

The Roots Of Carter's Public Works Programs

The Carter Administration has now officially revived the work programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" and Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. On March 9, Carter sent to Congress a "youth employment and job-training" package which hinges on the creation of a Youth Conservation Corps "similar to what we had during the Depression years known as the Civilian Conservation Corps."

A bill for a state Civilian Conservation Corps is now pending before the Ohio state legislature that establishes the current federal youth bill as the auspicious beginnings of what is intended to be a national system of conscript, pick-and-shovel labor. The Ohio bill, previously defeated by labor and industrialists, would put an initial 200 youth into "work brigades" to "reclaim" strip-mined land, at \$25 per week. (An earlier version would have provided uniforms for labor to be performed under the state's National Guard). Carter's Federal package involves urban "public works" — park clean-up, "community improvement projects," etc. — and additional monies for the Job Corps, and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act programs, two of the most firmly established channels for current Federal sponsorship of menial, non-productive employment.

In consultation with Carter planners, Senators Humphrey (D-Minn), Javits (R-NY), Jackson (D-Wash), Stafford (R-Vt), and Representative Meeds (D-Wis) are all sponsoring one or another piece of such public-works legislation.

Carter's use of the "Civilian Conservation Corps" as precedent is perfectly clear testimony on the Hitlerian character of his program. Roosevelt's CCC was frankly modeled upon the German work-camps of the 1924-36 period, imported to Depression America by employees whom John D. Rockefeller, Jr. lent to the Roosevelt "brain-trust" to devise that and related such programs.

A notable influence in shaping the Carter variety of slave-labor system is Mr. Kenneth Holland (a member of the New York Council on Foreign Relations; current Chairman of The Fund for Multinational Management Education within David Rockefeller's Council of the Americas; former director of education for Nelson Rockefeller's Office of International Affairs). Holland, who sent an April 1976 memo to Carter outlining a "Civilian Conservation Corps" plan like that now emerging in legislation, in the 1930s, sent many similar memos to Roosevelt on behalf of the Rockefeller interest.

As a young man, Kenneth Holland toured European labor camps, visiting those of Germany in 1932 under the auspices of the International Student Services. Return-

ing to the United States, he became a foremost publicist for conscript labor, writing articles for the New York Times, making speeches and dispatching memos to every member of Congress, and to the Roosevelts.

In 1936, Holland was sent back to Germany to inspect the Nazis work-camp system; he published his findings in the 1939 book, "Youth in European Labor Camps," which recommended that the New Deal's CCC be made a permanent part of the economy. In 1941, he authored two pamphlets whose titles are self-explanatory: "Work Camps for College Students" and "Work Camps for High School Students."

Today, Kenneth Holland advises not only the Administration's labor bills, but the Humphrey-Hawkins "National Employment Service" bill, which is in part a product of his frequent consultations with Senator Hubert Humphrey.

Holland: "I Was Responsible For CCC"

The following is part of a recent interview with Kenneth Holland.

Q : Mr. Holland, how much input did you have in the Roosevelt Administration in regard to the Civilian Conservation Corps idea? Did you write your book, "Youth in European Labor Camps," for the government?

Holland: I sent materials to FDR, just like I did to Carter last spring. I've also talked to Humphrey several times, but you know, one never knows just how much one's ideas affect policymaking. I wrote the book for the American Council on Education. It's not governmental, but a private organization set up during the war (by the Rockefeller family —ed.) . . . I did testify in favor of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) before a Senate committee during the Hoover Administration and again early in the Roosevelt Administration. I was a bit of a New Dealer, you know. First I was made Director of Education for the CCC of New England. Then in 1935 I came to Washington as the Assistant Director of the American Youth Commission (created by the American Council on Education —ed.) to conduct a study on youth camps and the National Youth Administration residence centers...

Q: Was it during this time that you visited the work camps in Europe?

Holland: Yes. Although I had also visited camps earlier in '32. I went back to visit them again in '33 and '36 while I was employed by the American Council on Education (ACE).

Q: How would you say the proposal Carter made for youth employment compares with what you advocate?

Holland: I'd say it will probably be very similar. I sent Carter a memo recommending the establishment of CCC-type camps with some modifications. I already mentioned that I talk to Humphrey sometimes.

Q: What modifications would you want to see?

Holland: First of all, there should be *no army* involvement. The Agriculture and Interior departments can handle it by themselves. Young people these days won't have anything to do with the camps if the army has anything to do with it, especially after Vietnam. Also, I would want to see no racial discrimination like there was in the original CCC, and no segregation. Lastly, women should be included in the camps . . .

Q: Where do you think FDR got the idea of the CCC camps? Do you think he got it from the European camps?

Holland: I knew Mrs. Roosevelt very well and exerted a lot of influence on her. I think I had a lot of influence on FDR as a result. Of course there was the top man in the forest service, Brown, who was very keen on work camps. Brown saw some camps in Germany under Bruening, you know before Hitler took over. There were so many thousands of unemployed they were getting at each others' throats. Really, the camps were very successful at promoting loyalty to the country. Of course, I testified when I was only 24 years old for Senators Costigan, LaFollette, and Cutting. I also sent a project recommendation to all of Congress and the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. I guess you could say I was responsible for the idea of the CCC. You know, Carter hasn't got the flair, but he's pushing the right ideas, similar to FDR's. Carter's just lower key.

Q: How did you get interested in work camps?

Holland: While I was at the University of Paris, Edward R. Murrow, who was the Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education, who had given me a fellowship, visited me and we really hit it off well together. He went on to Czechoslovakia for a conference and saw to it that I was named American Secretary of the International Student Services. This is the institution that sent me through Europe seeing the camps. I came back to the U.S. in '32 and wrote about my experiences . . .

Q: Some people say that work camps are fascist and that's why Americans shouldn't have them. What do you say when people bring this up?

Holland: It all depends on who's administering them. Hitler took over the Bruening labor camps and made them into Nazi propaganda machines, but that's not the fault of the camps . . .

Jackson, Meeds Bills: "Nothing To Do With Education"

Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson and Congressman Lloyd Meeds are sponsoring bills which call for an expansion of Youth Conservation Corps, which at present exists as a summer employment pilot project. Their plan provides strictly labor-intensive projects in primarily the National Parks and Forests.

The following is part of an interview conducted with an aide to Senator Jackson.

Q: Is education a part of the YCC you are advocating?

A: No, you see the YCC is part of an economic package as far as Jackson is concerned. The aim is job-creation, rather than training. The problem with the Job Corps is that it tried to do too much too fast. Here's how we see it. We recognize a large number of unemployed youth who need jobs and would be willing to do outdoor work. At the same time there are all kinds of labor-intensive work that need to be done in our parks and forests. We can solve both problems at once. At least in the beginning, we are not concerned with training, although if a participant learns carpentry or how to use heavy machines, good; but that's not the point of the program. You see we want to see if the CCC concept will work with this generation of young people.

Q: Why wouldn't the CCC work today?

A: Well, the hard core unemployed youth from the inner city or rural unemployed may have a different attitude towards work in the woods. There's the problem of drugs, too, that wasn't around during the first CCC.

Q: Do you think they might have something against labor intensive work?

A: No, not once you get them into the program. There won't be any trouble once they're recruited.

Q: Why is the program labor-intensive?

A: It means we can put kids to work quickly. We won't have to spend a lot of time planning a project or paying for a supervisor and expensive equipment. This way it's a lot easier. Besides there is so much labor-intensive work to be done. All the reforestation — it doesn't take any planning or equipment to put a seedling into the ground and the forest service doesn't have the time to do it.

Q: How do you answer the people who say that work camps are fascist?

A: Let's face it, the CCC was very military like. But without the military mobilization the CCC couldn't have been implemented. But take a look at the more recent YCC. It's co-ed and is run by the Agriculture and Interior departments rather than the Army. There is of course no indoctrination or military flair. . . . You don't have to worry about it, if there's any way to alienate kids, it would be to run it like an army. We learned a lot from the old CCC.

The following is part of an interview with an aide to Rep. Meeds.

Q : Will there be an educational program included in the YCC?

A : No, the YCC is more of a job program than it is training.

Q : How long can a young person remain employed by the YCC?

A : The limit is one year. We have no intention of creating permanent Federal jobs; those must come from the private sector. The YCC is for kids who are in between school and a job and who need experience. They will be paid minimum wages for gaining experience and conserving national resources. Of course, these are jobs that otherwise would not be done.

Q : Why are the camps slated to be labor-intensive?

A : First of all the object is to create as many jobs as possible, as fast as possible. You can create more jobs if they are labor intensive. Secondly, young people simply do not have the skills to run complicated equipment. Besides, the sweat of the brow and good hard work is good for anyone. It gives young people a feeling of accomplishment to look at a trail or a dam and say with pride, 'I built that trail.' The psychological benefits are very important.

Humphrey's Future For Youth: Painting a Fence, Using a Saw or Hammer

The most all-inclusive piece of youth labor legislation is the "Youth Employment Act of 1977" sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn) and Sen. Jacob Javits (D-NY). The act combines the Jackson bill with a bill sponsored by Senator Stafford (R-Vt), a "Youth Community Improvement Act of 1977." Stafford plans to put youth to work in the cities repairing run-down housing, and so forth, with jobs "coordinated with classroom instruction" qualifying the laborer for academic credit. The Humphrey-Javits bill provides for both a Youth Conservation Corps year-around and a Youth Community Conservation Corps, focusing on what it calls "job

counselling" and accredited work-study programs as well.

The following is part of an interview with an aide to Senator Humphrey.

Q : Did Brookings or other research institutes have a hand in creating the bill?

A : No, not really, We didn't need any more theoretical input since we had hearings before the Joint Economic Committee last August with many people from the academic community testifying.

Q : Who testified?

A : Paul Barton, from the National Manpower Institute. He works with Wirtz (former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz —ed.) at the Work Education Council. Then there was Beatrice Rubins from Columbia, Mayor Flaherty of Pittsburg, Andrew Young, and Howard Samuels, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Also we had Bernard Anderson, a Wharton School economist who specializes in youth unemployment. After the hearings both Humphrey and Javits came up with the same idea and that's where the bill came from.

Q : Please go into the content of the job training part of the bill.

A : It's designed to meet the needs of all different kinds of young people. There is the Youth Community Service project approach which goes on in the local community, but with federal funding for youth both in and out of school, aged 16-21, and aged 14-15 if still in school. There would be one supervisor for every ten enrollees. The program would consist of basic work experience plus counseling. The main object, though, would be work. The training would be unsophisticated: painting a fence, using a saw or hammer. Mostly what they would learn is how to work together, how to show up for work on time, how to take and carry out orders — basic experience needed to get and keep work. . . . The fourth area covered in the bill is occupation education. We would place trained job counselors right into the high schools. They would feed and gather job information from computer terminals containing a national data bank. This way a student's interests could be matched with jobs. One problem now is that the schools are overly weighted towards college bound students. We will take care of the situation by providing job counselors.