of timber by 1959, will be increased by 136,000 cubic meters per year; the use of foreign exchange for purchase of timber will be reduced by \$ 6,500,000 annually; 10,000 mountain people will be permanently employed and the income to the Forest Service will be increased by 136 Million new Drachmae, out of which the Forest Service can finance mountain road construction, reforestation, fire protection, range improvement and associated non-income producing, but essential, conservation and development activities. The Rangeland improvement program will be concentrated in the eleven selected areas but will not

SUMMARY

Greece is primarily an agricultural country. Its wellbeing depends more upon production from the land than upon any other factor. The land and water resources are limited - more limited in relation to the population than in any other European country. The population, moreover, is increasing at a rate double than that of most European countries. By carrying out the program of development outlined in this report, Greece can feed its growing population on a minimum diet for good health for another generation without resorting again, to the importation of major food items. And, when the proposed program is nearing completion a new one can be inaugurated including, among others, the completion of the Xanthi-Komotini Project for which a Master Plan has already been prepared involving the irrigation of 703,000 stremmas of first class land not included in the presently planned program.

In like manner the Forest and Rangeland resources of Greece can contribute much more than now to the welfare of Greece. The forests can now provide on a sustained yield basis more of the lumber - both pine and hard wood - presently required and within a reasonable period can meet all needs including pulp, if the proposed program is put into effect. The rangelands, likewise, can contribute more than now to the supply of meat, milk, wool and hides if the basic resources are conserved and developed as planned.

The physical job involves no serious problems. The proposed program can be financed from the investment budget without inflationary impact if the total investment program is properly planned and programmed. The one important problem remaining unsolved concerns the need for the creation of a competent unified technical organization in one Ministry. The need for joining the land reclamation, forestry and rangeland management under one unified administrative organization is acute. Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of this essential move. Much can be gained by early action.

Director
Advisory Group
Land & Water Resources Development

Rice Growing and Alkali Reclamation Program

Packard: In the summer of 1948 I visited a small project in Thrace where YPEM under the direction of Christides was conducting a small reclamation project where an attempt was being made to reclaim alkali land by growing rice. The results were not too encouraging but, on the basis of my experience in the Sacramento Valley, I felt that the experiment was not based on good techniques.

Baum: What experience had you had in rice production in the Sacramento Valley?

Packard: For a couple of years I was handling property that had been taken over by foreclosure by the Western States Life Insurance Company. This included several hundred acres of rice grown on the alkali "goose land" of the Sacramento Valley. This was in the interim period following my experience at Delhi.

I knew that thousands of acres of deep and potentially productive soils were located in the deltas of many of the important rivers in Greece which I thought could be reclaimed by a combination of irrigation and deep drainage. So, in the winter and spring of 1949 I worked with Christides in the Salonika area and with Paleologue in three other parts of Greece in establishing 100 acre rice plots on alkali land. In two cases ditches were excavated from the river bank to the flood control levees, large pipes were put through the levee to deliver the water to the rice plot. In the other areas where no levees existed the ditches were excavated from the river to the plots. In all cases structures were installed to control the

Packard: flow from the river. The second step was to excavate deep drainage systems (as deep as eight feet). Then the irrigation systems were built to distribute the water over the land. This left the land in rectangular plots each of which was levelled and the necessary border built. After flooding for two weeks or so the land was ready for planting. The theory is that flood water carries the salts from the surface soils, thus permitting the shallow rooted rice to grow in salt-free topsoil. Since most of the land was near sea level, pumps had to be installed at the outlets of the drains to permit the drains to function.

Baum: Who owned the land and what arrangements did you have to make to use it?

Packard: The land in each case belonged to an adjacent village. Most of it was so impregnated with alkali (salt) that nothing would grow. Some patches would produce a few alkali resistant weeds during rainy season, but in general it was barren.

In each case we would call a town meeting in a village taverna where the plans would be presented and discussed. In no case did any of the peasants believe that rice could be grown but they were willing for us to go ahead if we paid the bills. Another factor was, of course, that the work created a lot of jobs for village people. In each case we offered to pay the village ten per cent of the crop as rent to help overcome their skepticism. As the field began to turn green with the growing rice, the villagers would walk or ride their burros around the fields, speculating as to when the rice would begin to wither and die.

Packard: To make a long story short, three of these first plots were very successful. The rent was paid in rice and divided evenly among the villagers. I was made an honorary citizen in one town and had the main road leading to the rice field named after me in another. The fourth plot failed because of the high content of black alkali (sodium carbonate) which killed the plants and made the soil relatively impervious to water penetration.

Baum: Was your plan that the rice was only going to be an interim crop to reclaim the land? Or was it going to be a permanent crop?

Packard: I thought it would be a permanent crop. But I thought it would always be associated with the reclamation of alkali land very largely. One of the Greek chemists estimated that we washed out sixty tons of salt per acre the first year by that process.

Baum: Good heavens! And you got a crop. (Laughter)

Packard: Yes, we had a good crop on three of the plots. The people in the village of Anthili, where one of the plots was located, were so pleased that they put on quite a rice harvest festival. The Chief of the Mission and several of his staff and a number of Greek officials attended. When they saw the tall rice plants with heads of rice being harvested they were all thrilled and I was a very happy man because I had taken a good deal of responsibility in financing the venture. The people of the village put on a wonderful dinner including rice prepared in different ways. There was dancing in the plaza. One of the older women danced delightedly with a full wine glass on her head. And there were many speeches. The second

Packard: year it was YPEM's turn to put on a fiesta which they did in a grand style with a brass band from Salonika playing the dance music.

But all was not smooth going. In one case four relatively rich sheep owners tried to stop the second year program on the lower Acheloos because they had been using the community property as free pasture. When I went to the village with my Greek associates we settled the matter by calling a town meeting in the main taverna and presenting the problem. The four men were so insistent on their right to use the land that they were about to be thrown out physically when I proposed to put the matter to a vote. I told the mayor we would abide by a vote if he asked for it. Which he did. The vote was unanimous for extending the rice program, except for the four men. So I said we would work with the village in continuing and expanding the program. In the turmoil that followed I was carried on the shoulders of two men from the taverna to the plaza amid the cheers of the villagers.

On another occasion I was taking a new Chief of the Mission on his first field trip. I was, of course, anxious to have things move smoothly. But on reaching one of the rice fields I noticed that the drainage ditch was full of water. I asked if the pumps were working and was assured that they were. I finally found that a grower with 700 stremma of rice had shut off a portion of the main drain with a dam on which he had dug a ditch to irrigate his field. He had everyone afraid because he told the Greeks who were responsible for the operation of the system that if they interfered

Packard: with his dam, blood would be flowing in the ditch. So we drove over to the place where the drain was shut off and I talked to the man who had shut off the drain. I pointed out that his ability to grow rice at all was due to the fact that the American Mission had developed the water supply which made the rice project possible and that I was not going to stand for his action against the interests of the rest of the community. I said that I would see that he had the material to build a wooden flume to replace his earthen ditch if he did not have the material. I then ordered the dragline operator to remove the earth fill across the drain which he did with a few sweeps of his dragline. Within minutes the man was busy building a flume with material he had on the place.

Baum: The Greeks, apparently, are not always cooperative. (Laughter)

Packard: That's true. Individuals can be very belligerent when they decide to act in their own interest. But on the other hand when the villagers see an advantage in working together they can be very cooperative. In recent times they have had little opportunity for cooperation. That's why I was so much in favor of organizing irrigation districts which put responsibility in the hands of the villagers involved. I shall never forget the experience in Arta when the first irrigation district was organized. There was an all day meeting of elected representatives from several villages involved in the system, during which the Ministry engineers presented the estimate of the coming year's operation and maintenance costs and other relevant matters. When it came time to make the decision each of the elected

Packard: representatives marked a paper for or against the proposed budget which came to several thousand dollars. The vote was unanimous and it was the first time these people had ever been able to act together in their own inter-community interest. I am told that there are over 200 irrigation districts in Greece at the present time.

Baum: Just how was the rice program organized and just what part did you play in it?

Packard: It was a government operation. It was organized by a committee of Ministry of Agriculture personnel headed by John Palelogue, head of the Mechanical Cultivation Service, while I represented the Mission. I had to approve the funds and had, of course, to get authorization from a finance committee headed by the comptroller.

The costs were not wholly associated with growing the rice. The rice had to be dried after harvest because of its high content of moisture. As I recall it, fifteen mechanical driers were purchased and warehouses constructed to store the grain. But the operation as a whole was quite successful. The year I left, Greece exported 75,000 tons of rice, in addition to supplying the home market.

But, after two or three years, after the land proved it could produce something, and some of the land got reclaimed so that you could actually grow wheat on it, the farmers wanted to get the community land distributed. I rather favored keeping it as a public operation, but we had to give in to the villagers. So the Greek government sub-divided these rice lands and distributed them to the landless farmers.

Anthili

Packard: In Anthili, for example, I was there one day when I noticed a group of peasants that obviously wanted to see me. So I asked the group I was talking with, "Who are they?" And they said, "They're the landless farmers in the village." Well, I said, "They're the very people I want to see." So I went right over to them and talked with them. I told them, "We want you to get this land, all this reclaimed land." We tried to develop land that would be distributed to landless farmers. In Anthili, for example, every landless farmer got a farm before we left. And that was true in most of the projects. In very large numbers the landless farmers got farms. They would be small, four or five acres to a family, but four or five acres of irrigated land meant a great deal. It was so much more productive than a normal area. And the farms in Greece were very small anyway. And not only were they small but they were scattered. A man in a village might have a small strip of land on a hill that would produce very small grain and have another strip on the other side of town of rather good flat land. Sometimes a man would have as much as say five parcels of land around the town. And of course each was too small to farm effectively at all.

Baum: Did they live on their land or did they all live in villages?

Packard: They lived in villages.

Baum: Well, how did that work out? After you divided the land...

Packard: Yes it worked out quite well.

Baum: They kept it up and were able to farm the land effectively?

Packard: On one occasion I was taking a professor from the University of California at Davis over the rice fields at Anthili. Some of the former landless farmers from the village were pulling out weeds in the rice fields . They waved to me and I stopped. And they came over and one of the women who was a widow with two children whose husband had been killed in the war, curtsied and kissed my hand. It was embarrassing to me but it was the sort of thing that peasants often did. And she expressed the gratitude of the people there. They all clapped and supported her. Each had been given an area of about four acres of partially reclaimed alkali land. The income that she would get from that increased her level of living so much that she was completely grateful. Any of us who had been assigned to live on her level couldn't stand it. That expressed the thankfulness and inner feeling of these people. When we left, this professor had tears running down his cheeks. He said he'd never seen a more touching scene.

Working with the Villagers

Baum: Did the American workers feel it was part of their work to make the people understand what they were trying to do? Were public relations a part of your responsibilities?

Packard: Yes. And one interesting thing about it was that when we first got there the Greeks were not inclined to take the villagers in on any discussions at all. They said, "What do they know about it?" And I said, "They're the people we're working for. And we've got to talk with them." So I insisted on having meetings. And the

Packard: first one was in Anthili. I went to see the mayor who immediately said, "I'll call the rest of the city council together." I said, "I don't want that. I want to talk to everybody." And so he got the largest taverna he could find in the village and all the men came. A few women came and stood listening from the outside. I told them what we thought we might do and wanted them to appoint a committee with whom we could work. Well, the Greeks were rather surprised at this. One of the Greeks particularly, Kalinski, who was a brother-in-law of the prime minister and rather dignified, was one of the ones who had derided this approach. But later on when I was off doing something else and came back to the central square in the village, there he was making a speech to all the villagers. He was very much sold on the idea. That was the approach we had wherever I went.

Baum: Now these Greeks that you worked with, they would have been members of the government? They were the class that would have been in the government.

Packard: The people I worked with were technicians of the government, with the ministries of Public Works and Agriculture.

Baum: So they were the same people that the ordinary people would have felt were against them?

Packard: No. The villagers made a distinction between the technicians that were with me and the politicians in Athens. They were afraid the politicians might want to take their land away from them.

Baum: I see.

Packard: So there was a great deal of skepticism. And that was so all over Greece. Wherever we went we found that same sort of skepticism.

Baum: But they had confidence in the Greek young men you had with you?

Packard: Yes, because they had the same attitude. They hadn't been let down by them yet, as they had been by the politicians.

Well, there was another experience on the same line. This involved the head of the Ministry of Public Works. We were in Agrinion and we were going to look at a flood control project on the Acheloos River, involving the interest of a village in danger of being washed away. I said, "I'm going out to the village and talk with them this morning. Don't you want to come along?" He said, "Oh no, I don't want to talk to those people, I don't want to do that sort of thing." So I told him to meet me later, and I went out. Everybody came to the meeting. In due time, I looked out the window and I saw Papanicalau sitting in his car. Then he began to hear the discussion. A little later he got out of his car and came in to the meeting. And in a little while he was up in front discussing as vehemently as anybody else. He was swinging his arms as he spoke. A committee of villagers was appointed and Papanicalau went out with the committee to inspect the river and was very much impressed by what they knew about the situation there.

There was still another case that shows the conflict that they had in some of the villages. There was one area in the delta of the Acheloos River where we had put in rice for one year and we

Packard: were deciding whether to do it a second year. It had been very successful the first year. The village received 10% of the rice crop as rent for their village land. And every family in the village got their share of the 10% of the rice crop. This was the first time that anything like that had ever happened. So the majority was completely sold on the idea. Of course, some objected like the four livestock raisers I told you about who wanted to use the community land for pasture, poor as it was.

Baum: Do Greeks eat much rice normally?

Packard: They use it on special occasions, but it is not an important part of the average diet, partly because it was too high priced.

Home Visit, Trips, and Family

Home Leave, 1951

Baum: You were in Greece a long time, 1948 to 1954. Did you get back to the United States during that time, or see any of your family?

Packard: Our only home leave came in 1951 because of my special trip to Washington in 1949. We took the Orient Express from Athens to Paris and from there we went to London and came home on the Queen Mary. We were met in New York by Frances Adams who took us to lunch and saw us off on the train to Washington. After checking in at the ECA offices we left for Iowa to visit Emma's family. The old two-hundred-acre farm, which used to support eight horses, was completely mechanized with not a single horse on the place. Dairy cows had replaced the fattening steers of earlier days. Modern

Packard: milking machines carried the milk from the cows to the cooling vat. The milk was sold through a cooperative and most of the things used on the farm were purchased through a cooperative store. The farm was part of a Rural Electrification Association, replacing the lamps and lanterns of earlier days. After a few days stay in Iowa we went on to Berkeley and spent the balance of our leave with Emmy Lou who was then living in San Francisco and Clara who had her home in Napa.

I found that I had to have a prostate operation so I returned to Washington where I entered the Navy hospital at Bethesda. This interlude delayed our return to Greece by about two weeks. All hospital costs were paid by the government, as were our medical services while in Athens.

We went back on the Queen Mary instead of flying as we didn't want to get back too quickly. We went to England and then by boat and train to Paris where we took the Orient Express the rest of the way through.

When we were going through Yugoslavia, I had a very severe pain in my back. It was supposed to be kidney stones although I never did find exactly what it was. I was in terrific pain and I got the conductor to know I wanted some morphine. At the next stop a doctor got on and gave me some morphine. I said, "How much will this be?" and he said, "Oh, there's no charge. This is a socialist country. Aufwiedersehen." And he got off the train and that was all there was to it. That shot carried me until I got to Athens.

Trip to Germany

Packard: Several months later I got ill and the doctors thought it was associated with the same difficulty I had had in Washington. I had a temperature of 103 and was feeling very badly. The doctors said I should go to Germany to the U.S. Army Hospital. I went on a rickety old Army plane. The doctor was with me. We flew to Rome. I was lying on the floor all covered with blankets. But even then the wind coming through was terrific. I was shivering most of the time.

The plane had difficulty before it got to Rome, so we had to stay there for about five hours while they fixed the plane. Then, in place of going over the Alps on a direct flight to Frankfurt, we had to go around because it was foggy. So we went around and I landed in Frankfurt about nine o'clock at night. I never was so glad to get into bed in my life as I was then.

I had another operation there that was again paid for by the Army. Emma came up from Greece at her own expense, but we both went back on an Army plane. That again was paid for by the government.

Mrs.

Packard: That was an interesting experience. I stayed at an Army hotel that the Americans had taken over. Of course we were an occupying army up there and the Germans weren't too friendly. It was a most unsmiling country. People looked poor. They were glum and unsmiling. I think they're more so anyway than the Greeks.

Baum: The cold climate.

Mrs.
Packard: It wasn't so cold at the time we got up there. I stayed at the hotel and went on the streetcar up to the Army hospital which was a ride of a half an hour. There were a great many things going on. The opera had started up. They had built a new opera house. The old opera house was bombed out, I don't know how many years before, in the war. It was one of the old classic kinds of architecture. We went by on the streetcar and there was a tree growing up out of the ruins. It was about a ten-foot tree that had caught root up on the second story and was growing.

I went out to this big Army hospital and visited as much as I could. Sometimes I had lunch out there. I got a little bit of a look at what the city was like. It was terribly bombed out (Frankfurt). It looked as if every other block had just had a blockbuster dropped in it and it would just be a shambles. Then they built some very unattractive temporary housing like we sometimes threw up for shipyard work at home. Some places had been cleared off.

We took a river trip after Walter was able to get out of the hospital down the Rhine to Cologne on an excursion boat. We got off at Cologne, having been told we wouldn't have any trouble this time of year getting a hotel room. The main hotel we went to was absolutely jammed with an international camera convention. We couldn't get a room. They phoned around - they were very nice about it - and sent us in a taxi way over to another part of the city. We entered a little side door, down a long, narrow hall, and

Mrs.

Packard: to a little window, like a ticket window. They took our names and sent a young boy to carry our bags and show us the way. We went through a restaurant, then we went in a door which was marked "Men" (Laughter), but it went upstairs. Each time he would unlock another door. He must have unlocked three or four doors. We finally got into the hall and to the private apartment of the owner of this hotel. Very nice, luxurious place, nice bathtub. That was the only room we could get in Cologne. But it was very, very comfortable.

Then we got settled and took our taxi (which we had asked to wait) back. We got our dinner, and then went through the Cologne Cathedral which was just across the street from this big hotel. It had been bombed. Part of it, one wing, was just a shambles. They were having some kind of a big service, with a cardinal, in the main part. We stood and watched it for a while.

Packard: We stopped off at Bonn on our way going back to Frankfurt. Instead of going by boat we went by train. We visited my sister, Esther Chadbourn, who was there with her son, Alfred Chadbourn, with whom she was visiting. He was working for the American Mission and was in charge of the building program. He showed us a good deal of the new buildings that were going up.

Baum: The German buildings or for the Army?

Packard: They were buildings we had put up for American use -- apartment houses mostly.

Mrs.

Packard: There are a lot of things for the Army base that we still probably have there.

Packard: Yes, that's true. From Bonn we returned to Frankfurt and then went to Heidelberg where we visited the University and the old castle. We also saw the famous café where the dueling took place in the famous opera The Student Prince. We spent a few hours in Munich on our way to Garmisch where we stayed for a few days. As government employees we were given a bedroom with bath and separate sitting room in a new Army hotel for \$1.50 per day with good American meals at comparable prices.

Mrs.
Packard: While in Garmisch, we took several bus rides to prominent tourist places such as Oberammergau, where we saw the famous theater which stages the Passion Play every ten years. We were shown the costumes and theater equipment and taken to some of the shops that are run by the actors -- all being townspeople. From there we went to "mad" Ludwig's Castle -- a private castle built on the pattern of the Versailles Palace -- since he was a great admirer of things French. There was a small copy of the "Hall of Mirrors" and other features of the palace had been copied as well. Later, we went to Innsbruck and spent the night there, after an evening in what was advertised as a typical German beer parlor or night club which put on a variety show.

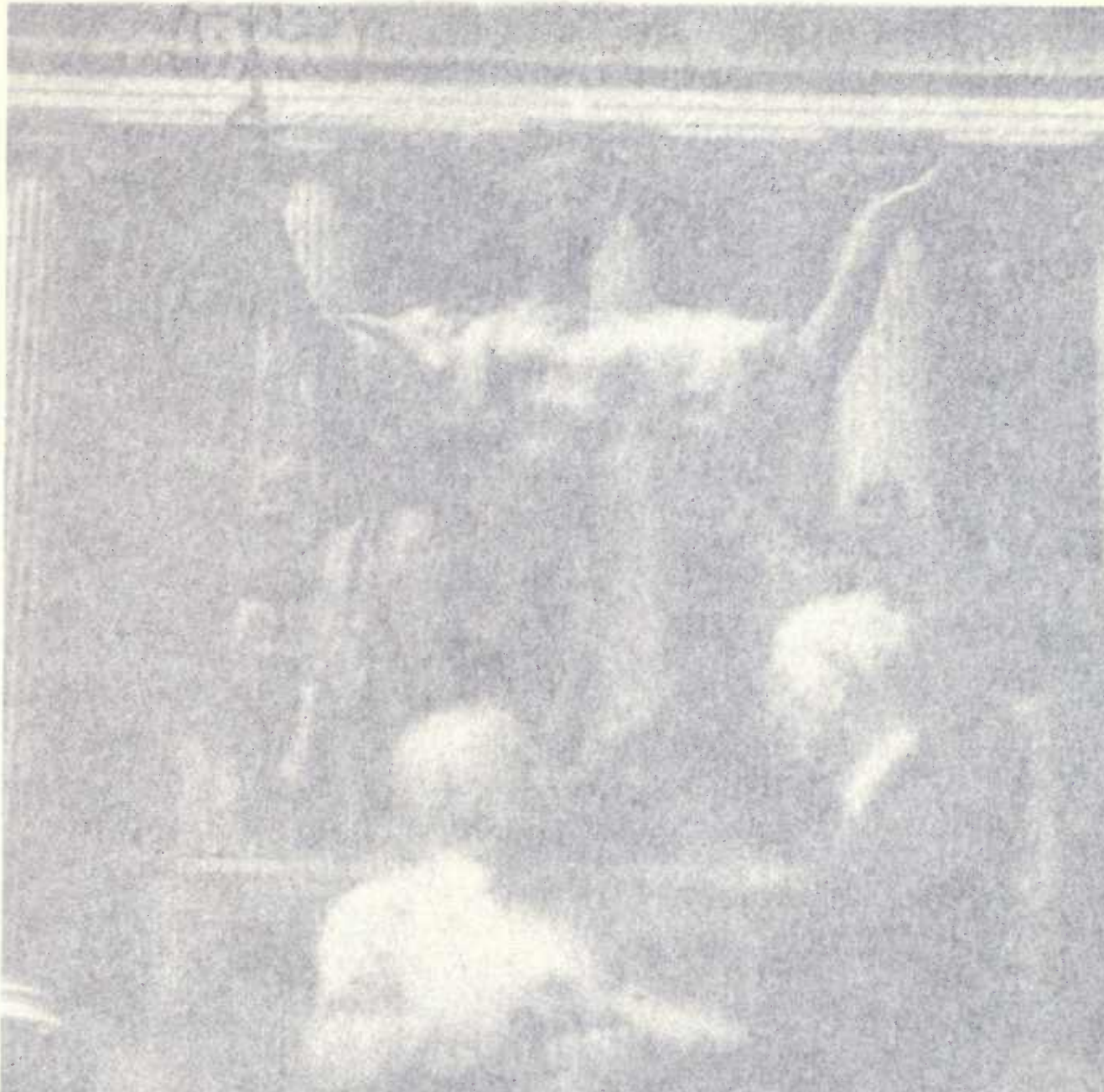
Family

Mrs.
Packard: While we were in Greece we arranged to have our two daughters and our two grandchildren visit us. Donald Cairns, Emmy Lou's son, came in June. He had just finished high school at the Verde Valley School in Sedona, Arizona, and we thought a trip to Greece might

Mrs.

Packard: give him direction. He stayed with us for two months at the Acropole Palace Hotel and I took him on several field trips which tended to put him in touch with reality. I remember his saying that he was going to find a job and accumulate some money while he was with us. On asking him what he had to sell in the way of skills worth paying for he realized that he had none other than the ability to do manual work which wouldn't bring in enough to pay his board. The visit was worthwhile although it took a stretch in the army on his return home to give him direction. The army gave him work in connection with the Language School at Monterey, California, where he learned a great deal about tape recording and radios. The GI Bill of Rights helped finance his remaining years at the University of California where he became interested in drama and the theater. The year following graduation he taught English in a French school in Lyons, France, which enabled him to perfect his French. On returning to the U.S. he attended the Yale Drama School for three years and is now in his fourth year on the faculty of Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania teaching drama, English, and directing plays.

Shortly after our return from home leave in 1949 Clara and her daughter Judy joined us. The death of little Bobbie in 1946 and other matters made Bob, Clara's husband, go to pieces and a separation seemed necessary. Clara and Judy, then nine years old, were with us for about nine months during which time Clara taught in the English School in Athens. This experience, together with her degree

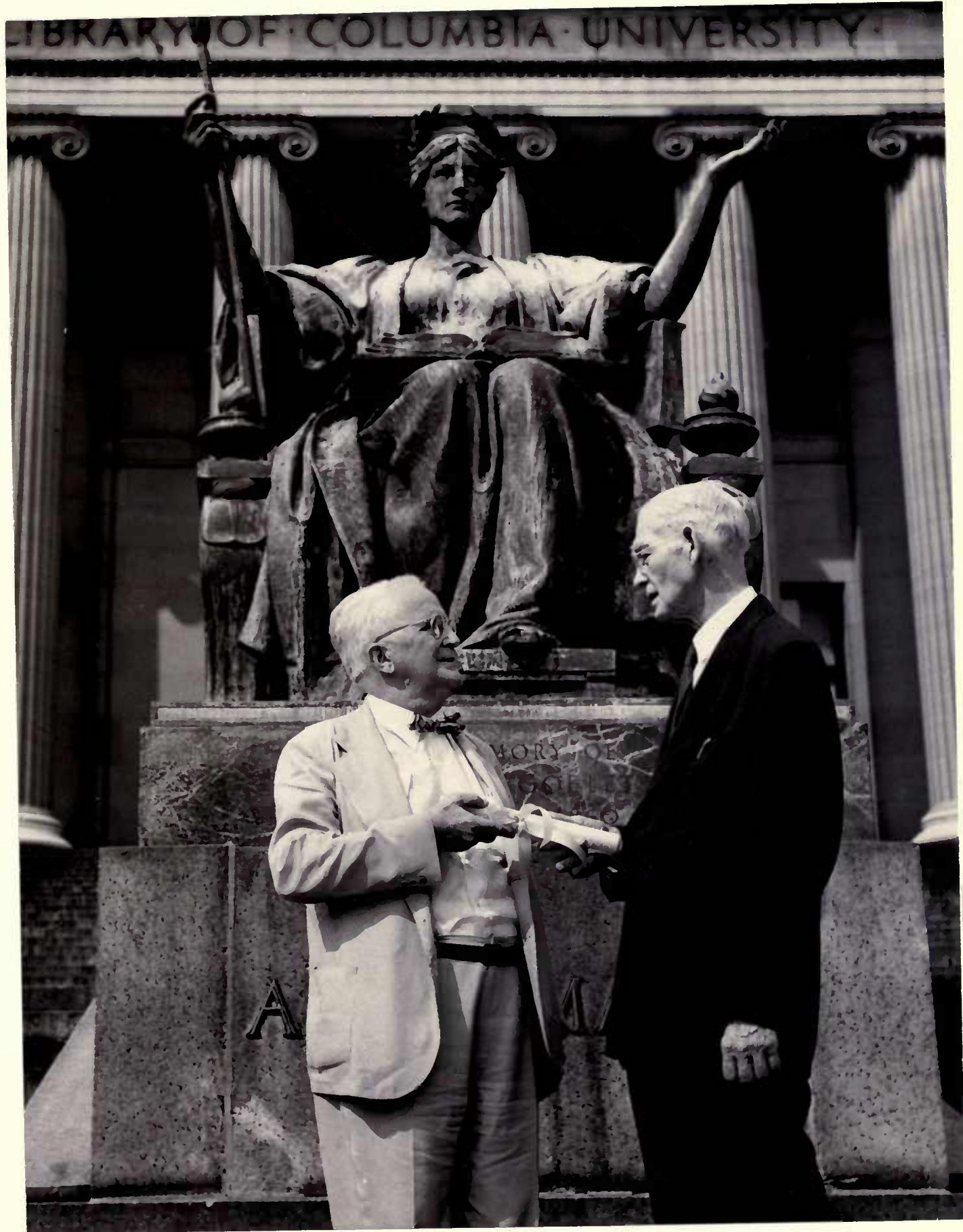


Dr. Walter E. Packard receives from Vice President Emeritus of Columbia University, George B. Pegram, and Chairman of the Anglo-American-Hellenic Bureau of Education the Bureau's Certificate of Appreciation with the citation:

"Your unprecedented achievements in Greek agricultural economy have been a great inspiration to our scholarship students from Greece and an incentive to work with like devotion for all the Greeks as you have worked for the villagers of Anthili."

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Mrs.

Packard: in social work from the University of California and her ability as a typist, enabled her to get a job in the Napa schools on her return. Some years after her divorce she married Joel Coffield, a member of one of the old families in Napa. She is now the Dean of Girls in the Napa Junior High School. Judy, during a trip abroad, met William Domhoff whom she later married. He is now in the psychology department of the University of California at Santa Cruz. They have three children, one of whom is William Packard Domhoff.

Emmy Lou was the last to visit us. She was the guest of Frances Adams who took her on a tour of Europe. Frances visited us later, in 1954, and attended the ceremony when the bust was unveiled in Anthili. Emmy Lou had made a place for herself in the art world of San Francisco and established an art studio and home in the City. In 1959, she married Byron Randall, an artist friend of long standing whose wife had been killed in an automobile accident. They purchased a place in Mendocino where Emmy Lou has been an active fighter for peace and against the war in Vietnam. Her peace work took her to the International Peace Conference in Helsinki in 1965 and to the Afro-Asian Conference in Djakarta, in each case representing the American Women for Peace.

Celebrations and Honors from the People of Greece

Packard: The rice program attracted quite a lot of attention because producing a good rice crop from formerly barren land had a lot of popular appeal. A syndicated article on the rice program appeared

Packard: in a large number of American papers. Maynard Williams, roving photographer for the National Geographic Society, wrote an article with pictures of the rice for the National Geographic Magazine. The program at the village of Anthili received by far the greatest attention for two reasons: The Anthili Irrigation District voted the money to hire Professor Nikos Perantinos, head of the sculpture department of the University of Athens, to make a marble bust of me to be located in the village plaza. *I knew nothing of this until I attended a meeting of the district when the announcement was made. Emma and I had Robert P. Tristram Coffin, Pulitzer Prize winning poet and Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Gross of Bowdoin College as our guests on what we thought would be a routine field trip. Following the Irrigation District meeting we were all guests at a dinner in a large room of the home of one of the prominent farmers and an officer of the district. It was quite an affair. The directors of the district were there and sat at the table while the women served the meal of barbecued lamb, rice, bread, sheep-milk cheese, olives, fruit and wine. There was much singing of both Greek and American songs. After what he said was his twentieth refill of his wine glass, Dr. Coffin rose to lead the singing with arms waving. (Laughter) On our way back Dr. Coffin said that the meeting reminded him of some New England town meetings he had attended when a boy.

When he returned to Athens he wrote the following poem, entitled American Monument in Greece:

*The villagers requested that the bust have a bow tie, since he did not look familiar to them without it. This inspired Time Magazine to

Packard: Men are remembered for cities they conquered
 Pyramids of skulls of warriors slain
 But this American's monument in Hellas
 Is starry-eyed boys and fields of grain

Towns wear gods' names, saints' names, virtues --
 Athens, St. Louis, Concord and such
 But far safer names are flowers and babies
 Rice kernels, wheat sheaves time can not touch

Where red Thermopylae pours its bitter
 Waters in fenland wasted by the sea
 This warrior for peace defied old ruin
 Commanded cotton and rice fields to be

He took from the sea the salty desert,
 Sweetened the marsh lands with rice's sweet pearls
 Sweetened the soil with homes and weddings
 Made the desert bloom with boys and girls

Better a man knee-deep in children
 Than tall Charlemagne or Genghis Khan;
 After wars are forgotten this village Anthili
 Will still remember this rice planting man.

Dr. Coffin was a Greek scholar as well as a poet, so he wrote the poem in iambic pentameter.

The first process in making the bust was the taking of a couple of dozen pictures of my head and shoulders to serve as a basis for measurements. Professor Nikos Perantinos then modeled a bust out of red clay and was able to get a remarkable likeness. Then I posed several times while he put on the finishing touches. The clay model was then turned over to the stone workers after a block of white marble and a nine foot shaft of white marble had been secured from the marble quarries at Mt. Pentelikon, from which the marble for the Parthenon had come. It was completed two weeks before I left Greece in June, 1954 and dedicated at a

* contd. state in their news report that "It is the only bust in Greece wearing a bow tie." [Added by Mrs. Packard]

Packard: ceremony attended by the American ambassador, Mr. Cavendish Cannon, the Chief of the Mission, Leland Barrows, the Greek Minister of Agriculture and many other Greek and American officials. Again, the people of Anthili staged quite a celebration, with a big dinner for 150 and dancing in the plaza. A band from Lamia provided the music. The bust was covered with American and Greek flags which were withdrawn as the band played the national anthems. Among the speeches was one by the Minister of Agriculture during which he presented me with the papers presented by the Greek government to the American Mission, proposing that I be decorated by the King. He explained that the idea had been turned down by the American Embassy on policy grounds. I was, however, nonetheless pleased over the gesture.

Following the ceremony at Anthili I was presented with a large silver tray and silver bowl to match by the employees of the Mechanical Cultivation Service at a ceremony at Lamia. We returned to Athens via Delphi and its neighboring city, Arakova, where I was presented with a scroll making me a member of the Arakova Irrigation District. I had supported a local project which brought water through a tunnel from a lake on the south slope of Mt. Parnassus to irrigate the olive trees in the valley far below the ancient town of Delphi.

My last official act before leaving Greece was the submission of a blistering attack on a plan to force Greece to accept foreign ownership and control of the oil refining business. A Greek

GREECE

The Winged Victory of Papou

For centuries before and after King Xerxes camped there with his Persians waiting to do battle at Thermopylae in 480 B.C., the plain of Anthele lay bleached and barren. No trees grew to shade its parched acres from the relentless Grecian sun; no water flowed over the banks of the winding Sperchios River to wash them clear of salt and alkali. For generations, no local farmer even bothered to put his plow to the 9,000 useless acres of the plain, and even those who worked the stinky lands on its edge were forced to content themselves with only the scantiest yields.

On a February day in 1949, however, an elderly American agricultural expert named Walter Eugene Packard drove out

\$1.50 a day; a small army of American tractors and bulldozers moved in to divert the course of the Sperchios River. In the midst of it all, usually coatless and with shirtsleeves rolled high, Walter Packard worked side by side with his Greek friends. In a few weeks, the dubious villagers who came down each evening at dusk to watch work on the newly flooded paddyfields were rewarded with the sight of tender green shoots reaching skyward. "It was like a miracle from the gods," said one of them.

By that time, all the people of Anthele plain had come to know Walter Packard as "Papou" (Grandfather). Children picked wildflowers for him. Church bells in all the villages rang when his familiar jeep was spotted humping along the road from Athens. Even the road itself was renamed Packard in his honor. But Papou



Megaleconomou Photos

WALTER PACKARD & STATUE
The Greeks knew what they liked.

to Anthele from Athens. As plainly and unmistakably American as the prostyle of a Midwestern bank, he joined the villagers for coffee and sweets at the local inn and promptly got down to business. "Some of us," he told his listeners, "think you can grow things on this land of yours. Rice, for instance." Torn between skepticism and wonder, the farmers of Anthele listened respectfully as Packard went on to outline a plan whereby U.S. money and Greek labor might be combined to test the fertility of the plain of Anthele.

From the Gods. The Greeks have little trust in bureaucratic schemes, but, said a Greek recalling the incident later, "here in this village, we like what we like, and when we don't like something, we speak up. Somehow, we liked the way this American spoke to us."

Some 40 local landowners turned over 100 acres to Packard's project; other villagers abandoned the idleness of the coffee shops to man picks & shovels for

Packard was not one to rest on laurels. He was busy making plans to turn the 100 acres of rice into 1,000 and the 1,000 into 2,000. By last year, his vision and enthusiasm had helped the Greeks put 4,000 acres of the Anthele plain under cultivation. For the first time in history Greece was able to export rice. The gain to the Greek economy on an original U.S. overseas-aid investment of \$43,000 was over \$10 million. More important, perhaps, was the fact that the farmers of Anthele for the first time in human memory were prosperous and self-supporting.

For a Hero. Last week, as 70-year-old Walter Packard of Berkeley, Calif. prepared to complete his six-year assignment in Greece, the people of Anthele honored him as the Greeks have honored their heroes for centuries—with a marble statue in the village square. It was quarried from the same stone which went into the Parthenon and the Winged Victory of Samothrace.

Packard: government request for a loan to finance the construction of a publicly owned oil refinery was turned down by the incoming Republican administration. I objected to this action on the grounds that we would be doing exactly what the communists had said we would do and that we should support the Greek government plan. When the loan was refused the Greek government financed the construction of a publicly owned and very modern refinery with its own funds. But when it should have started operations neither the American nor the British oil companies would supply the crude oil, thus forcing the Greek government into a compromise. Some years later a new refinery was built by a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company, which was vigorously opposed by Prime Minister Papandreou, whose son (then the head of the Economics Department of the University of California) said it would transfer about ten million dollars per year out of the hands of Greek consumers and into the hands of the stockholders of the private American dominated corporation.

Baum: I was wondering about the involvement of the Americans in the political system in Greece. Did the Americans try to stay out of politics?

Packard: The Americans tried to influence policies and certain types of legislation but this was always done at the ministerial level. This was particularly true with regard to problems of taxation and inflation. There were several prime ministers while I was in Greece and they were not always in harmony with what the Mission experts thought should be carried out. But, in general, the Greeks

Packard: did follow pretty closely what the American advisors suggested.

Baum: I have heard that the upper classes in Greece are very agile in getting out of paying any share of taxes.

Mrs.

Packard: Yes, that is true. The shipping interests were the greatest culprits.

Baum: Did you come into contact with those wealthy capitalists?

Packard: No, I didn't. My kind of work wouldn't put me into contact with those people.

Baum: Did those people go around socially with any of the Mission people?

Packard: Not very much. There was not much social contact between them. On the ambassadorial level, perhaps, yes. I wasn't in contact with them.

Mrs.

Packard: Our social life was mostly our own personal affair -- with American and Greek friends.

Baum: You were invited to American Embassy affairs?

Mrs.

Packard: We might be and often were but we were not included on the official protocol list.

Baum: How about Greeks? What group of Greeks would you come in contact with socially?

Packard: The Greeks I would come in contact with were the technicians.

Baum: The men you worked with?

Packard: Yes.

Baum: Would you mix with them socially?

Packard: Yes, we would be invited to their homes. Sometimes we felt rather reluctant to go because we knew that they would have to spend, perhaps, a whole week's income to get the kind of dinner they thought we would enjoy, involving meat.

Mrs.
Packard: Their pride is great and they wouldn't give us less than they thought we expected.

Farewell to Greece and Final Trip Home, July 1954

Packard: The feeling that the Greeks had, and we had towards the Greeks as well, is pretty well illustrated by what happened when we left. We left on a Yugoslav boat to go up the Dalmatian Coast. The Americans generally came down to see people off when they were leaving. There was no exception here. The boat had a lot of Yugoslav beer on ice and they brought that out. We had some bottles of liquor and some hors d'oeuvres. The Americans gradually left the ship and went to Athens. The Greeks went off later. Finally, George Papadopoulos came along. He was an engineer that I had worked with and had corresponded with in everything. He came up to me and put his arms around me and said, "May I kiss your cheeks?" I said, "Of course, George." Tears ran down his face and he kissed me on both cheeks and hugged me and went off crying. Then John Paleologue came up next and just burst out crying before he could see me. He just boo-hoed. And I boo-hoed. (Laughter) I couldn't stand it, either. We both stood there crying. It was silly, but we did.

Then Frixos Letsas, who was my assistant, came up there and put his arms around me. He said, "Now, we aren't going to be parted forever. We'll see each other again." Then they left. That illustrates the kind of spirit that animated us.

Packard: So we finally left Greece on a Yugoslavian freighter. We went through the Corinth Canal, then we landed first at Patras and took on some Norwegian archaeologists who had been working in the Peloponnesus. We then went up to Corfu. We saw a beautiful island. It was a place where the Kaiser used to come for his winter vacation. His palace is now a tourist attraction.

 In leaving Corfu we had to turn around and go south again around the island and out into the Adriatic Sea to avoid going within three miles of the shore of Albania. Albania was a Communist country at odds with Yugoslavia and they would have fired on us. We went into each port up the coast until we got to Trieste. The most interesting of these stops was the city of Dubrovnik, known as the jewel of the Adriatic. At one time it possessed the largest merchant marine in the world next to Venice and Portugal. We took a streetcar ride up to the ancient walled city and caught something of the historical atmosphere of the place. The port of Fiume, now called Rijeka, provided the greatest excitement. The docks were covered with construction material of all sorts and great derricks were busy unloading machines and equipment of all sorts from ships from all over the world. In contrast, Trieste was an abandoned port. The docks were empty and no ships were in the harbor. The new port of Rijeka had taken all of the Yugoslavian trade leaving the Italian port of Trieste almost abandoned. We took a train from Trieste to Naples, stopping off in Rome for a visit with friends in the FAO of the U.N. While in

Packard: Naples we had time to visit Pompeii and the Isle of Capri including a visit to the Blue Grotto which you reach by launch and enter by a rowboat which takes you to the quiet waters inside the grotto where you see the blue bottom in the light of the opening. We finally boarded the Constitution for the trip back to New York and home. We stayed in New York for a while and I received a decoration from a Greek who was in charge of the Greek students at Columbia University.

Mrs.

Packard: The Greek students at Columbia University held a meeting following the publicized rice festival and voted to give my husband a decoration in recognition of his work in Greece.

Packard: The New York Times commented editorially on the work I had been doing in Greece, which pleased me greatly.

Then we went to Washington where I checked out with the State Department and made a brief oral report on what I had done. Then we were going to go to San Francisco by train, but stopped off in Chicago to see Paul Jenkins and I became ill with the same prostate trouble I had had in Bethesda. I flew to Berkeley on the telephoned advice of my doctor from Bethesda, going directly to Alta Bates Hospital. After staying there eight days I was surprised to receive a bill for \$400. I had received medical care before from the Army and Navy, including two operations, at no cost to myself. This bill rather shocked me.

While I was in the hospital I had correspondence and telephone calls from New York from a young fellow who was writing an article

Packard: for the Christian Science Monitor. The article appeared with pictures of my work in Greece. This article was shortened for publication in the Reader's Digest, in February of 1955. The next event was going back to Greece for Ed Murrow.

Baum: This return for Ed Murrow was before your trip to Jamaica?

Packard: No, it was afterwards.

JAMAICA, 1955

Consultant for the Kaiser Company

Packard: In part as a result of the Reader's Digest article, I was asked by the Kaiser Company to go to Jamaica to report on what the company might do to make the settlers in the area satisfied. The company was buying bauxite land and putting people off the land, and they were afraid there might be trouble. They wanted me to find out how to rehabilitate the land and satisfy the people. I went there under that arrangement with no strings attached. When I got there I found that the operation of the Kaiser Company in Jamaica is under a British Company. The man in charge had a different view of the whole situation, not knowing exactly what I wanted to do. It was a little difficult for me, particularly because their plan was to put the people off the land they had purchased to put cattle on the land to raise beef cattle. They had developed a new breed of cattle with breeding stock from India which would be tick and fever-free (immune). They were doing a very good job developing this new breed, but I found that the land would support ten to twenty times as many people if it were put back into some crop -- nuts or food crops of various kinds. The raising of beef in Jamaica was probably the lowest use of the land, from the standpoint of the general welfare. My judgment was confirmed in this matter in Washington.

Baum: Why had the Kaiser Company bought that land? Were they going to use it for aluminum production?

Packard: Yes. There were whole valleys there filled with bauxite, a kind of red iron clay with aluminum content.

Mrs.

Packard: The bauxite is underneath a top layer which is good agricultural soil, and they scrape off the top layer to take out the bauxite.

Baum: Were they just holding this land?

Packard: No, they were developing it. They would dig this land out with modern earth-moving equipment, leaving holes sometimes 300 feet deep in what had formerly been agricultural land. In valley after valley were these pits. They would ship the bauxite to Louisiana for refining.

Baum: Were they trying to rehabilitate the soil after that?

Packard: Yes. They thought they might plant mahogany trees in those dug-out areas. The trees would again be a very low use of the land compared with its use for food products. I found out in Washington that macadamia nuts would do very well under the prevailing conditions there, and that it might be a very profitable crop. I recommended that they consider putting this land to the use of growing food-producing trees which would support a much larger population. The report submitted was satisfactory to the Oakland office of the Kaiser Company and they were going to have me go back occasionally to oversee the work that might be done. But the people in Jamaica were so sold on the idea of raising cattle that that was the end of

Packard: my contact there. The contact was, for me, very pleasant, and the attitude of the Kaiser Company was very constructive.

Baum: This was the American part of the company.

Packard: Yes. The British part was very British. There were three companies in Jamaica, Reynolds was one, all of them digging out these holes and leaving Jamaica looking like a smallpox case. Jamaica is a small island, and there were three giant American corporations removing bauxite from it. When the ore was gone the source of income for the people would also disappear, so it was important to find ways to convert the land to uses which would support the maximum number of people. The report went into other matters such as irrigation, developing water supplies for the southern part of the island, which is dry.

I was also interested in the birth control program. The sister of the manager of the British company was the head of the Planned Parenthood Organization in the island and was anxious that something be done along those lines. The population was growing; health conditions were improving; the death rate was decreasing with the result that the island would soon be overpopulated.

Schools were another of my concerns. The school system was quite inadequate.

Baum: Was the birth control program progressing?

Packard: No, it had not taken hold at all. It was just in the talking stage.

Packard: It didn't reach the ordinary person.

Baum: Are the people Catholic?

Packard: No, they're Episcopalian, members of the Church of England. The Reynolds Company hired a local doctor to carry out a birth control program. Word of it got to the directors of the company in a report, and Catholics on the board stopped the program immediately.

RETURN TO GREECE FOR ED MURROW'S SEE IT NOW

Packard: When I got back from Jamaica, Emma and I took a trip to northern California. We were coming back into the house when the telephone rang. It was the State Department asking me to return to Greece to be on one of Ed Murrow's "See it Now" programs to illustrate what the Marshall Plan was doing in Greece. I accepted. The next day Mr. Edward R. Murrow sent a man up from Hollywood to interview me, to find out if I was photogenic, I suppose. He called Murrow and everything was arranged.

 Later that same week I left for Washington to pick up my passport to go to New York. The Passport Division of the State Department would not give me a passport because they said they had an F.B.I. record against me. I told them it had been cleared at a hearing, but they replied that they had no record of the hearing. I explained the three man hearing that had resulted in my diplomatic passport for the balance of the time I was there--six and one-half years. Finally, after writing out longhand a statement that I was not a Communist and had never been a Communist, and did not intend to be one, they gave me a limited passport for a period of three months. I went on to New York and met Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly. They were inclined to want to exploit the incident with the State Department, but I thought it would be unwise, so they didn't do it. I had been through that once and did not want to repeat it.

Baum: They didn't even have their records straight.

Mrs.

Packard: What is the Bible quotation? "The left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth", and that's the State Department for you.

Packard: When I was in New York they arranged for the finances of the trip and bought a ticket by plane from New York to Athens. I was escorted to the plane by Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly, who saw me off. In Paris I was escorted around the airport for a few hours by two people from CBS. I was met again in Rome by a CBS man who got me on the plane for Athens. I had never had so much attention paid to me when I was flying for the State Department. I didn't receive such attention on the way home. After I had finished the job they left me to get home as best I could.

Baum: Did the State Department have some interest in this trip?

Packard: No. The project was turned over to CBS. Ed Murrow was in charge, and he was not the sort to be dictated to by the State Department. They were going to show the spirit of the Marshall Plan and what it had done. The State Department had selected the incident in Anthili as the most photogenic.

When I arrived in Athens I was met by Bill Downs, who had come over from Rome and who directed the shooting of the pictures. Another man, McClure, and two assistants operated the machines. We went to Lamia and stayed there. Each day we would go out to Anthili to take pictures -- 23,000 feet during the time I was there. They had a banquet in the plaza with everybody dancing in the streets, all of which was shot on film by CBS.

Packard: The other part of the program, which I consider the most important work I did in Greece, was the public power program. The Public Power Corporation had arranged to have the power put into the pumping plant down at the rice fields, which was quite an installation. They carried wires up from the pumping plant to the town, a matter of five miles or so, and that night they turned on the lights for the first time in the little town of Anthili. They had a big light in the plaza that shone beautifully. That was part of the show, the consummation of the public power program.

Baum: How long were you there?

Packard: It took about two weeks to get all of the various pictures.

Baum: What was your feeling about the success of the Anthili program? It was a year or more later then.

Packard: It was a year later. I was very pleased with it. They had increased the area under cultivation and irrigation appreciably. The drainage system was increased. The rice program was successful. The village was very much sold on what we were doing. It had turned out as successfully as I could have hoped it would.

Mrs.

Packard: The Edward R. Murrow show "See It Now" was nationally broadcast in June, 1955. The show was called "Victory at Thermopylae" since the village of Anthili is only about five miles from the site of the ancient battle grounds of Thermopylae, where there is nearby, a modern village of that name. This village also profited by the rice program in that area and made Mr. Packard an honorary citizen of their village.

Mrs.

Packard:

We had purchased our first television set that spring, so we invited all the family, including a sister-in-law from Pasadena, as well as the neighbors on both sides of us who had no TV. It was a great thrill for us who had often been in the village. As soon as it ended, we put in a call for the New York studio of CBS and were lucky enough to catch Mr. Packard before he left with Ed Murrow and congratulate them on the fine production.

The film had the advertising in it of the Kaiser Aluminum Company, which paid for the broadcast, mixed through it. We were given a copy of this film with the understanding that it would be shown without cutting out the advertising. The advertising part is interesting and well done, and no one who has seen the film has objected to this part of it. I don't know whether or not it would be necessary to ask the company -- or maybe CBS -- about duplicating the film for the library -- probably not as it has been shown many times... I don't know what the life of a film is, but so far it seems to be in good condition and probably could be copied for the library. I have it now at home boxed in the leather mailing case.

Incidentally, the name Thermopylae means "hot springs". They are clearly visible from the main road to the modern village of the same name and there are hot baths and facilities provided. It is said the springs are radioactive and that when the Germans were occupying Greece, the wily Greeks lured the Germans to use the baths long and freely, knowing that the radioactive waters would, at least, not be good for them! (I can't vouch for this!)

Invitation to Return in 1966

Baum: Could we fill in here your recent invitation to go back?

Packard: This summer, in late May, 1966, I got a call from Los Angeles from a man asking if I had been to Greece. He asked if I had any pictures of what I did there. I told him about the CBS program. He said he was going to Europe to look over the programs and also that he would call me when he returned. He didn't tell me who he was. When he came back he called again, saying he had been to Europe for the State Department to select an example which they could picture which would show the spirit of the Marshall Plan better than any other. He wrote a letter confirming this.

Mrs.

Packard: This is the paragraph from the letter: "In my quick tour of the Marshall Plan countries, the story of Anthili stands out as perhaps the best example of the true spirit of the Marshall Plan. The people of the village love and respect you, Mr. Packard, and all asked me to convey to you their best wishes."

Baum: Who wrote this letter?

Packard: Irwin Rosten, who signs himself producer of Wolper Productions. They had been hired by the State Department to do this.

Baum: So you had an invitation to go to Greece again?

Packard: Yes. They would have provided transportation for Emma, a wheelchair, and anything else I could possibly want. But my doctor recommended strongly against it, as did doctors at a sanitarium in St. Helena, so I was unable to accept.

Baum: It was a great honor, anyway, to be invited.

Walter Packard with great-grandson William Packard Domhoff, Clara's daughter Judith's son. April 1966.



Golden Wedding Anniversary - 1959.
Photo by Dorothea Lange.

Packard: Another factor entered into it. I assumed the purpose of the picture would be to support the present foreign policy of the State Department, which I do not support.

Mrs.

Packard: Here's a paragraph which says, "A film to be released throughout the world on the twentieth anniversary of the Marshall Plan." We figured that this was to improve the image of the United States over the world in the face of the Vietnam situation.

Packard: I didn't want to be supporting our present foreign policy, so I wouldn't have gone anyway just on that account.

Family

Packard: Various matters of family interest occurred at that time. Both of my daughters remarried. Emmy Lou married Byron Randall, an artist whom she had known for 25 years or so and whose wife had been killed in an automobile accident, just as her husband had been. So it was a very natural thing to do.

Baum: What year was that?

Packard: That was 1959. Clara married Joel Coffield, who had graduated from Cal some time ahead of her. He was a member of an old Napa family, which has lived in the valley for three or four generations.

Baum: Was this Clara's second marriage?

Packard: Yes, her first marriage broke up when we were in Greece. She came over and spent a year with us. Emma and I were able to help both of the girls at that time in getting re-established. We financed a studio for Emmy Lou in San Francisco. This was some years before her second marriage.

Mrs.

Packard: I think that matter deserves a little more treatment. There was a building across the street from the little alley of Water Street where she was living. The building, one of those box-like structures put up solidly but hastily after the earthquake, came up for sale. She could see the possibilities of some reconstruction. She got an architect to design a three-story structure with two apartments above the lower floor, and a two-car parking space, off the street, which is quite an asset for San Francisco. It had the advantage of being close to transportation, near Fisherman's Wharf, and she could and did rent out the lower floor to an engineering draftsman. Then she had a storeroom down there for her art supplies. She lived on the second floor and rented out the third floor for income.

Baum: Does Emmy Lou still own that studio?

Packard: Yes. She and Byron also bought the combined house and gallery in Mendocino shortly after they were married and moved up there.

Mrs.

Packard: It's been an excellent investment because it's down in a desirable area and just now the man who rents it is a designer who has just given her a five-year lease on the whole building.

Baum: So she doesn't have her studio there any more?

Mrs.

Packard: No. She's completely moved up to Mendocino for her art work now.

EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF PUBLIC POWER

Opposition to the State Water Plan, November 1960

- Packard: At this time, there was a move to establish a state water plan, which would put the state into a bonded indebtedness of one billion seven hundred fifty million dollars to build a project which I thought should be part of the Central Valley Project under the Bureau of Reclamation. But the politicians got together both in Sacramento and in Washington and supported this state plan, which carried, I think, by a margin of one per cent. I fought the plan as much as I could and prepared a mimeographed statement for the AFL - CIO, which they were going to send out to all the newspapers just before the election for editorial comment. For some reason they never sent it out.
- Baum: You opposed that plan?
- Packard: Yes, I did, and I think it was the most serious mistake any governor has ever made in California.
- Baum: I remember that was a very difficult election to know which way to vote on.
- Packard: Yes. If they had carried through the Central Valley Project, as planned by the Bureau of Reclamation, the power problem would have been cleared up and they would have had a much better plan. But the power companies, together with the large land companies, were able to defeat the plan to have the Bureau do it and were able to put it under the state. It is very expensive to the state and will never be as satisfactory to the rate payers as it could have been

Packard: otherwise. Ultimately I think it will all have to be corrected by creating a state power authority, a TVA type body. That is the only solution to it, and I thought so at the time.

The bond issue carried by only one per cent of the voters. We tried also to defeat it in the courts. The California State Grange carried through a suit to the State Supreme Court, and I raised \$500 toward the expense of that suit in an effort to have the State Water Plan declared unconstitutional. But that again was defeated. The Court ruled against us.

Then it was a question of dividing the fight for power and water into separate categories. I appeared at the convention of the California Democratic Council in Bakersfield with a mimeographed statement on the fundamentals of the power issue and got the CDC to support the theory of public power in the state. So the Democratic Party was tied into public power as far as policy statements were concerned. I then appeared at the hearings in Sacramento on the same issue, where there was legislation involving the Central Valley Project and the State Water Plan. Again I submitted reports to the hearing, but again my objective was defeated.

National Planning Association Meeting in Aspen, Colorado

Then in 1958 I went to Aspen, Colorado as the guest of the National Planning Association. I gave a talk on my ideas of a democratic society. I took a train to Denver and there, fortunately, I met C. Wright Mills, whom I had wanted to meet. We rode together

Packard: in a car from there to Aspen and got quite well acquainted. The last day we were there they had a standing ovation for me on the resolution that I had shown how they might solve their problem by democratic means. When C. Wright Mills was asked what he would do if he were President, he said he would "let Packard spend half the money now being spent on defense. The following year he would let Packard spend half the remaining part." In other words, he was quite sold on the idea and in fact supported it in his next book. He mentioned the incident and supported my views.

Baum: What was your plan about, Mr. Packard?

Packard: It was my philosophy, my total philosophy. This is what I'm working on now, completing my book. I had articles in various magazines and papers, including the Washington Post.

Mrs.

Packard: That was a pro-and-con article, with Senator Kuchel writing the companion piece.

Power from the Northwest for the Central Valley Project

Packard: Then I had an automobile accident. I drove through a "Stop" sign and was hit by a car and had eleven bones broken. I was pretty well smashed up.

Mrs.

Packard: This was January 29, 1964

Packard: That put me in the hospital for a couple of months. I could not do any work at that time, of course.

Baum: And it was soon after that that we began these recordings.

Packard: Then a power issue developed. All the public power from the Northwest was going to be carried down to California for use by the California private power pool. None of this would be added to the Central Valley Project. So I called a meeting, organized an ad hoc committee to oppose this plan. We got committees together and went to see the Governor. We had representatives from all over the state - south, north, and the central area of the state. We did get him to Washington to appear at the hearing to see that the Central Valley Project got some of the power. Finally we got petitions signed by 1,500 people sent to the President on the same issue. We received an allocation of 400,000 kilowatts of power from the Northwest to the Central Valley Project, which was quite a victory.

Baum: How did you organize an ad hoc committee? Whom did you get in touch with?

Packard: I got in touch with other people who I knew were interested.

Baum: Were there other groups that were interested? I suppose the CDC was one.

Packard: Well, they were interested, but as individuals rather than a group. Grace MacDonald's California Farm Reporter organization was interested. She and a number of her people attended the meeting. We had people from Palo Alto, Santa Clara, Sacramento -- all cities which use public power.

Mrs.

Packard: G.B. Quinn, Master of the California State Grange was there.

Packard: We had quite an ad hoc committee organized in that way. I just

Packard: called them together and organized it. They carried this through and were successful in getting this allocation.

Efforts to Convert Berkeley to Public Power, and to Join in
An Atomic-Powered Steam Plant

The next move on power was appearing before the Berkeley City Council in September, 1965, where I presented the advantages of Berkeley's going into the power business and joining with the state in a much larger power program. I got unanimous support from the city council to make a feasibility study. But the P.G. & E. had an evening of equal time to present arguments against it, in mimeographed form, presented by Allan Sproul, Robert Gordon Sproul's son. I prepared a mimeographed reply to that in which I think I answered all the questions that could be answered without a feasibility study. But the council finally voted unanimously against having a study. I never could understand exactly why they reversed themselves.

Baum: The City Manager, John Phillips, seemed to support the plan.

Packard: He did. He supported it all the way through and thought it was a good thing to do to save money. Now he's resigned and gone to Pasadena, a city that has public power.

Baum: I wondered if that had anything to do with his resignation.

Packard: I don't know.

Mrs. Packard: We don't know. Walter's been feeling too ill to talk with him. I was hoping he'd get a conversation with him before he leaves.

Packard: The second part of that plan I presented to the city was to have a large atomic energy plant established in the Delta area to supply

Packard: steam power to firm up the hydropower. It was to firm up the hydropower from Hetch Hetchy so that the City of San Francisco would be free from P.G.&E. control. They would have their own source of power to firm up their hydropower. We got the City of San Francisco to agree; they were quite enthusiastic about it. They said it was exactly what they wanted to do and that they would be willing to work with these other people. The State did the same thing. The State Department of Water Resources was anxious to go ahead with it. The City of Santa Clara had agreed to go along, and so had the Regents of the University of California. We were very surprised over the Regents, because they came out very strongly for it and are still willing to go into that kind of arrangement.

Baum: This was in the cooperation of building a steam power plant.

Packard: Yes, and the steam power would be generated by atomic energy, at least that was the plan. It was to be a breeder-reactor that would utilize plutonium rather than the uranium. It was much more efficient than the plants that the P.G. & E. had planned on. This would produce public power, steam power.

Baum: It would permit them to use public power?

Packard: They could use that to firm up their hydropower, so they could have a complete system just like the P.G.&E. has where they firm up their hydropower with steam power. First San Francisco withdrew. The Rapid Transit, BART, was quite enthusiastic about it too. It was all going through and everyone was enthusiastic. Then BART with-

Packard: drew after the president of the P.G.&E. along with two other men had seen the president of BART who didn't know too much about power in the first place. P.G.&E. just argued them out of it. Then there was political pressure on the Governor. The director of power of San Francisco, James Carr, said that if the Governor opposed P.G.&E. that the company would crucify him. The Governor withdrew, so the State withdrew from that.

Baum: Carr is head of Public Utilities in San Francisco, isn't he?

Packard: Yes.

Mrs.

Packard: The P.G.&E. put on a campaign in San Francisco and Berkeley.

Baum: Do you have any opinions on how the P.G.&E. defeated your proposal in Berkeley?

Mrs.

Packard: They said in public here in the Berkeley City Council hearing that the answer they gave to Mr. Packard's presentation cost them \$72,000 to prepare. It was a very long, detailed statement explaining and asking them to write in to the Council, and a great many of them did. It was a concerted campaign which must have cost them a great deal more money in addition to the \$72,000. The Berkeley public was not prepared and had no background for the idea and it didn't look good on the face of it unless they had had a background in the reasons for public power. That was one reason, Mrs May (Bernice May, Berkeley City Councilwoman) explained to us, that the City Council changed their minds about it.

Also they were overwhelmed with the BART subway, which was costing a great deal of money at the time, and bond issues coming

Mrs.

Packard: up for the City of Berkeley. So that to pass even a \$15,000 resolution for the cost of the study seemed expensive. They received almost no letters from the public endorsing public ownership. They got hundreds of letters against it. These were from stockholders of the P.G.&E. Even a number of people whom I know personally who are ordinarily on the liberal side felt that they had good service and nothing to complain about. That was their attitude. They didn't go into the philosophy of why you do it at all,

Packard: I was defeated in the power program.

Baum: I noticed you got John R. Ward to write articles about it in the Berkeley Gazette.

Packard: I didn't get him to write them; he wrote them himself.

Baum: The articles started out so favorably, the first two, then they went over to the P.G.&E. position.

Mrs.

Packard: They've always supported that sort of thing, the Berkeley Gazette, that is.

Baum: It seems like a miracle how you got people interested in this power issue. Even though you didn't win you came so close to winning an almost impossible battle.

Packard: That's true.

California Power Users Association

Baum: How did you gather people together and get so much action going?

Packard: The ad hoc committee became a permanent committee. We organized

Packard: the California Power Users Association and I was elected president. From then on I was acting in that capacity and I still am, but I must resign now since I can't carry it on. (June, 1966) We had a number of young fellows who were very much sold on the power issue and willing to spend their time on it and to help me.

Mrs.

Packard: I think it could be explained in this way: There has not been-- since Louis Bartlett was leader of public power, and organized the East Bay Municipal Utility District under his administration as mayor of Berkeley--any special interest in public power because the P.G.&E. has served the whole area efficiently. The philosophy of public power hasn't been uppermost for any reason, but there have always been a few people more studious of the economics of the situation, among them a few people in the CDC. Keith Murray has been a political reporter, writing articles for some of the Democratic publications. He has been on the CDC and was one of the faithful few who worked hard on this committee. They are all people employed in other fields. Dr. J.B. Neilands is in the Biology Department at the University of California. Charles Smith is in public relations and printing. Also, Paul Taylor, Alan Temko, Bill Reich, and Keith Murray.

Baum: Dr. Neilands was the one who worked so hard against the Bodega Bay proposal.

Mrs.

Packard: Yes. The Bodega Bay people, Dave Pesonen for example, was hired by the anti Bodega Bay committee to defeat the Bodega Bay plant proposed by the P.G.&E. Their successful battle against the P.G.&E.

Mrs.

Packard: publicized the power issue, at least as far as atomic power goes, Dave Pesonen, if he hadn't been spending so much time on his law degree, probably would have spent more time on this committee.

There were a number of other people, like the group down in Fresno. Berge Bulbulian and George Ballis have been a focus for this kind of thinking in the Fresno area. They had a little group together down there and were easy to unite with. In Palo Alto they have had public power for a long time. Frank Duveneck, an electrical engineer who lives in Los Altos, was also sold on the public power idea and was willing to come up to join the committee. The kind of people who were pulled together were all very dedicated to the idea and willing to spend time to work for it.

Baum: Could you tell me about the Faculty Club lunch meetings? Was that a method you used?

Packard: Our committee always met at the Faculty Club. I reserved a special room where we would hold the meetings. It attracted a great many people and made a very nice arrangement. The mere fact that we could meet at the Faculty Club added a great deal to it,

Baum: How often did you do that?

Packard: About every three weeks, I would estimate.

Finally the idea spread to the extent that little towns like Biggs which already had public power joined as organizations. There was \$25 membership fee for organizations to join.

When they had the first all day conference at the Shattuck Hotel all of these people attended. At that time they organized a membership list with a yearly individual fee of \$5.00. They put out a

Packard: written pamphlet reporting the proceedings and talks given at that meeting. That was compiled out of the thinking and support of these people.

Mrs.

Packard: A few people gave \$100 or whatever they could afford.

We got the support of the Santa Barbara Oceanview News, the paper Collin Miller works on. He strongly supported us in his paper, which is Thomas Braden's paper. That was one way we got widespread interest. There were about sixty people who paid membership fees and two or three organizations, like the Biggs city council of four people who all came to the annual meeting.

Packard: I think the controlling factor probably was that Reginald Price of the State Department of Water Resources had to find some outlet for his power other than the P.G.&E. He had to get a market for his power, so the state was very interested in the plan. If we could get this big plant going then the state could sell their hydro-power from the Feather River Project to that organization and sell it to Berkeley. By the way, the Regents had asked for an allocation of public power for the Berkeley campus, and the P.G.&E. had refused to give it to them; that is they refused to wheel the power over on the P.G.&E. line from Tracy to the campus. Our association contacted the Secretary of the Interior, the Governor, and others and finally did get an allocation of 66 megawatts of power for the Berkeley campus, which is a very liberal allocation, saving them approximately one million dollars per year. That was the reason the Regents were for our plan.

Mrs.

Packard: The P.G.&E. has a rule that they don't cut out one area of a city and serve it public power. The campus is in the city of Berkeley, which is served by the P.G.&E. So they refused to wheel the power across from Tracy, costing the taxpayers one million dollars extra a year at the time that they're discussing raising the tuition to the students, which would approximately balance the money they would pay to the P.G.&E. for private power.

Packard: The saving would be due to the fact that the public power wouldn't have to pay federal income tax. The difference between the costs of public and private power would have enabled Berkeley to pay off the bonds and still make a profit.

Mrs.

Packard: Mrs. Bernice May said that while she was in sympathy with the philosophy of it herself, they were under such pressure from BART that they felt it was not wise to spend that much money.

Packard: Well, anyway, it was a good fight. I had to drop the fight for public power then. Emmy Lou went to Helsinki for the Peace Conference. When she came back she attended the Afro-Asian Conference in Jakarta, representing "Women for Peace", and came back with the flu. I got the flu and it hit me very badly. I've been ill ever since and have had to withdraw from all these things. I had to drop my power program because I'm not strong enough to go ahead.

Packard's Book on Economic Philosophy

Packard: But I do have encouragement from the Pacific Books in Palo Alto. They have said that they will publish my book. They are coming up this week to go over the manuscript, so I hope we'll have my book out within a year. That will be the climax of my career because that's what I've been working on, on and off, for many years.

Baum: What's the title of your book?

Packard: I don't know. I have several titles.

Baum: This is a complete economics.

Packard: Yes. It's a philosophy, not economics so much as a philosophy of life.

Mrs.

Packard: I would say an economic philosophy.

Packard: It does concern economics very strongly.

[Added in writing, September 1, 1967, after Mr. Packard's death]

Baum: Mrs. Packard, could you add a note on the economics book at this time?

Mrs.

Packard: As of the above date, nothing further has been done about the publication of the book. The Pacific Books representative went over the copy and agreed to submit it to readers if my husband would agree to remove a couple of chapters which he thought better to leave out. He agreed to this and two readers finally made their reports, which were not very favorable. One man said he thought it should be published, but it needed more work done on it. Since

Mrs.
Packard: Mr. Packard was not able to do this, it stands now as it was at that time.

A grandson-in-law on the University of California at Santa Cruz faculty had three copies made of the book. He has hoped to possibly publish some selected chapters as articles in an appropriate magazine, but so far, no one has had time to do this work.

As to the economic philosophy in back of the book, I believe a brief history of how it was started in the first place may be of interest at this point. When Mr. Packard started his first job after college with the University of California in 1909, the job assignment was to make a two-year study of the Imperial Valley and of desert agriculture in order to determine if conditions in that newly developed irrigated area were unique enough to warrant an especial Experiment Station in Imperial Valley, devoted to desert agriculture. After due consideration of the report, it was decided by the University that a new Experiment Station was desirable. So we continued on with the University, living in El Centro, while Mr. Packard chose the forty acres for the land at Meloland and then proceeded to build the new house, barn, office building and a cottage for another employee laborer on this Experiment Station. The story of this development and work has been told previously in this history.

We lived for seven years there and as the work and ideas developed, Mr. Packard came to feel that while the gathering of facts

Mrs.

Packard: was important, it was still more important that the results be made known to the grass roots farmer -- that he was willing to use the knowledge for his benefit if it could be distributed to him. (1) Fact finding was basic and important, but (2) it was still more important to distribute that knowledge and information in an educational way. So when the Farm Bureaus were being set up in California, he organized the new Imperial Valley Farm Bureau to help educate in new techniques which would help farmers to prosper and produce more food -- control pests, and the like.

So the next logical move was to accept the position with the University of California as Assistant State Leader of Farm Advisors, with his territory from Berkeley south to the Mexican border. The experience here, again at the grass roots, made him realize that:(3) something in the financial and economic set-up of farming was still more basic to a balanced division of profits and a decent living for farmers. Banks loaned money for short periods and called the loans promptly if payments were not made on time. The interest rates were high -- considering the low profits. Something was askew.

At that point, the then new theories of Dr. Elwood Mead appeared with the thesis of long term loans for farmers at a lower rate of interest than the usual commercial loans to the well-established business firms. Since banks could not or would not, as the case might be, the State of California was to buy the land for a project, help and advise in the development of it and give

Mrs.

Packard: loans of state money to the new settlers for twenty years with a low rate of interest.

Rather unfortunately for about everyone, this plan was started in 1919 at the beginning of the great depression which culminated in the disaster of 1929. No one of the planners recognized that agriculture in the eastern part of the U.S. was already in distress and small farmers were being sold out... They drove west with the remnants of their small assets to try for a new start in California-- followed later by the Oakies and Arkies who were later immortalized in the Steinbeck book The Grapes of Wrath.

As one rather successful settler said, many years later, "The Delhi Project was started at the wrong time and had no chance to succeed. If it had been started twenty years later when World War II needed food production, anyone could have succeeded." It was as simple as that. Planners had not yet learned the facts of life.

The Resettlement Administration was then organized under the Roosevelt Administration to try to mop up the mess. Also, the National Youth Association (N.Y.A.) was organized under Aubrey Williams to try to give some basic education to the youth in some of the backward southern states. Later, while doing a consulting job for Mr. Williams, Mr. Packard observed that these young people had no real background understanding of the economic structure back of the world they had to face in making a living. What they needed, was a sort of "kindergarten" course in a simple "Economics Primer"

Mrs.

Packard: which could be easily understood by these students. So the suggestion was made that he prepare one for this purpose -- maybe it would take a couple of months time. But it proved not to be simple at all. But as a project, for that period, it had to be given up. But the germ of the idea remained. Baffled and frustrated by trying to solve the problem to his own satisfaction, he began putting down his ideas on paper. As ideas and conditions changed drastically with the coming in of farm tool mechanization, so the book must be brought up-to-date to fit conditions. During the many years while he was too busy on various jobs to write about them, ideas were evolving and when he retired in 1954 he set out seriously to finally write the economics primer. Whatever is left is the result of those years of pondering and study first hand in the field, and in the reading of many books.

He never stopped working in his mind. When he died, a good friend wrote the following tribute: "He was a man of peace and vision." Another amended this by saying: "He was a valiant man of peace and vision." He had an all too rare quality and ability of entering into the lives of the grass roots people with whom he was working so they thought of him as a friend who worked along with them. This was especially true in Greece with the peasants, who were naturally unfamiliar with a foreigner who had come "to do them good" -- they had to be convinced, and they were! Their outpourings of flowers, gifts of all kinds expressing their love for him in many ways, was the final climax of appreciation of a life

Mrs.
Packard: mostly devoted to trying to make the world a better place for
human beings to dwell.

APPENDIX

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF



SAMUEL WARE PACKARD

From *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 10, p. 177
James T. White & Company, Publishers, New York, 1900

PACKARD, Samuel Ware, lawyer, was born at Shelburne, Mass., Nov. 29, 1847, son of Theophilus and Elizabeth Parsons (Ware) Packard. He traces descent from Samuel Packard, who emigrated from Wingham, Norfolk, England, to Plymouth colony in 1638, and was a resident at Bridgewater from 1660 until his death, about 1685. From this colonist the descent is traced through his son, Zachens (d. 1723), and his wife, Sarah Howard; through their son, John Packard (1695-1738), and his wife, Lydia Thompson; through their son, Abel Packard (1729-1804), and his wife, Esther Porter; through their son, Theophilus Packard (1769-1855), and his wife, Mary Tirrill, grandparents of the present representative. Theophilus Packard, 1st, was a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1796, and was pastor of the Congregational church of Shelburne, Mass., for over thirty years. His son, Theophilus Packard, 2d (1802-85), who was graduated at Amherst College in 1823, for many years occupied the same pulpit which his father had filled. Samuel W. Packard at the age of sixteen went to Chicago at start out in life for himself. There, by the advice of a friend, Dr. Newkirk, he determined to study law, and shortly after became a student in the office of Barker & Tutley. He remained in this office about a year and a half, and when only seventeen years old began practice in justice courts; then after one year spent at Shelburne Falls Academy, in his native county, and at Williston Seminary, East Hampton, Mass., he returned to Chicago in 1866 to complete his legal training in the office of his former preceptors. On Aug. 16, 1857, he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Illinois, and in the following year formed a partnership with Col. John S. Cooper, which continued for ten years, during a portion of which time Judge Gwynne Garnett and

William W. Gurley were also members of the firm. Mr. Packard's rise to prominence was rapid. He began arguing cases in the U. S. supreme court at the age of twenty-six, and the thoroughness with which he prepared his cases, coupled with a very high order of legal ability, made him remarkably successful. For over fifteen years he spent more than half of his time in diligent study of his profession, thus becoming one of the best equipped lawyers at the bar. He collected the third private law library in size in Chicago, but finally disposed of it to the owners of the Ashland block, with the understanding that it should be kept in the building for the use of himself and the other lawyers having offices there. The high order of his legal ability, combined with a remarkable fertility of resource, renders him a dangerous antagonist in an important and complicated litigation. Especially notable was his procedure in the "Yankton Bond Case," which has become famous not only in the legal but in the civil and political history of the United States. Yankton county had issued bonds in \$200,000 for railroad aid, but after their sale the supreme court of the territory had declared them invalid. Mr. Packard being then retained by the bondholders, carried the case to the U. S. supreme court, where he succeeded in obtaining a reversal of the territorial court's decision. In trying to enforce collection he found his way obstructed by certain special acts of the territorial legislature of Dakota, passed with a view to preventing taxes being levied to pay the judgments. Shortly afterward, in 1882, a strong effort was made to procure the admission of southern Dakota as a state, and large delegations visited Washington to urge the immediate passage of the pending bill. Thereupon Mr. Packard, recognizing his opportunity, prepared a protest to congress against the ad-

mission of the territory on the ground that as its legislature had aided and abetted an act of repudiation it ought not to be admitted to the sisterhood of states until purged of this disgrace. By circulars and pamphlets, scattered profusely through all parts of the Union, he created so strong a sentiment in favor of his claim that it was found impossible to obtain a vote for the admission of the territory. The Dakota delegate informed his constituents that the bill could not be passed until the Yankton bond matter was settled, and advised the election of a legislature favorable to payment. As a result a refunding act was passed in the spring of 1883, and the matter was adjusted; but it was not until Nov. 2, 1889, that the territory attained the dignity of statehood. Mr. Packard is religious and clear in argument, thoroughly in earnest, never abusive of adversaries, and yet a foe worthy the steel of the most able opponent. Like his ancestors for many generations, he is a strict adherent of orthodox Christianity. He was married, June 23, 1874, to Clara A. Fish, of Lombard, Ill. and has three daughters and two sons.

NOTE:

For further information concerning Mr. Packard, see Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. 2, pages 1024-1027; Industrial Chicago, Vol. 6, pages 249-250; Men of Illinois, page 185; Illinois of Today; The Columbia Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Representative Men of the United States; Illinois Volume, pages 381-384; Sketches and Portraits of Representative Men and Women in December Issue of Successful Men of America, page 175.

Mr. Packard retired from the practice of law in 1910 and moved to Pasadena, Cal., where he now resides at 1429 North Los Robles Avenue.

URDAY, JUNE 30, 1917

PACKARD HONORED BY VALLEY FRIENDS WITH FINE BANQUET

More Than 40 Residents of Imperial County Meet and Discuss Work of Retiring Superintendent of Experiment Farm—'Flowers For the Living' Slogan

Seldom does it fall to the lot of a man to hear so many fine things said about himself as fell upon the ears of Walter E. Packard last night, when a bunch of his friends and admirers gathered at a banquet at the Barbara Worth hotel to honor him prior to his departure from the valley. Packard will leave in a few days for Berkeley, to superintend the farm adviser work for Central and Southern California.

More than 40 valley residents, most of whom have known Packard personally and observed his tireless work as superintendent of the university experiment farm at Meloland, sat at the feast with him and listened to the eulogies delivered by the speakers.

"Flowers for the living," was the slogan of the evening, from the time Toastmaster Phil W. Brooks, close friend and neighbor of Packard, was introduced to the crowd by President Lofftus of the County Farm Bureau, until the close of the program. Three editors, O. B. Tout of the Progress, E. F. Howe of the Zanjero and M. D. Witter of the Brawley News, all testified to the excellent work done by Packard in the valley and expressed deep regret at his leaving. The belief was expressed strongly, however, that in his promotion to one of the "higher up" positions, Packard will be enabled to prove an even greater friend for Imperial valley than he has in the past.

Those at the table last night were:

Arthur K. Palmer, Argyle McLachlan, I. B. Suryieh, T. Elliott, C. J. Praffenberger, A. M. Nelson, A. B. Madison, Mike Liebert, L. G. Liebert, C. H. Connett, Bert J. Cadz, Mrs. G. B. Tout, O. B. Tout, M. D. Witter, C. T. Willis, C. O. Bullis, Dr. L. M. Hurt, Pasadena; Mrs. Grover Lofftus, Grover Lofftus, Walter E. Packard, Philip W. Brooks, E. F. Howe, Mrs. C. Richards, Clifford Richards, Mrs. F. L. Sargent, F. Sargent, W. R. Lienau, Mrs. W. R. Lienau, Mrs. O. L. James, O. L. James, Mrs. P. I. Dougherty, Paul J. Dougherty, Mrs. Oscar Sweeney, Oscar Sweeney, R. B. Vaile, John Hogan, J. F. Waterman, P. R. Bowman, Jas. F. S. Howland, Mrs. P. B. Christian, P. B. Christian, D. C. Bitler, A. L. Richmond.

Case *agent*
A Social Delusion

The Delhi land colony in California is a failure, its projector's portrait has been hanged as an effigy, the Governor has signed a bill appropriating \$250,000 to help the settlers and clean up the mess, and it is to be hoped that California will take the advice of the special legislative committee that investigated the fiasco and recommended that the state never, never get itself entangled in another land colonization scheme. The whole thing is regrettable; and what the public needs to understand about it is that under the conditions the outcome was inevitable.

It is not likely that the main mover in the project had any other than a patriotic and an altruistic motive. But that makes the case against this sort of enterprise all the stronger. Its failure can not be charged to dishonesty of intention, but arose from a fallacious theory of society and from accompanying delusions about human nature.

There were misrepresentations. They grow frequently out of idealism, for facts are never rosy enough for the idealist. Dreamers are hardly to be blamed for failing to define their dreams, for they love them, and hug them, and if they try to limit them with precision the dreams vanish. Nor are visionaries to be held accountable for failing to employ business methods, which seem hard and cold and inhumanly calculating. But business methods are just those by which business men attempt to exclude error and then provide against the error they know still lurks in all their prophesies. Business men either would not have attempted this experiment on the lands at Delhi, or they would have demanded better capitalization on the part of the settlers; and knowing something of human nature they never would have represented to them that if they did not make good the State of California would see them through, for there is no better way to assure failure than to supply paternalistic assurance of success.

The underlying philosophy was wrong. This was an excursion into paternalism, or state socialism. It will not work, here or anywhere, now or at any future time. Men need the spur of necessity to drive them to their best exertions, and the rewards of private property to keep them "everlastingly at it." Telling them the government will see them through is the best way to paralyze initiative and curtail endeavor.

Most of the federal government's reclamation schemes are in about the same fix as the Delhi colony. Orland, in this state, is said to be the only really successful one. They are all off the same bolt of cloth: state socialism, thinly disguised. It is better to let the individual work out his own salvation, according to the established and time-honored American principle of root hog, or die. As for reclaiming the land, it can wait. When business men get around to putting water on it because they see a demand for it they will do it, and it won't cost the settlers any more than socialism has cost the settlers at Delhi.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DELHI

By EDWARD F. ADAMS.
(San Francisco Chronicle.)

THE columns of the press are filled with denunciation of the Delhi state land settlement in Merced County and of everybody who has had anything to do with it. It may be a weakness, but my soul does yearn to go to the help of the under dog. That impulse is strengthened by reference to the files of the same press a few years ago, wherein the same persons were set high on a pedestal as exemplars of wise men of noble achievement. Besides, it is a matter that I happen to know something about.

And let me say at the beginning that the first time I saw the settlement I was convinced that there would be heavy losses for somebody. I was also convinced that in the end Delhi would be a prosperous and happy community. A great part of it was an area of drifting sand.

My belief was based on the fact that some years before I had been employed by the executors of a large New England estate to discover, if I could, and report on the source of the Irish dividends which the heirs were receiving. That property had been an area of drifting sand and was no longer. The soil displacement by the wind had been stopped.

It was evident to me that the Delhi drift could be stopped by the same methods. It costs money, but sand drift was not the trouble in the case which I studied, except in so far as the cost increased the investment upon which dividends were expected. There was no question in that case of incompetence or dishonesty. Neither is there at Delhi.

I might say, in regard to incompetence at Delhi, that those necessarily charged with the duty of selecting and establishing settlers, while thoroughly competent from agricultural and engineering standpoints, were rather too idealistic for that particular situation, and were impelled to minimize the difficulties to be overcome, and magnify, in some cases, the competence and good will of some settlers. In this they were aided by the local and other press, which loudly proclaimed the great opportunity which the state was offering.

I have a dim recollection of a conversation with someone in authority telling me that one reason for selecting this tract was to show that the state could succeed where

private effort would not venture. If that was the case, which I cannot aver, as my recollection of the conversation is too dim, I think it should have been made more prominent. But I know a great many competent and successful men, and I do not think anyone would deny that he had made many mistakes. There has been a loss and the state must stand it.

What I protest against is the spirit of hate injected into the discussion. A certain class of real estate men have always opposed state interference. It would be easy to find settlements organized by them with loss to settlers. I can imagine that political men might enjoy magnifying errors of their predecessors in political interest.

There have been other failures and recoveries. The highly prosperous Modesto district, not far from Delhi, whose low interest bonds can be turned into cash overnight any day, went through a reorganization involving great losses. Why pick on Delhi? Why not be fair?

It should be remembered that it is the same board which we hold responsible for the "failure" of Delhi which is also responsible for the triumphantly successful Durham colony, about which we hear nothing. The following are their names:

Islwood Mead, chairman; Mortimer Fleischhacker, Prescott F. Cogswell, Frank P. Flint, William H. Langdon.

It is said that they "paid too much" for Delhi land. That is out of my line, but if I were setting out to cheat somebody on a land deal I should hunt for a different bunch.

The Durham settlement, a few miles south of Chico, has been a success from the beginning. Settlers are prospering as individuals and have built up a fine community.

As between Durham and Delhi there were these differences: The sand drift at Delhi, of which sufficient has been said; even more important is that fact that when settlement began at Durham war prices for material and labor had hardly begun to be felt, while the settlers got full boom prices for products. The improvements at Delhi were made at the very top of the boom and the first products sold at the depth of the slump. Let us treat our public servants decently. Some of them may deserve it. Let us take a chance.

25 May 1925

Reclamation Director Says Politics Harms Delhi

Suggests Governing Board Free to Fix Policies

Says Colony Was Started in Unfavorable Conditions

[BY A. P. NIGHT WIRE]

BERKELEY, May 25.—The State's land settlement colony at Delhi was said by Dr. Elwood Mead, Federal director of reclamation, to be suffering "principally from a political malady and not from a natural illness," in a statement which he ordered released for publication here today.

Dr. Mead was formerly Land Settlement Commissioner of California, and in that capacity directed the organization of the Delhi colony.

Gov. Richardson issued a statement in Sacramento yesterday in which he said that "this colony is a monument to the visionary schemes and impractical ideas of Elwood Mead."

"What Delhi has suffered from most is the political changes which have made it impossible to follow any definite policy for the development of the colony," the Mead statement said. "California should not open up any more land until it can prove that it can take care of what it has. The colonization project should be removed entirely from politics and should have a governing board which would have complete freedom to fix its policies.

"There is no question that the settlers at Delhi have had difficulties, but the men on their own farms have had difficulties also. The development of Delhi was unfortunately begun at an unhappy time, when agricultural interests everywhere were in a particularly bad condition.

"It has been said that we picked out a sandy waste for the Delhi project. It is true Delhi was a sandy waste. But what was Turlock and the surrounding territory before their development? It seems to me that ten tons of alfalfa to the acre is a pretty good showing for a sandy waste.

"Among those who claimed that things were misrepresented to them at Delhi were a number who worked on the tract for a year before they took up farms of their own, and who knew exactly what the conditions were.

"I have refrained from entering into this before because it did not seem wise to become entangled in any political controversy. But I feel now that I must make a statement for two reasons. First, this attack is doing damage to the State, and secondly, it is doing damage to me. I am now engaged in national reclamation work and the government cannot afford to have a man in authority who is attacked by his own State, no matter what the politics of the case might be."

Dr. Mead said, further, that the Legislature of four years ago "killed the reclamation board, the body which had established the colony, by putting it under the Highway Commission."

Memorandum to Governor Rexford Tugwell in defense
of the Land Authority

January 26, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: The Governor
FROM : Walter E. Packard

The attached statement covers the work of the Land Authority in very brief fashion. I am not at all sure that it is just what you want. If you need more data, you can get it from the letter which I prepared for Mr. Acosta Velarde in answer to the Chamber of Commerce's article in the Economic Review. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

Walter E. Packard
Consulting Agricultural Engineer

WEP:mtr
2 Inclosures

Suggested Statement on Land Authority Activities
for the Annual Message to the Legislature

Satisfactory progress is being made in the purchase of land under the provisions of the 1941 Land Law. To date, the Land Authority has acquired 39,485 acres of land formerly in corporate holdings of more than 500 acres and is now negotiating for the purchase of an additional 53,000 acres. Together these properties account for 35% of all unlawful holdings under the Act. In addition, 15,193 cuerdas of land have been purchased by the Land Authority under Title V of the Land Law. This land has been distributed to 14,687 agregados in plots averaging 1.03 cuerdas per family.

It would be unwise, in my judgement, to move more rapidly than this, since time is required to develop the organization needed to operate properties after they have been acquired.

The administration of the Land Law by the Land Authority has fully justified the action of the Legislature in enacting this measure. The proportional profit farm plan, created by this Act as a means of enforcing the 500 acre limitation provisions of the Organic Acts of 1900 and 1917, is working well. It promises to be a valuable addition to existing patterns of land tenure.

At Cambalache, the first property to be purchased under the Act of 1941, the area under cultivation in proportional

profit farms has been increased by 37% since title passed to the Land Authority, and the yield per acre has been increased by 14.4% over the preceding five year average production under private management. In its effort to maximize production, the Land Authority is cooperating with the Insular Experiment Station in developing higher yielding varieties of cane and better practices in the use of fertilizer. Both the cultivated area and the yield per acre will be increased by presently planned drainage systems on lands belonging to the Authority. In addition, non-cane land is being put to a higher use than formerly. Hill lands suitable for forest production have been ceded to the Forest Service for reforestation while limited areas suited to the production of minor crops have been used for agregado settlements. This is a gratifying record because, quite obviously, wealth must be created before it can be distributed.

It is in the field of income distribution, however, where the proportional profit farm idea has demonstrated its greatest effectiveness. The people of Puerto Rico own the land devoted to proportional profit farms and have first claim on the net income after all operating costs have been paid. At present they receive 3% interest on capital equipment and 4.0375% interest on their investment in land and improvements. This money is a new source of Insular Government income and, under the provisions of the law, is available for use by the Land Authority in expanding its program. After setting aside a reserve for contingencies,

the remaining profits are paid to field workers and to lessees as proportional profits. At Cambalache, these proportional profits added an average of 19% to the laborers wage income in 1944 and an average of 17% in 1945. These provisions of the distribution of net proportional profit farm pattern provide for a wide/income in sharp contrast to that which obtains where land ownership is concentrated in large private holdings and rent, interest, and profits are channeled into the hands of a small minority of the total population. The proportional profit plan increases the purchasing power of a numerous low-income group and tends to lessen the accumulation of idle funds for which profitable investment outlets cannot be found.

I would like to see the proportional profit farm plan applied in the mountain section of Puerto Rico where production of wealth can be greatly increased through the establishment of a multiple-purpose production program under trained management. Declining production and the rapid filling up of irriplaceable reservoirs by unnecessary erosion make the stabilization of the economy of the mountain areas essential. The proportional profit plan would be well suited for such a development.

In my judgement, Title V of the Land Law should be amended and considerably strengthened. Providing land alone is not enough. A recent survey of opinion of residents of El Fanguito showed that no agregado now living in this slum area would willingly move back to his former home in the hills. The

reasons given are illuminating. They prefer el Fanguito to the isolation of their former circumstances because, at El Fanguito they have domestic water service and electric lights, which mean radios for some and because, they enjoy the associations of village life and are near to job opportunities. If Title V is to be fully effective as a social measure, the Title V projects must meet these basic needs.

If the individual allotments in Title V projects are limited to a quarter of a cuerda each, the Aqueduct Authority should be able to supply pure water for domestic use at reasonable cost and the Water Authority should be able to supply power at reasonable rates. A compact settlement would, in addition, encourage community life and, in most cases, would lessen the distance from their homes to their jobs.

By proper planning, a quarter of a cuerda will produce enough to substantially reduce the cost of living. If more land is needed, however, an additional acreage might be provided adjacent to the village where staple crops could be raised for use in the community.

In order to facilitate the development of adequate domestic water supply for Title V projects, I recommend that the Land Authority be empowered to enter into contracts with the Aqueduct Authority whereby the Land Authority can meet annual water assessments out of proportional profits where the Title V projects are associated with proportional profit farms.

Title V is essentially a housing program, but little or no attention has been paid to housing. The Land Authority has acted wisely, I believe, in refusing to make the \$150 grants for building materials provided for in the law. The amount is not enough to provide adequate housing and the grant feature of the law is, in my judgement, undesirable. I, therefore, recommend that the \$150 grant provision be withdrawn, and, in its stead, a new section be added giving the Land Authority discretionary power in granting loans for housing up to a maximum of \$750.

I believe that the Land Authority should be empowered to use a portion of the rent or interest income from proportional profit farm operations for housing on Title V projects associated with proportional profit farms. It seems logical to assume that the returns from the land should provide housing for those who do the work. If such a plan is adopted, contracts could be entered into with settlers whereby a portion of the proportional profits might be used by the Land Authority in meeting amortization payments on houses built by the Land Authority or by other agencies. If the law does not already permit full cooperation by the Land Authority with Federal Agencies such as the one contemplated by the Wagner-Elender-Taft Housing Bill, it should be amended to provide for such cooperation.

W. E. PACKARD

ΕΝΑΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ

W. E. PACKARD

A GREAT AMERICAN FRIEND OF GREECE



Προτομή W. PACKARD εις την κεντρικήν πλα-
τείαν τῆς Κοινότητος Ἀνθίλης (Φθιώτιδος).



Bust of W. PACKARD in the central square of
the village ANTHILI

Εἰς τὸ προηγούμενον τεύχος ἀνηγγέθη ὁ θάνα-
τος τοῦ ἀειμνήστου W. E. PACKARD, ἐπιτίμου
μέλους τῆς Ε.Ε.Α.Α.

Ἡ εἰδησις τοῦ θανάτου του ἔφθασεν ἐνῶ τὸ Δελ-
τίον εὐρίσκατο ἐπὶ ἐκτίτωσιν. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ Ε.
Ε.Α.Α. ἀποτίουσα φόρον τιμῆς εἰς τὸν ἐκλιπόντα, δη-
μοσιεύει σήμερον τὰ κατωτέρω ἄρθρα τῶν κ.κ. Ἰω-
άννου Παλαιολόγου, ἐπιτίμου Γεν. Διευτοῦ Ἑπ. Γε-
ωργίας τέως ἀντιπροέδρου τῆς Ε.Ε.Α.Α. καὶ Γεωργ.
Παπαδοπούλου, ἀντιπροέδρου τῆς Δ.Ε.Α.Α. καὶ Γεν.
Γραμ. τῆς Ε.Ε.Α.Α., ἐπιτίμου Διευτοῦ Ἑπ. Γεωργί-
ας, οἱ ὅποιοι ὡς στενοὶ συνεργάται ἀφηγοῦνται τὰ
περὶ τῆς ἀξιολόγου συμβολῆς του εἰς τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν
τῶν Ἑγγειοβελτιωτικῶν Ἔργων κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν
τῆς παραμονῆς του ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ὡς μέλος τῆς Ἀμερι-
κανικῆς βοήθειας.

Ἡ Διεύσις τοῦ Δελτίου θεωρεῖ τὴν δημοσίευσιν
τῶν ὡς ἄνω ἄρθρων ὡς ἐλάχιστον δῆγμα ἀγάπης καὶ
εὐγνωμοσύνης πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὁ ὅποιος καίτοι
ξένος, ἠγωνίασθη, εἰργάσθη καὶ ἔδρασεν ὡς νὰ ἐπρό-
κειτο περὶ τῆς δευτέρας του πατρίδος, δίδων οὕτω
λαμπρὸν παράδειγμα ἀνθρωπιστοῦ, ἐπιστήμονος καὶ
ιδεολόγου.

The sad news of passing away of Mr. W. E. Packard, Hon. Member GCID, arrived when the N24 issue of this Bulletin was already under press.

In the present issue the «Bulletin GCID» presents two articles written in memory of the defunct by Messrs. J. Paleologue, Hon. Director General, Ministry of Agriculture and Past-Chairman GCID and G. Papadopoulos, Hon. Director of this very Ministry, Vice-President ICID and Secretary-General GCID.

The authors of these articles were among the closest collaborators of the deceased during the 6 years he spent in our country in the capacity of reclamation Adviser of the American Mission of Aid to Greece.

They describe their remembrances and personal impressions on the outstanding activity and contribution of the late W. Packard for the promotion of Land Reclamation in Greece.

The Direction of the «Bulletin GCID» by this publication pays an only very small tribute to the deceased who loved Greece as his second fatherland and whose attitude and activity present a bright example of a humanist, scientist and idealist.

ρήσησιν ζώντας την προτομή του (και μάλιστα για δεύτερη φορά το 1954) την όποιαν του έστισαν οι γεωργοί της Ανθής από δική τους πρωτοβουλία και με δικές τους δαπάνες, όταν πρωτοήλθε στην Ελλάδα, σε ένδειξη ευγνωμοσύνης.

Έτσι ο γέρο - PACKARD, τον όποιον οι Ανθιώτες ώνόμαζαν «παππούς», θά αντικρίξη για πάντα την πλατεία του χωριού με το αγαθό του μειδιάμα, με το όποιο άνοιξε και θησαυρούς που ήταν κρυμμένοι στην καρδιά των γεωργών και στην γή που καλλιεργούν. Θά άποτελή το σύμβολο, σε άτομα και έθνη της σημερινής και των μελλουσών γενεών, του συντο-

μότερου, άσφαλεστέρου και φθηνότερου δρόμου που οδηγεί στην κατάκτηση της καρδιάς ενός λαού.

Θά υπενθυμίξη στους συνεχιστές του έργου του, ότι τα μωσχέψματα που φύτεψε στην ελληνική γή δεν θά καταστήσουν ξηροί τίσσалоι, που ο λαός θά θυμάται με νοσταλγία, αλλά ζωντανά δένδρα, τα όποια θά πλαισιώνουν, με πολλά άλλα που θά φρεΐώνται στο μέλλον, την άτέλειωτη λεωφόρο της προόδου· μιας προόδου, που θά είναι έργον άγάπης και γνώσεως, μόχθου και συνεργασίας και που θά οδηγή άσφαλώς στην ελευθερία, στην άξιοπρέπεια του ανθρώπου και στην ειρήνη.

W. PACKARD 'S CONTRIBUTION IN LAND RECLAMATION IN GREECE

By JOHN PALEOLOGUE, Past Vice-Chairmn G.C.I.D., Hon. Director General, Ministry of Agriculture

During the occupation of Greece, in the years 1941 - 44, a group of Greek engineers of different disciplines (agricultural, pedological, hydraulic and mechanic) decided to study the reclamation of the saline and alkali soils of the country in an integrated way, each one contributing within his sphere of competence. These soils, extremely rich if ameliorated, and extending over an area of 250.000 acres, were giving very low if no yields at all.

Such a study, additionally to its practical interest, would constitute a model of the advantages of the cooperation of the various specializations indispensable nowadays for solving agricultural problems. Nevertheless, the realization of the study in question on a big scale seemed to be at that time rather an utopia.

The end of the Occupation, during which Greeks were thinking and discussing secretly and passionately about the future of their fatherland, meant also the end of the cooperation of the engineering world, which apparently started to be realized parallelly also in other sectors. The result was that, not only the alkali soils study was dropped, but also the very valuable minutes and conclusions, of the discussions on numerous technical and economic matters for the development of the national resources, were never drawn from obscurity, unless to serve personal ambitions and interests. In Greece the knowledge of the requirements of the country and the means to satisfy them was not missing, but it remained latent, as long as no attempt was made for a collective enterprise. Already, since 1929, large reclamation works were realized with the help of big American and English contractors, based on studies corresponding to the rather inadequate experience on drainage and irrigation at that period. Greek technicians of diverse disciplines were getting experience and were increasing in number. Even a special Service was created to carry on the work started with the foreign firms and to put agronomists, civil and

mechanical engineers under the same roof for closer cooperation.

The liberation of the country brought complete independence to everybody; it was an opportunity for the united Service to disintegrate into several small units, each one of them following different directions, frequently opposite and money was spent often regardless of results. Instead of a central authority assuming the planning and the coordination of the collective efforts of the technicians, belonging to the different disciplines, towards the realization of projects of high technical pattern and economic efficiency, there appeared a continuously increasing number of small offices of consulting engineers and contractors of a very marked single-person nature, even when these offices were adopting titles with technical terms, historical names or initials. And what was worse, any attempt to create larger units, even when no personal or professional interests were involved, was stifled before birth.

It is well known that disagreement results from activities of a large number of narrow minded persons being proportionate to their inertness and number, and that contrarily consolidation and organization can only be achieved by a group of strong personalities and more especially in Greece by a single person of high standard, who selects and educates his staff in the best possible way.

A man of that standard, or rather the right man at the right moment was made available by Providence to serve our country and mostly its rural population. He came from abroad, when the destruction and needs after the war, the occupation and the guerrilla fighting, were immense, and the State disarticulated, whilst, on the other hand, money and technical means were made available in plenty for the reconstruction of the country. Nevertheless, this plenty of funds was creating many intentions, that might as well deviate the use of them from stri-

ctly productive and highly efficient investments. And the man was the most suitable for the opportunity, because he was richly endowed not only with a many-sided education and experience, both being essential for the responsibilities he had to assume, and sustained by a very solid character and integrity, but also with a vitality exceptional for his age, and a genuine and unlimited love for Greece and the Greek farmers. All these attributes constituted a strong challenge for capital, prompt to contribute to the realization of large scale schemes. This man was WALTER PACKARD.

He graduated as agricultural and land reclamation engineer at Iowa State University in 1907 and took the Master's degree from the University of California in Berkeley, where was his last home. He worked as superintendent of the Agricultural Experimentation Station in the Imperial Valley in 1910 - 1917. He served successively in the Army Education Corps in France (1919), at the Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as an instructor of economics, at Mexico, as chief of the Mexican Government's National Irrigation Commission (1925 - 29), in the U.S.A., as National Director of the Rural Resettlement Administration, when he also played a prominent role in farm programs of the New Deal (1935-38), at Puerto Rico, as special consultant to its Government and in 1949 he came to Greece, where he worked for six years with the American Mission, as Director of Land Reclamation.

Walter Packard laid emphasis at once on his presence in Greece with the rice campaign, which was connected with the reclamation of the saline areas. As battlefield was selected the famous narrow pass of Thermopylae, with headquarters in the village Anthily (which means «flourishing» although it was not). The victory was impressive and had a world-wide effect. Increased production broadened the economic dimensions of the barren area and made of Anthily a really flourishing village. The operation was followed with more or less equal success in other regions, i.e. in the deltas of the larger rivers Axios, Lou-dias, Nestos (Macedonia), Acheloos (Western Greece) and Louros and Arachthos (Epirus). Farmers and even private enterprises soon joined the campaign in other parts of Greece and contributed with their capital and labour. The cultivated area with rice increased from 4.000 acres (prewar) to 55.000 acres (1954) and the production respectively from 4.000 to 88.000 tons of paddy. Even important exports were achieved as long as the international prices were satisfactory.

The success was due not only to the close cooperation of the Services of the Ministry of Agriculture under the inspired and enthusiastic leadership of W. Packard, always accompanied and encouraged by his wife Emma, but also to

the mobilisation of the producers, who put aside their reserves and dissensions and worked with much faith, pertinence and persistence. The new element that was introduced by W. Packard was that he left to the farmers the decision for starting a project, after having discussed patiently with them on the pros and cons and heard very attentively their opinions. It was inconceivable to him that a scheme, however beneficial it might be to the farmers, could be commenced without their agreement. Therefore, and because results never deceived him, he won with their confidence also their love.

The next concern of provident old Packard was the reclamation of the lagoons, which, contrary to the reclamation of the saline area, could not be carried out without serious studies and costly works. It is worth noticing that W. Packard wanted this study to start the soonest, even when there were still problems pending of paramount emergency. These problems, which by no means were to be delayed, were relevant to the alimentation of the population, that suffered during the war and occupation, the restoration of the ruins and the bringing back of the production to the prewar levels and possibly further increasing it. Anyhow, as far as the under-sea-level areas are concerned, although the respective master plans were made ready by 1952. (they were worked out by the Dutch firm GRONT MIJ Co), till now 800 acres were only reclaimed in the region of Messolonghi out of a total area of 10.000 acres as a consequence of many efforts, against as many difficulties and reactions.

Likewise, the contribution of Walter Packard to the mechanization of the post-war Greek agriculture and especially to the equipment of the Mechanical Cultivation Service of the Ministry of Agriculture was very noticeable and fruitful. Thanks to this heavy up to date field and workshop equipment, this Service was able to perform a great number of various land reclamation and road building operations, with high efficiency and low cost. The value of this equipment, including the 32 field repair units, amounted to 20 million dollars.

Another achievement of this great citizen of the United States, originated from his passionate love for Greece and her people and known only to a limited number of persons, was the creation of the Power Public Corporation. The humanist W. Packard did not want the money of the American people to serve for the enrichment of a private enterprise; on the contrary, he wanted it to be a public corporation, so that the benefits from the extended use of the electricity could be appropriated by the whole of the Greek people. And he succeeded it through obstinate struggles against tremendous reactions and risks, in which, it must be stressed, he had the full backing of the official Greek State through its Government.

But a man of vast vision and foresight, like W. Packard, could not limit his interest in solving the immediate problems concerning the survival of the Greek people. He could not leave this country, which he loved as a real Greek, without bequeathing to it a permanent guarantee, to secure that the aggregate of the schemes he visualized during his stay in Greece would be continued with the same necessary scientific method and efficiency, and that the farmers would govern them, with the proper administration, maintenance and operation. For this purpose, and after having initiated for the first time in this country the rule of preliminary studies and master plans, he formulated the need and put forth the basic features of large Service, which should concentrate, under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture, the overall responsibility of the land reclamation works, those works being essentially of agricultural nature and of vital importance for Greek agriculture and economy. Had he not insisted on incorporating in this new set-up the whole of the forestry, topographical and settlement Services of the Ministry, a risky undertaking at that period, he would have enjoyed the reward of attending the inauguration of the Land Reclamation Service (established later in 1953), which should be considered as a product of his thoughts and cares. He left definitely Greece in 1954, when he paid a

short visit to his beloved land and the glorious village of Anthily, flying from Berkeley of remote California, so much recalling him our country.

The U.S.A. State Department to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Marshall Plan asked Mr. and Mrs. Packard to go to their expense for a «home-coming» in Anthily; but Walter could not stand this trip. Sadly, he had to refuse... it was too late! But he did already have the unique privilege of paying, for the second time, tribute to his own bust, which the grateful farmers of Anthily erected by their own initiative and expense during his first stay in Greece.

Thus, W. Packard, named by the Anthilians «παπou» (grandfather), will be overlooking forever the square of Anthily with his loving smile, with which he opened the treasures hidden in the hearts of peasants and the soil they cultivate. He will be a symbol for individuals and nations of present and future generations of the shorter, surer and less expensive way of winning the heart of a nation. He will be a permanent reminder to the continuators of his undertakings, that the milestones he has implanted into the Greek soil, should not stay there as past deeds, much regretted of, but constitute a solid link for more milestones to mark new achievements upon the interminable road towards progress, via science, cooperation, man's dignity, love, liberty and peace.

Ο WALTER PACKARD ΩΣ ΣΥΝΕΤΑΙΡΙΣΤΗΣ

Υπό κ. Γ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αντιπροέδρου Δ.Ε.Α.Α., Επίτιμου Δ/ντου Υπουργ. Γεωργίας

Ο έκλιπών WALTER PACKARD, επίτιμον μέλος της ΕΓΣΑΑ, ήτο ένθερμος οπαδός της συνεταιριστικής ιδέας. Ο γράφων είχε κατά τα χρόνια της συνεργασίας μετ' αυτού πλείστας ευκαιρίας να διαπιστώση πόσον βαθέως ήσαν ριζωμένοι εις την ψυχήν του οι έννοιες του συνεργατισμού εις όλους τους τομείς των έκδηλώσεών του. Τεραστίαν σημασίαν απέδιδε ο W. PACKARD εις την οργάνωσιν των ώφελουμένων εκ των έγγειοβ. έργων άγροτών εις ειδικούς οργανισμούς λειτουργούντας βάσει των άρχών του συνεργατισμού. Παρέστημεν κατά τα έτη 1948 — 1954 εις πλείστας συγκεντρώσεις άγροτών εις τους οποίους ο W. PACKARD έξηγούσε με πάσαν λεπτομέρειαν την σημασίαν της συνεταιριστικής οργάνωσης αυτών δια την άνάληψιν υπ' αυτών τούτων των ώφελουμένων της διοικήσεως των έργων.

Η συμβολή του εις την άνάπτυξιν του θεσμού των τότε ΑΣΕΒ ήτο σημαντική. Το 1952 ο γράφων τον άκολουθήσε εις περιόδειαν εις Βόρειον Ελλάδα με σκοπόν την ίδρυσιν των πρώτων ΑΣΕΒ. Παρέστημεν κατά την μετάβασιν αυτήν εις πολλάς συσκέψεις με τους ύπευθύνους ύπηρεσιακάς παράγοντας τους οποίους με πειστικότητα προσεπάθησε ο W. PAC-

KARD να προσεταιρισή εις τον θεσμόν των αυτοδικουμένων Οργανισμών των ώφελουμένων εκ των έγγειοβ. έργων των λειτουργούντων επί συνεταιριστικής βάσεως. Τον ήκολουθήσαμε και εις την ύπαιθρον εις τας συγκεντρώσεις των άγροτών δια την ίδρυσιν των πρώτων τριών ΑΣΕΒ περιοχής έκβολών του Άξιού.

Η έπιρροή και το γόητρον του W. PACKARD ήτο τόσοσιν μεγάλο μεταξυ των άγροτών ώστε έντός της αυτής ήμέρας έπατεύθη ή ύπερψήφισις τριών Κατάστατικών ΑΣΕΒ υπό των οικείων Γενικών Συνελεύσεων. Έπαρόκειτο περι πραγματικού κατορθώματος δεδομένου ότι ο θεσμός των ΑΣΕΒ ήτο άγνωστος εις την περιοχήν αυτήν και εισήγγετο δια πρώτην φοράν.

Όταν ο W. PACKARD έφυγε από την Ελλάδα δεν έξέχασε τα προβλήματα των έγγειοβελτιωτικών έργων Ελλάδος και εις την άλληλογραφίαν μετά του γράφοντος πάντοτε συνέδραζε τα προβλήματα κατασκευής και αξιοποίησεως των έργων. Έργων με την συνεταιριστικήν οργάνωσιν των ώφελουμένων δια την διοίκησιν των έν λειτουργία έργων.

Κατωτέρω παραθέτομεν μερικά μόνον άποσπάσματα εκ της άλληλογραφίας αυτής.

"Ελαβον τὸ τεύχος πεπραγμένων τοῦ Α' Πανελλαδικοῦ Συνεδρίου τῶν Α.Σ.Ε.Β. Μοῖ φαίνεται διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν αὐτῶν τῶν Ὄργανισμῶν ἔχει ἐπιβραβεῖν οὐχὶ μόνον τοπικῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἐθνικὴν κλίμακα καὶ ἀποτελεῖ σημαντικὸν κατόρθωμα.

Πραγματικῶς πρόκειται περὶ νίκης τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ἀρχῶν.

(21 Νοεμβρίου 1957).

Νομίζω ὅτι ἔχετε τὴν ὀρθὴν ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν Τ.Ο.Ε.Β. καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεσμὸς οὗτος πρέπει νὰ κυριαρχήσῃ εἰς τὰ προγράμματα ἔργων Ἑλλάδος.

(11 Μαρτίου 1960).

"Ἡ παῖρα τῆς συνεργασίας μου μὲ τὰ Ὑπουργεῖα Δημιουργίας ἔργων καὶ Γεωργίας μὲ ἔπεισαν ὅτι πρέπει νὰ συσταθῇ ἐνοποιημένη Ὑπηρεσία Ἑγγ. Βελτιώσεων ἐντὸς τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Γεωργίας.

"Ἐγὼ ἐπίσης ὑποστηρίζω τὸν θεσμὸν τῶν Α.Σ.Ε.Β., ὑπευθύνων Ὄργανισμῶν Λειτουργίας καὶ Συντηρήσεως τῶν ἀρδευτικῶν καὶ στραγγιστικῶν ἔργων. Ἐπίστευα ὅτι ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν ὀργανώσεως θὰ δώσει εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐθύνης καὶ συμπλοκῆς εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν. Ἡ ἀνάγκη αὕτη, ἐκυριαρχοῦσε εἰς τὰς σκέψεις μου ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅτι στερεοτύπως οἱ ἀγρόται κατὰ τὰ πρῶτα χρόνια τοῦ προγράμματος ἔγγ. ἔργων ἐξεδήλωσαν τοὺς φόβους ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ θὰ τοὺς ἐπιβάρυναν ὑπερμέτρως καὶ ἐνδεχομένως ἐκ τοῦ δανεισμοῦ τῶν θὰ ἐδῆμιουργεῖτο κίνδυνος ἀπωλείας τῶν κτημάτων τῶν.

"Ἡ ἐμπιστοσύνη μου εἰς τὸν θεσμὸν τῶν Α.Σ.Ε.Β. ἔχει ἐνισχυθῆ ἐκ τῶν συνεδριάσεων τῶν Γεν. Συνελεύσεων εἰς τὰς ὁποίας παρέστην. Τὰ μέλη τῶν Συνελεύσεων αὐτῶν ἔδειχναν ἠριμότητα κρίσεως καὶ τὴν καλὴν θέλησιν εἰς τὰς ληφθῆσομένας ἀποφάσεις. Ἰσοθνήσκον ὅτι μὲσω τῶν Ὄργανισμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεπτύσσοντο σημαντικῶς οἱ δημοκρατικοὶ θεσμοί.

(Σεπτέμβριος 1964).

"Ἐπίσης δίδομεν πρὸς δημοσιεύσιν τὸ ληφθὲν χωρικηριστικὸν μήνυμα τοῦ ἐκλιπόντος τὸ ὁποῖον οὗτος συνέταξε διὰ τὸ Β' Πανελλαδικὸν Συνέδριον τῶν ΤΟΕΒ. Τὸ Συνέδριον αὐτὸ εἶχε προγραμματισθῆ ἀρχικῶς διὰ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ 1965, ἀνεβλήθη ἀργότερον διὰ τὴν ἀνοιξιν τοῦ 1966 καὶ δὲν ἔλαβε εἰσέτι χώρον λόγῳ τῆς πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως.

Ἄγαπητοὶ Συνεδροί,

Χαιρετισμούς συγχαρητήρια καὶ καλύτερας εὐχὰς διὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ μέρους ἐνὸς Ἀμερικανοῦ παλαιῶ ὡς φίλου.

Οὐδέποτε θὰ ξεχάσω τὴν συγκίνησιν τὴν ἔσθαι ἡθάνθην διὰ πρῶτην φοράν παρέστην εἰς τὴν σύστασιν ἐνὸς ἀρδευτικοῦ Α.Σ.Ε.Β. τὸ 1952. Ἡ νέα ἀλλαγὴ τῆς Γενικῆς

Συνέλευσις τοῦ Α.Σ.Ε.Β. Ἄρτης συνεδρίαζε διὰ πρῶτην φοράν. Ματὰ βλοσυροῦς συζητήσεων ἐπὶ θεμάτων ἀφροσύνης τὴν ἀνάληψιν εὐθηνῶν λειτουργίας, συντηρήσεως καὶ ἐλέγχου τῶν νέων κατασκευασθέντων ἀρδευτικῶν καὶ στραγγιστικῶν δικτύων, ἐπατεβόθη ἐπιμόρφος ἀπόφασις τῆς Γενικῆς Συνελεύσεως μὲ ἀνάληψιν σημαντικῶν οικονομικῶν ὑποχρεώσεων. Ὅταν ἔλγχε ἡ ψηφοφορία, κατὰλαβεν ὅτι ἡ ἐμπιστοσύνη μου εἰς τὴν ὀρθὴν κρίσιν καὶ ἀκεραιότητα τῶν ἐλλήνων γεωργῶν ἐβασιζέτο ἐπὶ στερεῶν θεμελίων.

"Ὅταν ἐφυγα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ 1954 εἶχον συσταθεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι Α.Σ.Ε.Β. καὶ σήμερον, ὡς πληροφοροῦμαι, λειτουργοῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν 300 Τ.Ο.Ε.Β. Δὲν νομίζω ὅτι ἔπληρξε πλέον δημοκρατικῶς τρόπος διοικήσεως τῶν ἔργων παρὰ διὰ τῶν Συνεταιρισμῶν. Ἐλπίζω ὅτι ὁ συνεργατισμὸς θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ ἔξοδον διὰ τὴν αποτελεσματικὴν ἀνεπτυξίαν ἑλλων τῶν προβλημάτων τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ.

Εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τῶν Τ.Ο.Ε.Β. ἡ διοίκησις καὶ ὁ ἐλεγχος ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων εὐρίσκεται εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ λαοῦ. Αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι ἀποτελοῦν τὰς βάσεις τῶν δημοκρατικῶν αὐτῶν Ὄργανισμῶν εἶναι αἱ ἀρχαὶ διακλινομένης δημοκρατίας ἡ ὁποία εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, λίχνον τῆς Δημοκρατίας, προβλέπω ὅτι θὰ ἔχη λαμπρὸν μέλλον.

Στέλλοντας αὐτοὺς τοὺς χαιρετισμούς, ἀναμνησκόμεθα τὰ ὅλα χρόνια τῆς παραμονῆς μου ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Ἦταν τὰ πλέον αὐτῆς χρόνι τῆς ζωῆς μου. Αἰσθάνομαι ὑπερηφάνειαν διὰ τὰς ἡμέτερας ἐπιτεύγματα καὶ εὖς εὐχομαι καὶ ὅλα ἐπιτυχίαν.

Με ἐγκαρδίως εὐχὰς

WALTER PACKARD

Μπέρκαλεϋ, Καλιφορνια, τῆ 22-1-1966

Ἰνωρίζομεν ποῖαν τεραστίαν σημασίαν ἔδινε ὁ W. PACKARD εἰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἶδους τὰς ἐκδηλώσεις τῶν συνεταιριστικῶν ὀργανώσεων καὶ μὲ πόσον ἐνδιαφέρον θὰ ἐπληροφορεῖτο ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τοῦ Συνεδρίου καὶ θὰ παρακολουθοῦσε τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν αὐτῶν. Ὁ θάνατος ὅμως δὲν τοῦ ἐπέτρεψε νὰ παραστή ἔστω νεκρῶς εἰς τὰς ἐργασίας τοῦ Συνεδρίου. Ἐγώμου πάντως βέβαιον ὅτι ὅταν τὸ Συνέδριον τοῦτο θὰ λάβῃ χώραν (καὶ θὰ λ α β η δ ο π σ δ ἦ π ο τ ε χώραν τὴν κατάλληλον ὄραν), οἱ συνέδριοι θὰ ἀποτίσουν φόρον τιμῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ ὁποῖος, καίτοι ξένος, δὲν ἔπαυσε ποτὲ νὰ ἐνδιαφέρεται διὰ τὴν προώθησιν καὶ ἀνάπτυξιν τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῶν αὐτοδιοικουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγροτῶν Ὄργανισμῶν ἔγγ. βελτιώσεων ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

W. E. PACKARD AS A FERVENT COOPERATOR

By G. E. PAPAPOULOS, Vice - President I.C.I.D., Honor. Director, Ministry of Agriculture

(Abstract)

The article deals with the activity of the late W. E. Packard, Hon. Member GCID, as regards the extension of the cooperative ideas in the field of the reclamation Organizations.

As a fervent adept of the cooperative movement, W. Packard attached great importance to the organization of the project beneficiaries in special Boards (Districts), operating on democratic basis. He considered the cooperative spirit as the prevalent conception for an adequate organization of the beneficiaries in order to administrate

their projects. Such organizations are the most suitable to secure a proper Operation and Maintenance of schemes placed under the control of the beneficiaries.

The author further remembers different incidents of the activity of W. Packard in this field during his stay in Greece as Land Reclamation Adviser to the Greek Government. Finally he presents the texts of the address prepared by the late W. E. Packard for the Second All-Greek Congress of Reclamation Districts (TOEV).

(This Congress, although planned for spring 1966, is still pending).

Article by Walter Packard, The Nation, April 8, 1961

HOW to WIN with FOREIGN AID.. by *Walter E. Packard*

THE SPIRIT of President Kennedy's new approach to our relationship with the people of Latin America is refreshing, but its content is basically inadequate. It leaves the most meaningful issues untouched: Who is to own the industrial resources of Latin America? Who is to control their use? The questions are vital because the resources involved are Latin America's basic capital.

At present these resources are owned largely by the stockholders of American corporations in partnership with vested interests in Latin America—the classic capitalist pattern. Communists favor ownership and control by the “workers and peasants” on the syndicalist pattern. There is another method of ownership and control: the pattern exemplified by the TVA, the Federal Bureau of Reclamation, the State and Federal Forest Services and municipal and other district organizations, for instance, or by consumer cooperatives of various sorts, such as the International Cooperative Petroleum Association (which has headquarters in Kansas City and branches in twenty other countries of the world). I might add that the last named of these three divergent patterns of collective ownership has been by far the fastest growing segment of our own

WALTER E. PACKARD, an agricultural engineer, has had a distinguished career administering various resettlement and reclamation projects both here and abroad (including Puerto Rico and Greece).

dual economy since the beginning of the twentieth century, if military expenditures are not credited to the private-profit segment.

The evidence is clear that the people of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Indonesia and countries of Asia identify colonialism not only with political domination, now rapidly passing from the scene, but, more meaningfully, with the economic exploitations of their industrial potentials by foreign corporations seeking profits. If the President's program does not meet this issue to the satisfaction of the people of Latin America, there is very real danger that Latin America will follow Cuba into the Communist orbit.

OUR official position with regard to the issue posed by the three divergent patterns of collective action is strikingly inconsistent. Where our policies are governed by the State Department's interest in protecting American investments abroad, we usually support the capitalist pattern. Where our policies are controlled by agencies of the government whose aims are to promote the welfare of the people of other countries on a basis which serves our interests as well as theirs, we usually support public and consumer cooperative ownership and control.

In Greece, for example, where our aid program was eminently successful, 85 per cent of our non-military aid was used to finance public and consumer cooperative enterprise. The establishment of such policies, how-

ever, was not always without conflict. Some individuals in the Economic Cooperation Administration in Greece favored a plan by which a large American corporation would own and operate the power systems that were to be built. This policy was supported by the head of the power division of ECA in Washington, a former vice president of a privately owned power system, and by his assistant in the Paris office who was also a former employee of private-power interests. The man in the American Embassy in Athens, who represented the State Department policies on power, also supported the private-power program. But the people of Greece, who had been the serfs in a feudal order governed by the Turks who owned the land, did not want their second most important resource owned by the stockholders of a foreign corporation to whom they would have to pay a never-ending tribute. The Greek-American Power Committee recommended public power. Within days after the committee's report reached the Paris office, the U. S. power representative came to Athens to find out what was going on. His first question was “Who wants public power?” The answer was “The people of Greece want it.” His reply was highly disturbing: “What have they to say about it? Who's putting up the money?”

To make a long story short, the public-power policy prevailed. A Public Power Corporation was established on the TVA pattern and a

publicly owned and operated power network now serves all parts of Greece; the bonds of the operating corporation demand the highest premium on the Greek investment market. No single program did as much to promote the democratic interests in Greece as did this public-power program.

A MORE dramatic conflict of ideology within our own government agencies is presented by the divergent policies we have followed in our relationships with the people of Puerto Rico and Cuba. When in 1898 Congress was debating the provisions of the Organic Act under which Puerto Rico was to be governed, a widely felt fear was expressed that U. S. corporations would own all the valuable land in Puerto Rico in the "shortest possible time" unless Congress took steps to prevent it. "If such concentration of holdings shall become the case," said one Congressman, "then the condition of the population will, I believe, be reduced to one of absolute servitude. The people of Puerto Rico will be driven to cultivate the lands for these corporations at whatever daily wage they choose to pay them."

Following the passage of the Organic Act, the lack of effective political leadership in Puerto Rico, together with apathy on the part of Congress, caused conditions in the island to grow worse. By 1940, fifty-one corporations owned or leased 240,000 acres of land in violation of the law. In addition to this, land held by individuals in excess of 500 acres totaled a little more than twice the area illegally held by corporations. As a result of this and other factors, the living conditions of the majority of the people of Puerto Rico reflected the worst fears expressed by Congress in 1898.

A completely new spirit was created in the economic and social atmosphere in Puerto Rico by two supplementary events. The Popular Party, under the dynamic leadership of Luis Muñoz Marín, came to power in Puerto Rico and the jurisdiction of Puerto Rican affairs, so far as the United States was concerned, was transferred to the Department of the Interior.

The policies of the Department were conditioned by the character of its responsibilities at home. These included the enforcement of the 160-acre limitation of the Reclamation Act; the administration of the public-power program of the Bureau of Reclamation (the biggest single power enterprise in the United States); the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with its responsibility for a large group of underprivileged people; the administration of the WPA, with its interest in employment and the development of public works; and, finally, its over-all responsibility for protecting the public interest in the public lands, water and mineral resources of the nation.

Under these conditions, it was natural for the Department of the Interior to support the Popular Party's program. Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell, former Administrator of the Resettlement Administration and former President of the New York City Planning Commission, was appointed as Governor of Puerto Rico.

ONE OF the first acts of the newly established Popular Party was to initiate an extensive land-reform program. Over 40 per cent of the corporate-owned land in Puerto Rico was taken by condemnation proceedings and was turned over to a newly created Land Authority which proceeded to grow sugar cane, pineapples and the like in somewhat the same way that our own Forest Service grows trees. This action, moreover, was upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals in the United States, which ruled that the people of Puerto Rico had the right to own their land if they so wished. A Public Power Authority was created to take over all power facilities. The charter of the Puerto Rico Development Company provided that all new enterprises were to be publicly owned. In accordance with this policy a number of very useful public enterprises were established, including a cement plant to provide the material needed for road construction and housing, a glass plant to make bottles for the export of rum, and a paper factory which utilized waste materials to make cartons for shipping the rum bottles. Extensive

programs of housing, slum clearance and school construction were initiated with American aid. Everything that could be reasonably done to raise the level of living of the people of Puerto Rico was done.

The fact that some of the policies established during Tugwell's governorship were later replaced by the policies of the highly subsidized "Operation Bootstrap" in no way lessens the significance of the fact that the Department of the Interior supported programs of public ownership and consumer cooperation. (It is interesting to note that the Puerto Rican industrialist who bought the publicly-owned cement plant established during Tugwell's governorship, is now an opponent of both Muñoz Marín and the Popular Party.)

In sharp contrast to these policies in Puerto Rico, the State Department refused recognition of Grau San Martín of Cuba when he overthrew the viciously corrupt administration of President Machado. By so doing, the State Department paved the way for Batista's rise to power. Because Batista was avowedly anti-Communist, the United States supplied him with arms and ammunition, which he used to maintain his corrupt administration. And, when Fidel Castro's revolution forced Batista to flee, the State Department, instead of working with Castro in an effort to guide his program along democratic lines as the Department, instead of working with Castro. Muñoz Marín in Puerto Rico, put every obstacle in his way. By establishing an embargo on exports and imports vital to the Cuban economy, the State Department made repayments of equities in enterprises taken over by the government impossible and forced Cuba to look to Russia and China for trade.

As a result of these two contrasting policies of our government, Puerto Rico is well on the road toward economic viability on a democratic pattern, while Cuba has been forced into the Communist orbit.

WHEN the people of Latin America appraise our position in Cuba (where almost as many people were killed under Batista's rule as were killed in the Hungarian revolt) and see

American oil, steel and other corporate interests in virtual control of the oil and mineral resources, it is not surprising that the landless and otherwise disadvantaged people of Latin America should see much to their liking in Castro's revolution.

Two fundamental facts must be recognized if the President's program of aid to Latin America is to be effective.

1. We in the United States will be increasingly dependent upon the oil and mineral resources of Latin America. Although we represent less than 7 per cent of the world's population, we are consuming nearly half of the world's production of industrial raw materials. If we do nothing to lower our birth rate, we will have a population of over 500 million within the lifetime of many now living and our presently easily acquired, indigenous raw materials eventually will be gone and we will be in competition with other industrialized and industrializing nations for access to the remaining oil and mineral reserves outside of our boundaries.

2. Latin America, in sharp contrast, is at the threshold of a great period of industrial development. Its natural resources are its basic capital. These reserves must provide not only the raw materials to be used in the industrial development programs of Latin America, but must be the source of the investment capital needed to finance these programs.

Our need for raw materials and Latin America's need for investment capital are complementary. If our policies and the policies of the people of Latin America are based upon the acceptance of industrialization as a means of increasing the carrying capacity of the resources of the world in terms of happy, healthy and industrious people, rather than as a means of aggrandizement for the few, a mutually beneficial relationship can be established. Under these conditions, we would get the raw materials we need and the people of Latin America would get the capital investment they must have to develop their own industries.

If, on the other hand, the United States continues to support a growing ownership and control of the resources of Latin America by Ameri-

can corporate interests, the American corporations will get the raw materials they need, the stockholders will get the profits they want — profits which are badly needed as investment capital by the people of Latin America — and the taxpayers of the United States, who, as consumers, supply the corporate profits, will be called upon to provide aid for the schools, highways and other non-profit enterprises as a peace offering in support of the right of American corporations to exploit the resources of Latin America.

Aid should be given in liberal amounts. But this aid should be used, in large part, in developing the ability of the people of Latin America to finance and control their own industrial potential.

Democracy, when properly interpreted, is the soundest and most dynamic concept so far devised. Capitalism and democracy are not synonymous terms. Democracy, in principle, envisages a social order in which both sovereignty and the ownership and control of the common sources of supply and means of livelihood are the prerogatives of "We, the people." We and the people of other Western democracies are the principal exponents of both economic and political democracy. If we and they employ the public and consumer cooperative segment of our own dual economies in our relationship with the people of Latin America and other similar areas, democracy will "bury" communism in all uncommitted areas of the world.

Consumer Co-op Approach to Peace

Walter E. Packard of Berkeley, Calif., traveling east, stopped on Jan. 30 in Kansas City, Mo., to visit at the headquarters of Consumers Cooperative Association.

He was en route to New York City to seek a publisher for his book — his first book. On Feb. 22 he will be 77 years old.

He had also a couple of other ideas in mind. He wants to propose a "Social Science Year" as a counterpart to the International Geophysical Year, (1958), during which the countries of the world worked together to extend their common knowledge of the earth. And he wants to urge renewal in the United Nations of discussion of the fair-to-all-nations administration of Middle East oil.

He knew of Howard A. Cowden's long interest in this latter problem and leadership in development of the International Cooperative Petroleum Association. He wanted to compare notes.

The title Packard has in mind for his book is *The Case for Democracy in the Atomic Age*.

The book's theme is that the "consumer approach" — the voluntary association and action of people as users — is the surest way to avert atomic war, produce and distribute the goods the world's people want, and further the growth of democracy. He argues that this approach has much better prospects than either communism or traditional capitalism.

gether in peace," he says. "It will have the support of the neutral nations."

Packard is a member of the consumers cooperative in Berkeley. Aside from that, he has arrived at his views not from a career in cooperatives but from a career in engineering and related fields. And his career has taken him to many places.

There's a marble bust of him in Anthilli (near Thermopylae) in Greece — "probably," he says, "the only statue in Greece with a bow tie." The people erected it after he helped them reclaim centuries-dormant salt lands to grow rice.

He was in Greece 6½ years — with the first postwar mission that went there under the direction of former Nebraska Governor Dwight Griswold and later with the Economic Cooperation Administration. He helped the Greeks with flood control, irrigation, drainage, reforestation, and power development. One of his delights to recall is that he got a public power program established on the TVA pattern, winning his battle against the private power interests.

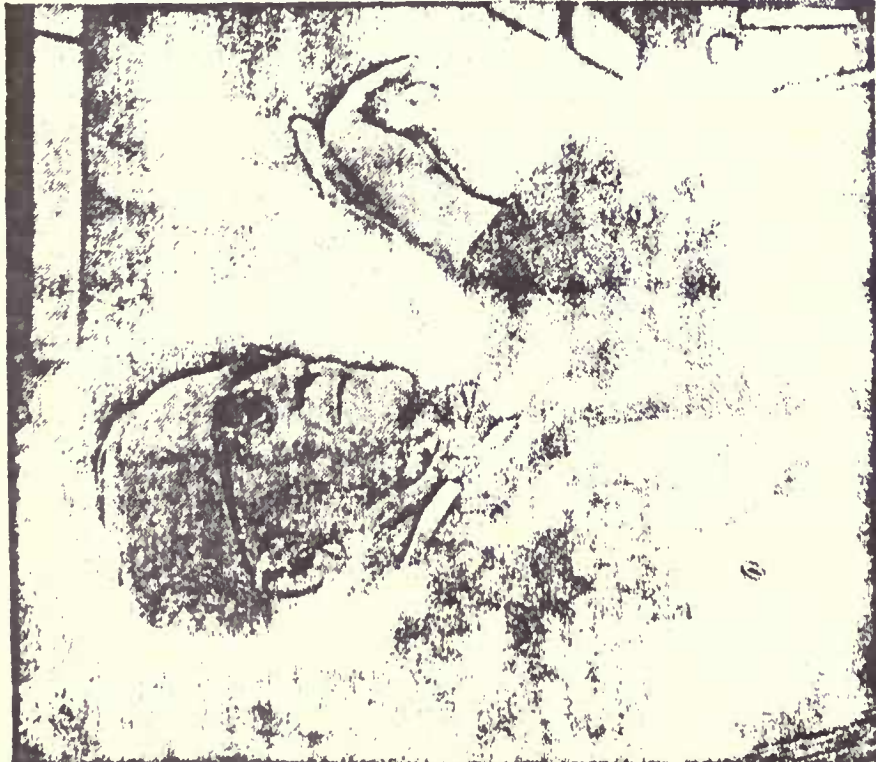
Earlier (1945-57) he was with Governor Rexford G. Tugwell in Puerto Rico. He has worked also in Venezuela, Jamaica, Mexico, and Cuba. In 1919 he was in the France with the A. E. F.

Packard got his first college degree in soils — at Iowa State in 1907. Two years later he got his degree in engineering at the University of California. And when 11 years later he got a de-

of Wauke, Ia., were (and still are) married. Whenever they go back to Wauke, he's impressed with the growth of the co-op.

Soils man, engineer, economist, traveler, teacher (at both Harvard and MIT), and longtime worker for both government and private business — out of his experience Packard has come to his belief in the consumer-cooperative approach.

His idea of the "Social Science Year" is to get the thoughtful leaders of the nations to "put their cards on the table" and truly consider, apart from national traditions and prejudices what would best enable this danger-laden old world to move ahead.



WALTER PACKARD: "Only statue in Greece with a bow tie."

SHOULD BERKELEY OWN ITS OWN POWER DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM
AND BUY ITS POWER FROM SOME SUITABLE PUBLIC AGENCY

by

Walter E. Packard

Mayor Johnson and Members of the Berkeley City Council:

I have been asked to discuss the issues involved in the following questions: "(1) Should Berkeley own its own power distribution system? (2) Should Berkeley buy its power from the Bureau of Reclamation, or from some other public agency able to supply power at comparable rates? Berkeley does neither of these now. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company owns the distribution system and supplies the power.

At the beginning I wish to dispose of two largely semantic factors which often confuse the issue. One concerns the interpretation of the term "public vs. private." Power distribution is a natural monopoly that can be owned by either of two corporate entities. The system in Berkeley is now owned by the stockholders of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. If the system were publicly owned, it would be the property of the people of Berkeley who, as individuals, are just as "private" as are the stockholders of the P. G. & E. We are called public because we, as the sum total of all private individuals in Berkeley, are the public, while the stockholders are not. They are a minority, a small proportion of those who live in Berkeley. From an ideological standpoint both systems represent collective action. Each group gets its franchise from the State. Each group acts in its own interest.

There is nothing new or sinister about owning our own power system. We already own the building in which we are meeting; the streets and sidewalks we used in getting here; the system which supplies us with the water we use. We also own the schools and libraries which serve our needs. We, and others in the State, own the University of California which adds luster and distinction to our town and State. Why not add a consumer-owned power system to this list of public enterprises?

A common statement that is often used to confuse the issue is that a public power system does not pay taxes. The answer to this criticism is that the power users pay the tax whether it is public or private. For example, the P.G.&E., as a corporation, paid \$147,595.76 in property taxes and \$103,837.73 in franchise taxes to the City of Berkeley in 1964. But this was not paid by the stockholders of the P.G.&E. who own the system. The money was paid by you and me in the rates we were charged for the energy we used. If we owned the system, we could choose to do the same thing. We could contribute a like sum to the city in lieu of taxes. Some cities which won their own power systems do this. Others do not. Most of them follow both policies,--that is,--have some of the income they get as owners of the system passed on to consumers in lower rates and use some for civic improvement.

The primary issue in the controversy over who should own the power system of Berkeley concerns the distribution of the profits which are, in principle, the incomes to enterprise, ownership and control. The money representing those incomes under P.G.&E. ownership, is paid out by all power users in Berkeley in the rates they are charged for power and is channeled

into the hands of the stockholders of the P.G.&E., very few of whom, as previously stated, live in Berkeley. If we, the consumers of power in Berkeley, owned the system, the same amount of money, in principle, could be passed back to us in lower rates. This would automatically increase the purchasing power of the take home pay of all labor. Based upon a conservative estimate of the present value of the physical property in Berkeley, which comes to about \$15,000,000. and upon other factors, it is reasonable to assume that Berkeley could save \$1,000,000. per year or perhaps as much as Palo Alto's saving of \$1,914,000. from owning its own system. Half of the saving would be immediate because Municipal bonds could be sold in the neighborhood at 3%, while P.G.&E. is allowed a profit of 6%. When the bonds are retired the city would own the system and enjoy the total saving. In addition it is reasonable to assume that the City can make another \$1,500,000. to \$3,000,000. by buying power from the Bureau of Reclamation or from a publically-owned atomic energy plant, discussed later on.

That such savings are possible is evidenced by the following examples:

Over the five year period from 1956 to 1960, the consumers of power in the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, which owns its own distribution system and buys power from the Bureau of Reclamation at a cost of 4.15 mill per kilowatt hour (see footnote #1), save \$24,731,000. or an average saving of \$4,860,000. per year as compared with what they would have had to pay if they had purchased power from the P.G.&E. at rates charged to other cities of comparable size.

Palo Alto has also owned its electric distribution system for many years. In the fiscal year, 1963-64, the net electric revenue, after paying \$266,358. into the general fund in lieu of taxes, was \$1,914,663. just from the ownership of its own distribution system. An additional annual saving of \$1,050,000. was made during the same fiscal year through the recently implemented contract with the Bureau of Reclamation. The City Managers office write that "a major portion of these savings has been returned directly to the consumers in the form of lower rates. The balance of the funds are designated for system improvement and undergrounding existing overhead installations."

Santa Clara, in like manner, owns its own distribution system and will make an estimated saving of over \$1,000,000. per year by buying power from the Bureau of Reclamation at a rate of 4.33 mills per kwh as compared to the rate of 7.25 mills per kwh now charged by the P.G.&E.

The City of Alameda saves about \$900,000. by owning its own distribution system although buying power from the P.G.&E.

Ukiah, a relatively small city, saves in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars per year through their ownership of their distribution system.

Footnote #1: From a letter dated August 1, 1965, from William J. Nolan, Acting General Manager of SMUD.

The Regents of the University of California have already made an annual saving of \$137,000. by buying power from the Bureau of Reclamation for the Davis Campus. This sum is much less than the savings which the Regents hope to make by buying power for the Berkeley Campus from the Bureau system.

R. W. Beck and Associates, who made a study of the power needs of the Berkeley Campus, reported in part as follows:

"The purchase of a block of approximately 38,000 kilowatts of power from the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation under USBR rate schedules available to preference customers in the area, will result in a minimum saving of approximately \$4,000,000. during the nine year period studied. During such period, the University will have acquired a transmission facility valued at approximately \$4,000,000. interconnecting the Berkeley Campus with the Federal Transmission system."

"If additional Federal power becomes available through the construction of new projects in California or through interconnections with other areas, such as the proposed Pacific Northwest-Southwest Intertie additional savings on the order of \$800,000. per year may be realized beyond 1972." (see Footnote #2)

Since the Beck report was submitted to the Regents the Berkeley Campus has been allocated 66,000 kilowatts of power by the Secretary of the Interior. This is nearly twice the power estimate used in the Beck report and substantially increases the possibility of savings.

It should be kept in mind that all of the savings above mentioned will increase each year with the growth of the energy load. None of these cities wishes to return to P.G.&E. ownership.

These same general facts apply from coast to coast. The low cost power areas in the United States are where public power dominates.

In view of these facts, I earnestly urge that the City Council of Berkeley give serious consideration (1) to acquiring ownership of the P.G.&E. system within the city limits and (2) to join with others in searching for new sources of low cost power including a study of the desirability of establishing a large publicly-owned nuclear plant in the Delta area.

The first of these recommendations can be implemented through the procedures already established in the Berkeley City Ordinance #3474 entitled, "Purchase by City," which says:

"This franchise shall at all times be held and exercised by Grantee (the P.G.&E.) subject to the right of the city

Footnote #2: From conclusions of Preliminary Feasibility Report on Electric Power Generation for the University of California by R. W. Beck & Associates, dated December, 1962.

to purchase by voluntary agreement with Grantee or by condemnation, so much of the electric property of the Grantee located within the limits of the city as the city may elect."

The second recommendation is far more complex in its ramifications and far more fundamental in its implications.

The 1962 Task Force Report of the Department of the Interior predicts that the power load in Northern California will double by 1970 and will double again by 1985. This means that the power load in Northern California, twenty years hence, will be four times what it was in 1962.

The first problem this estimate creates is an amplification of the problem of ownership we face in Berkeley. If this anticipated increase in the power load in Northern California materializes and the rate of profit to the P.G.&E. remains the same as now, the stockholders of the P.G.&E. will be getting the neighborhood of \$500,000,000. per year if they own the increased power facilities. In principle, under public ownership that half billion dollars per year would be passed on to all power users in lower rates which, as previously pointed out, would automatically increase the real wages of all labor. It would also provide a double barreled gun to use in the war on poverty.

Two factors illustrate the nature of this ownership issue:

(1) The fundamental importance of having the income from the ownership of power passed on to the consumer-labor majority rather than being concentrated in the hands of the stockholders of the P.G.&E. is highlighted by the fact that, with every advance in automation and cybernation non-human sources of energy replace labor energy in ever expanding fields. In this process the ownership of the used energy passes out of the hands of labor and goes to the owners of the new energy. Only through public ownership can all labor regain the incomes from ownership they have lost.

(2) When peace comes, as it eventually must, defense spending will have to be replaced by a vast increase in peacetime public spending which will have to rest on mass buying power, including a re-capture of rents and royalties from socially created land values which have passed hundreds of billions of dollars in taxable land values into the hands of a land owning minority.

This is neither the time nor the place to analyze these two factors in detail. But it is important to point to the related significance of a second fact revealed by the Task Force Report. It predicts that 70 per cent of new power load in Northern California will come from thermal plants. The Atomic Energy Commission, in its turn, believes that all large new thermal plants will be fueled by atomic energy rather than by fossil fuels. This introduces to new factors:

One concerns the extent of the demand for power. And no report could dramatize the nature of this need more convincingly than that presented by the authors of "The Next Hundred Years,"--all of whom are scientists of the California Institute of Technology. They say that

the easily acquired industrial raw materials which now feeds the production lines of industry, will be gone or greatly depleted within the lifetime of many now living. But they say, too, that we and all the peoples of the world can get the raw materials we need from the sea, the air, and the soil and rocks of the earth's crust PROVIDED WE HAVE THE ENORMOUS VOLUME OF ENERGY THAT WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE PROCESS:

What then, are the facts about the energy supply? The Atomic Energy Commission, headed by Dr. Glen Seaborg, one time Chancellor of the University of California says in the 1962 report to the President:

"Comparison of the estimate of fossil fuel resources with projections of the rapidly increasing rate of energy consumption predicts that, if no additional forms of energy were utilized, we would exhaust our readily available low cost, fossil fuels in a century or less and our presently visualized supply in about another century."

So, within a short period--about equal to the period that has elapsed since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution--we and all the world will be dependent very largely upon the kinetic energy of falling water including the force of the tides, the energy of the sun's rays acting through the process of photosynthesis and the pent-up energy of the atom as our primary sources of energy. No figment of a sane imagination could assume that these sources of energy should be owned by the few at the expense of the many.

These developing circumstances provide a basis for amplifying my second recommendation by urging that Berkeley join with the Board of Regents of the University of California, the State Department of Water Resources, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation and the cities of Santa Clara, Palo Alto, and Alameda, each of which own their own distribution systems, in a study of the desirability of establishing a 500,000 kilowatt atomic energy plant in the Delta area to serve as a yardstick in the atomic energy field.

That the use of nuclear power would result in large savings is indicated by the following quotation from the 1962 report of the Atomic Energy Commission to the President:

"Under conservation cost assumptions, it is estimated that by the end of the century the projected use of nuclear power would result in cumulative savings in generation costs of about \$30 billions. The annual savings would be between \$4 and \$5 billion."

The measure of the differential in rates is provided by a report to the State Department of Water Resources which says that nuclear energy can be developed for use in the State Water Plan for as low as 2.9 mills per kwh which is lower than any but the power from the most favorably located hydro plant.

The cost of a preliminary study of the kind that I have in mind would cost from \$25,000 to \$35,000 to be divided among the co-operating agencies.

That this is not a novel suggestion is shown by the following quote from the report of the R. W. Beck & Associates to the Board of Regents:

"A definite analysis of the possible development of nuclear power generation, must be undertaken in close coordination with the Atomic Energy Commission and other regulatory agencies and must reflect conditions and criteria which are beyond the scope of this preliminary study. In addition, the nuclear plant does not lend itself readily to small units which could be accommodated into a plan of firm power supply for the loads contemplated herein, but rather should be integrated into a larger system which can supply the necessary reserve capacity and can allow the nuclear plant to be operated at a high plant factor."

The suggestion I have made regarding the nuclear plant would provide the means of integrating the Berkeley Campus needs "into a larger system" as suggested by the Beck report to the Board of Regents.

I make no apology for presenting the power issue in Berkeley in the context of this broader horizon. It is my belief that one of the causes of the social and economic problems which are giving us trouble at home and abroad is that we do not see the full picture in perspective.

Thank you for your courtesy in hearing me.

Tuesday, Nov. 1, 1966
SAN FRANCISCO
CHRONICLE

Engineer Walter E. Packard Dies

Walter E. Packard, an engineer who dedicated his great skills to the betterment of man, died yesterday at his Berkeley home. He was 82.

He was a man who put the tools of this century to work to build the enduring monument of a better life in California's Imperial Valley, in Mexico, Venezuela and, perhaps most significantly, in villages of Greece where he created harvests of abundance where only hunger had walked before.

Mr. Packard achieved international acclaim as an agricultural and reclamation engineer. His work predated the Peace Corps by decades but undoubtedly influenced it.

TRAINING

A native of Oak Park, Ill., Mr. Packard took his degree in agricultural science at Iowa State University in 1907 and his master's from the University of California at Berkeley two years later. After serving as a field agent for a Federal irrigation investigation, he became superintendent of the UC Agricultural Experimentation Station in the Imperial Valley in 1910, serving there until 1917. His work pioneered the introduction of successful farming in that desert region.

After service with the Army Education Corps in France in 1919, he went to Harvard University as an instructor in economics, also teaching the same subject at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MEXICO

From 1925 to 1929, he served as chief of the Mexican Government's National Irrigation Commission. In the 1930s, he played a prominent role in the farm programs of the New Deal, and as one colleague put it, he "remained an ardent New Dealer all his life." He was national director of the Rural Resettlement Administration concerned with the problems of the tenant farmer, from 1935 to 1938.



WALTER E. PACKARD
World monuments

From 1945 to 1947, he served as special consultant to Governor Rexford Tugwell of Puerto Rico on land and irrigation problems there.

After World War II, he went to Greece to serve as consultant and director of numerous Marshall Plan programs. Enlisting the cooperative help of villagers, he achieved what was an agricultural miracle in that war-torn land. His crops were of such abundance that Greece spent \$225 million per annum less on food imports in 1953 than it did in 1948.

He reclaimed swamplands and undertook irrigation projects. Rice production increased 1200 per cent and became an export crop instead of an imported one. "Just giving money to governments won't do it," he told a Chronicle interviewer in 1954. "Just advice won't do either. You need tractors and other things that cost money. You've got to take the techniques and the machinery out into the field — and then you'll get something accomplished."

Grateful villagers of Anthele erected a bust as a memorial of Packard's work. Some say that it is the only statue in all of Greece depicting a hero with a bow tie.

Since return from Greece in 1954, Mr. Packard had campaigned for public power and had worked on books about his philosophies and works. He died at noon yesterday surrounded by members of his family.

SURVIVORS

He was a member of American Society of Agricultural Engineers, American Farm Economics Association,

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER

WALTER PACKARD, FARM EXPERT, 82

Sent by Marshall Plan to
Reclaim Greek Lands

Special to The New York Times

BERKELEY, Calif., Nov. 1.—Walter Eugene Packard, an agricultural engineer, who transformed thousands of barren acres in Greece into productive land, and helped that country start a 15-year soil reclamation program, died yesterday. He was 82 years old.

Sent by Marshall Plan

In 1948, Mr. Packard went on a Marshall Plan mission to Greece, where he was chief of the land reclamation unit of the Economic Cooperation Administration for six years.

He began his dramatic reclamation project in 1949 in Anthele, a poor community north of Athens on the edge of a salt plain.

The plain was bleached and barren in 480 B. C. when King Xerxes of the Persians camped there before storming Thermopylae. For centuries no local farmer bothered to plow the sterile plain, and those who worked the fringe lands got only scanty yields.

Mr. Packard called a meeting of Anthele farmers in the village coffeehouse. A warm friendly man, he won their liking with his smiles and pantomime. Through an interpreter he told them:

"Some of us think you can grow things on this land of yours. Rice, for instance."

He outlined a plan under which the American mission would provide money and machines for Greek labor.

The villagers liked the way he spoke to them; 40 landowners lent him 100 acres to test his project; other villagers manned picks and shovels; a host of American tractors and bulldozers diverted the course of the winding Sperchios River to wash the flats clear of salt and alkali.

With sleeves rolled up, Mr. Packard worked side by side with his Greek friends, building rectangular rice paddies. Seed rice imported from Italy was spread by hand. By early sum-

mer, Beta Theta Pi, Alpha Zeta and the Commonwealth Club of California.

Surviving are his wife, Emma, of the family home, 773 Cragmont avenue, Berkeley; two daughters, Clara Coffield of Napa and Emmy Lou Randall of Mendocino; two grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

A private memorial service is pending.

At death, Mr. Packard was active in the California Power Users' Association, which he founded



The New York Times, 1964

Walter Eugene Packard

mer the amazed people saw an emerald patch in the middle of the chalky-white wastes. In September the field was heavy with rice.

Mr. Packard became the hero of Anthele. They called him "Papou" ("Grandfather"); children picked wildflowers for him; church bells rang when his familiar jeep bumped along the road up from Athens. They named the road after him.

Mr. Packard did not rest on his laurels. His other reclamation projects produced more rice and other crops. In 1953 for the first time Greece was able to export rice—\$5-million worth. When he came to Greece, she imported \$5-million worth of rice.

Honored With Statue

When Mr. Packard left Greece in 1954, the people of Anthele erected a marble statue to him in the village square.

In 1948 Greece imported \$167-million worth of food. In 1953 she imported \$40.2-million worth, including sugar and coffee.

Asked in 1954 if he planned to go back to Greece, Mr. Packard said no, his work was done.

"And I don't expect to see that statue again," he said with a smile. "It's a wonderful thing—but it gives you a funny feeling."

Mr. Packard had also served on reclamation and irrigation projects in Mexico, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.

He was born in Oak Park, Ill., and studied at Iowa State College, the University of California and Harvard. He was national director of the Rural Resettlement Administration in the nineteen-thirties.

Mr. Packard had completed for publication a book on economics, "The Consumer-Labor Approach to Social Organization."

Surviving are his widow, the former Emma Leonard; two daughters, Mrs. Joel Coffield and Mrs. Byron Randall; two grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Oakland Tribune

Wed., Nov. 2, 1966

Packard, Soil Expert, Dies at 82

Walter Eugene Packard, 82, internationally known soil and reclamation expert, died yesterday at his Berkeley home.

Private memorial services are pending.

He is survived by his wife of nearly 57 years, the former Emma Leonard; 773 Cragmont Ave., Berkeley; daughters Mrs. Clara Coffield, Napa, and Mrs. Emmy Lou Randall, Mendocino; two grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Mr. Packard left his own monuments in flourishing crop lands where hunger once stalked, in Greece, Mexico, Venezuela and elsewhere.

VALLEY FARMER

Born in Illinois, schooled at Iowa State, University of California and Harvard, he pioneered successful farming in the desert-like Imperial Valley while superintendent of the UC experiment station there from 1910 to 1917.

He was a lecturer with the Army education corps in France after World War I, instructor in economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology for a year, then superintendent of California State Land Settlement from 1920-24.

He was chief of the Mexican government's National Irrigation Commission from 1926 to 1930.

PROJECTS IN GREECE

From 1945 through 1947 he was consultant on Puerto Rico land use, then was consultant on many Marshall Plan projects in Greece, where he boosted the rice crop 1200 per cent.

Grateful Greek farmers erected a monument to him — reputedly the "only bust in Greece with a bow tie."

Walter E. Packard

BERKELEY — Walter E. Packard, an agricultural and reclamation engineer who had worked in California, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Greece, died in his home Monday at the age of 82.

His work as superintendent of the University of California agricultural experimentation station in California's Imperial Valley from 1910 to 1917 pioneered introduction of successful farming of that onetime desert-like region.

He served as chief of the Mexican government's National Irrigation Commission from 1925 to 1929.

Mr. Packard was national director of the Rural Resettlement Administration, concerned with problems of the tenant farmer, from 1935 to 1938, and also played a prominent part in the farm program of the New Deal.

In 1945-47, he was consultant to Gov. Rexford Tugwell of Puerto Rico on land and irrigation problems.

He became consultant and director of many Marshall Plan projects in Greece after World War II. Much swamp land was reclaimed and Greece's rice production increased 1,200 per cent and became an exported crop instead of an imported one under his supervision.

Mr. Packard campaigned for public power after his return from Greece in 1954. Until his death, he was active in Califor-

Tues., Nov. 1, 1966

Berkeley DAILY GAZETTE

Agricultural Engineer Walter E. Packard Dies

Walter E. Packard of Berkeley, an agricultural and reclamation engineer who had been a government official for numerous projects in this country and abroad, died Monday at his home at 733 Cragmont Ave.

He was 82.

Mr. Packard was superintendent of the University of California Agricultural Experimentation Station in California's Imperial Valley from 1910 to 1917. His work pioneered introduction of successful farming in that once desert-like region.

From 1925 to 1929 he was chief of the Mexican government's National Irrigation Commission.

In the 1930's Packard played a prominent part in the farm program of the New Deal. He was national director of the Rural Resettlement

Administration, concerned with problems of the tenant farmer, from 1935 to 1938.

The next three years he spent as consultant to Gov. Rexford Tugwell of Puerto Rico on land irrigation problems.

After World War II he was consultant and director for numerous Marshall Plan projects in Greece. Under his supervision much swampland was reclaimed and Greece's rice production increased 1,200 per cent and became an exported crop instead of an imported one.

After his return from Greece in 1954, Packard campaigned for municipal acquisition of PG&E here. At his death he was active in California Power Users' Assn., which he founded.

He is survived by his widow, Emma, of the home; two daughters, Mrs. Clara Coffield of Napa and Mrs. Emmy Lou Randall of Mendocino; and two grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

A private memorial service is pending.

nia Power Users' Association, which he founded.

He is survived by his widow, Emma, of the family home at 773 Cragmont Ave., two daughters, Mrs. Clara Coffield of Napa and Mrs. Emmy Lou Randall of Mendocino.

A private memorial service is pending.

The family of Mr. Walter E. Packard wishes to announce that no public memorial services will be held as previously planned. Instead, a printed tribute will be issued after the first of the year and will be available to friends.

In the meantime, arrangements have been made so that all wishing to do so may send contributions, in lieu of flowers, to:

THE AMERICAN FARM SCHOOL
(at Thessaloniki, Greece)

c/o

Harvey K. Breckenridge, President
Office of the Trustees; 36 East 61st St.,
New York, N.Y. 10021

California FARMER CONSUMER REPORTER

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Two Pioneers Leave Us A Rich Inheritance

Murray D. Lincoln

Murray D. Lincoln, long-time president and guiding spirit of the Cooperative League of the USA, and one of the giants of the people's self-help movement in the United States, died in Columbus Ohio, on November 7. He was 74 years old.

Lincoln was born on a small farm near Raynham, Mass., on April 18, 1892. In 1914, having graduated Massachusetts Agricultural College (now the University of Massachusetts), he became a county agricultural agent in New London County, Conn., the first county agent in that state and one of the few in New England. His efforts to help farmers help themselves led to his interest in co-operatives.

In 1920 Lincoln became the first executive secretary of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation at Columbus. In 1926 he and his associates formed the Farm Bureau Mutual Insurance Company to provide auto insurance for farmers.

"Farm Bureau" insurance, which became Nationwide in 1950, grew to be four major companies and a number of subsidiary and related organizations. Lincoln was president of the Nationwide complex until his retirement in April, 1964, and was president emeritus until his death.

In 1964, these four companies had nearly 4 million policies in force, 3 million policy holders and were selling \$350 million worth of insurance annually with total combined assets of \$600 million.

Lincoln was an active participant in the Cooperative League of the USA and became a director in 1935. He was elected its president in 1941. He retired as president of the League early in 1965, and at the organization's 50th anniversary Congress at St. Paul, Minn., Oct. 12-14 of this year the board made him honorary president. During his period of leadership the League became an organization of national stature, serving U.S. co-operatives of all kinds and active overseas.

Lincoln was elected the first president of Care—the "Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere" — when it was formed in November

(Continued on page 2)



Murray Lincoln

Walter E. Packard

California and the world lost one of its most dedicated citizens on Oct. 31, when Walter Packard, 82, passed away at his home in Berkeley. During his entire lifetime he used his knowledge and organizing ability to improve land, water and power resources so that the common people might have a better life.

After graduating from Iowa State College in 1907, he moved to California, getting his M.A. from the Univ. of Calif. in 1909. Then, as first director of the U.S. Experimental Station in the Imperial Valley, he helped solve problems of conquering salt and silt laid down over milleniums by the Colorado River.

Later he became superintendent of the Delhi California State Land Settlement Colony, which had been established several years previously. First crops were ready for harvesting just before the 1921 depression. Farming was already on the rocks. Because of collective difficulties — depression, sandy soil, inability to make payments on loans—the Delhi project failed. Land was picked up at much below the market price. That ended attempts at state colonization.

After a period at Harvard, Packard became chief of the Mexican Government's National Irrigation Commission (1926-29), which was responsible for developing water resources for farmers in desert areas.

With the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Packard was active in various AAA agencies, finally becoming national director of the Rural Resettlement Administration (1931-38). Later he was special consultant on land and irrigation to Gov. Rexford Tugwell of Puerto Rico (1945-47).

In 1940 he appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to advocate better housing for farm workers, provision and equipment for part-time farming to reduce food costs and provide supplemental income, together with resettlement of farm workers on reclaimed federal lands.

In 1945, Packard assisted the Central Valleys Conference Committee, of which former Assemblyman Sam Heisinger was chairman, to

(Continued on page 2)

Packard (second from left), with Greek engineers, planning the rice project of Anchil in 1950.



Murray Lincoln

(Continued from page 1)

1945, to help provide food for the world's hungry and dislocated people following World War II. He continued as president 12 years and during the past nine has been chairman of the board.

In 1960, Lincoln published his autobiography, calling it *Vice-President in Charge of Revolution*. He told David Karp, who collaborated with him on the book, that every large organization needs a "vice-president in charge of revolution"—somebody to keep everybody stirred up, conscious of the organization's objectives, and on his toes.

Lincoln was a leader in the drive to form rural electric cooperatives in Ohio, as he was also to form farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives sponsored by Farm Bureau.

The nation's first rural electrical cooperative was founded by the REA in Ohio in 1935. There are now 30 such cooperatives in the state. From a state where less than 20% of farms were electrified, today 98% are so serviced. These rural electric co-ops have 145,000 members, 35,000 miles of distribution lines and do \$23 million worth of business annually.

He served on the executive committee (and in 1946 was elected vice-president), of the International Cooperative Alliance, London; on the board of the American Farm Bureau Federation; on the Federal Farm Credit Board, and on the board of the Fund for International Cooperative Development, a Cooperative League-sponsored organization devoted principally to overseas cooperative development.

He was dedicated to the idea that people working together through cooperatives, could fashion for themselves a secure life based on the enormous potential our nation possesses.

In one of those contradictions which our system generates, Lincoln's cooperative assets were invested in non-cooperative corporations which gave him directorships in, for example, the New York Central Railroad and the Alleghany Corporation.

He envisioned adding such enterprises to his cooperative trophies, including the Ohio Farm Bureau's proposal to purchase one of the nation's super food chains.

He flung the challenge. He proved it could be done, HIS way. It is for the people to use this powerful tool which is within their hands . . . as he said in his autobiography: "To fashion their own destiny!"

—Grace McDonald

Walter Packard

(Continued from page 1)

plan its Sept. 8, 1945, San Francisco Conference, where 150 representatives of farmer, consumer, labor and resource organizations mobilized a successful campaign to establish this multipurpose project under Bureau of Reclamation Authority and policies. Water and power users throughout California are now enjoying the benefits of this campaign.

From 1948 through 1954 he served as consultant and director of several Marshall Plan programs in Greece. Under a reforestation program, he directed the planting of millions of tree seedlings to replace those which had been cut down from the hills and mountains during the war.

In 1949 he began a dramatic reclamation project in Anthili on the edge of the salt-encrusted plain of Thermopylae. Applying his experience of the Imperial Valley, he diverted water from the Sperchios River to wash the flats clear of salt and alkali. Rice seed was planted. By early summer the amazed people saw an emerald patch in the chalky-white wastes. By fall, the field was heavy with rice. Soon the entire area was producing rice, stimulating a 1200% increase in the nation's rice production. Rice soon became an export crop.

In gratitude, the villagers of Anthili erected a marble statue of Mr. Packard in the village square. He was made an honorary citizen of Anthili and Thermopylae.

In setting up electric systems in Greece, Packard insisted they be owned and operated by the people. This was contrary to plans of the giant Electric Bond and Share Co. (EBASCO), to set up utilities in Marshall Plan countries which would pay tribute to American shareholders.

In commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan, Packard's work in Greece was cited as an outstanding "people-to-people" achievement. The U.S. State Dept. offered to fly Mr. and Mrs. Packard to Greece for a celebration last September. Mr. Packard's doctor, however, advised against the long trip.

In recent years Mr. Packard has devoted his time to writing and promoting public power. He was founder of the Calif. Power Users Ass'n. and a long-time member of the Calif. Farmer-Consumer Information Committee. A pamphlet describing Mr. Packard's greatest achievements will be made available in 1967.

—William Reich

Remembrance by Carey McWilliams,
 Editor, *The Nation*, November 21, 1966
 Pages 532 - 533.

Walter Packard

A great and good man, Walter Packard was one of California's most admirable public servants, a world citizen whose claims to distinction he was notably successful in minimizing. Of his goodness there could never be any question; throughout a long lifetime (he was 82 when he died October 31 in Berkeley) he radiated an essential kindness, a warmth and generosity of spirit and a con-

stant concern for the happiness and well-being of others. But it is not easy to suggest wherein his greatness consisted. The familiar labels—"agricultural economist," "social planner," "reclamation and development expert"—are painfully inadequate, although he had achieved great distinction in these fields. Perhaps the best way to suggest the special quality of his eminence would be to say that he was a committed democrat, a man who understood and practiced in all relationships, and taught others to understand and practice, the principles of democratic living. With him, democracy was both means and end, a mode of living as well as a social philosophy.

Wherever his work took him—to Mexico, to Venezuela, to Puerto Rico, to Greece—people responded to his inspired personal leadership. In Greece, where he taught the villagers of Anthele how to grow rice on what they had long regarded as a sterile plain, they called him "Papou" ("grandfather") and, much to his embarrassment, erected a marble statue in his honor. The areas in which he worked were invariably the richer for his having been there. When he went to Greece, the country was importing \$5 million worth of rice a year; when he left it was exporting that much or more. At his death he was carrying on, with typical energy, cheerfulness and infectious good will, a campaign to induce the residents of Berkeley to set up a city-owned power system. He had recently completed a book, *The Consumer-Labor Approach to Social Organization*, which embodied his deeply felt commitment to the principles of social and economic democracy. But wise and illuminating as the book will be, it will not do justice to the quality of his insight into the theory and practice of democracy. Why is it that public servants of his breed seldom win reputations commensurate with their achievements? Part of the explanation, no doubt, is that men of his kind usually have, as he had, a passion for anonymity; but it could also be because their true greatness consists not in the artifacts they leave behind them but in what they have inspired others to do for themselves.

WALTER E. PACKARD
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11-14-66

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Dear Willa Baum:

Thank you so much for your note of sympathy of November 2nd. I, too, am very grateful that I did insist that the work be done as soon as possible, even though I did not anticipate how soon he would go. I have seen many good records lost or inadequately done because of old age.

I am also very glad that Walter was able to do himself practically all of the first revision of the tape recording. As soon as I finish the number of necessary things I must do, I shall hope to work with you in any way I can on the typed manuscript.

Cordially yours,

Emma L. Packard
Emma L. Packard

P.S. The type writing is being done for me by a very good friend so that I can finish sooner. Forgive it, please
E. L. P

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Interviewer and then head of Regional Oral History Office, 1954 to present, specializing in water and agricultural history.

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