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RONALD REAGAN

Dear Friends

This is the American  
Weekly we are allowed to  
distribute in the Soviet U.

With it is a complete  
translation in English.  
I thought it might be of  
some interest.

Best Regards

Ronald Reagan

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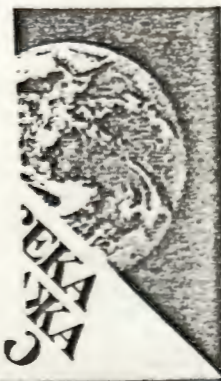
# U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

★ ЕЖЕНЕДЕЛЬНИК

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# ВОЗВРАТ К ВОСЬМИЛЕТНИ

**Лоренс Барретт**

Одним из самых важных критериев действующей демократии является способ смены руководства страны или продления полномочий администрации, находящейся у власти. Начиная с 1789 года, когда первым Президентом Соединенных Штатов стал Джордж Вашингтон, и до наших дней американцы придерживаются одной и той же упорядоченной системы, сохраняя ее во время мира и войны, процветания и кризисов.

Эта стабильность — предмет национальной гордости. В своей речи в январе 1985 года при вступлении в должность на второй срок Роналд Рейган вспомнил инаугурацию первого Президента США Джорджа Вашингтона: «Как много изменений произошло в мире, — сказал он, — но мы снова стоим все вместе, как сотни лет назад... Снова американский Пре-

зидент, свободно избранный суверенным народом, принимает присягу в соответствии с Конституцией, положениями которой мы продолжаем руководствоваться до сих пор. Один этот факт может послужить поводом для празднования».

Однако самый существенный вопрос — срок пребывания Президента в должности не всегда трактовался одинаково законами и традициями, из которых сформировалась наша система. Должен ли ограничиваться срок, сколько раз может переизбираться глава государства? Сколько времени должен уделять Президент предвыборной кампании? Всегда ли имеет смысл, даже если это предусмотрено законом, стремиться к переизбранию на следующий срок?

Когда осенью 1983 года Президент Рейган и его жена Нэнси обсуждали вопрос о его политическом будущем, она высказывала сомнения в том, стоит ли ему баллотироваться на второй срок. Возвращение к частной жизни, считала она,

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# ЧЕМУ ПРЕЗИДЕНТСТВУ

имеет немало привлекательных сторон. В интервью, данном мне несколько месяцев спустя, она сказала: «Я немного сопротивлялась, пока Роналд приводил доводы в пользу пере-выборов. Он уговаривал меня так, будто просил моей руки!» — добавила она с улыбкой. В частных беседах и в публичных выступлениях Рейганы постоянно отмечали, что последовательность политического курса была главным аргументом за выставление кандидатуры на второй срок. Нэнси Рейган говорила, что возобновление традиции переизбрания Президентом на второй срок принесет стране пользу.

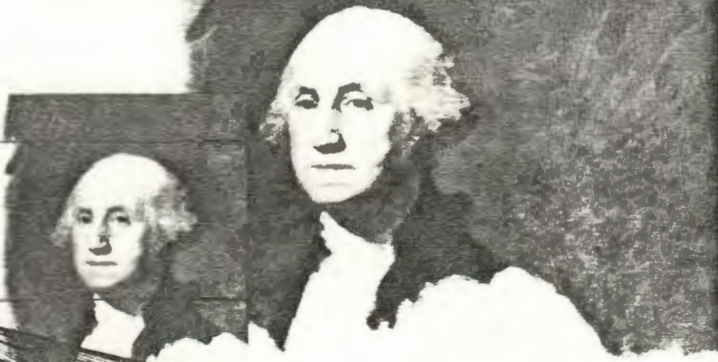
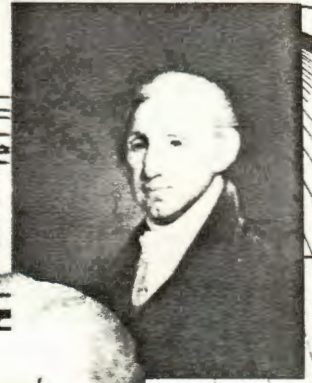
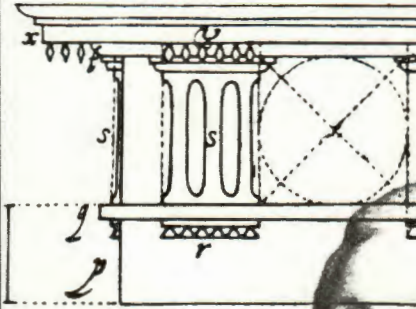
Хотя миссис Рейган не историк и не политолог, она затронула важный элемент в подходе американцев к институту президентской власти. В Конституции США, в том виде, как она была принята двести лет назад, на этот счет ничего не было сказано. Конституция устанавливала срок пребывания Президента на посту — четыре года, но никаких ограни-

чений, прямых или косвенных, сколько раз Президент может переизбираться, в ней не содержалось. Теоретически любой Президент мог попытаться остаться в должности пожизненно, выставляя свою кандидатуру каждые четыре года.

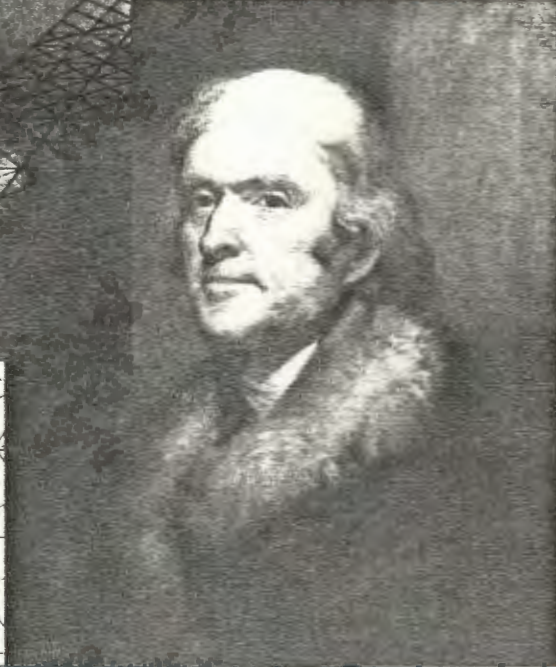
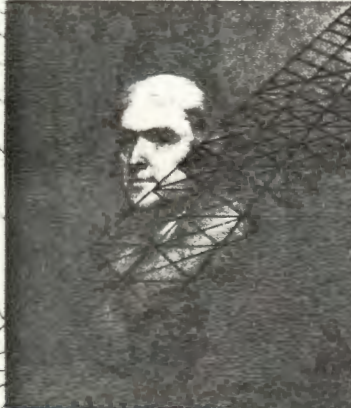
Уже в 1780-х годах эта проблема вызвала много споров, которые с особой остротой разгорелись через много десятилетий, прежде чем вопрос был решен в законодательном порядке (на чем мы остановимся немного позже). Подобные споры являются характерной чертой политической системы США, постоянно стремящейся найти равновесие между противоречивыми тенденциями. Споры, развернувшиеся вокруг срока пребывания Президента у власти, сводились к выбору между необходимостью наделения главы исполнительной власти достаточными полномочиями для эффективного испол-

*Президент Роналд Рейган за работой в Овальном кабинете Белого Дома в Вашингтоне.*

Монро (1817-25)



Вашингтон  
(1789-97)



Джефферсон (1801-09)

Мэдисон (1809-17)

нения им своих обязанностей и не менее важной необходимостью предотвратить сосредоточение в руках одного человека или одной из ветвей правительства чрезмерной власти, которая могла бы поставить под угрозу свободу народа.

Во время обсуждения Конституции молодой страны, которая лишь недавно освободилась от власти монархии, выражались опасения, что Президент может присвоить себе атрибуты королевской власти. Исходя из этого, было вполне естественным установить ограниченный срок президентства, по истечении которого избиратели, при желании, имели право избрать нового лидера. В серии эссе, известной под названием «Федералист», Александр Гамильтон, который позднее стал министром финансов в правительстве Джорджа Вашингтона, утверждал, что «срок длительностью четыре года будет способствовать укреплению исполнительной власти, не ставя под угрозу свободу народа».

Гамильтон был сторонником сильного центрального правительства. В следующем эссе, посвященном необходимости безотлагательного принятия проекта Конституции, он остановился на вопросе перевыборов. В возвышенных выражениях, свойственных тому времени, он отстаивал необходимость возможности баллотироваться на повторные сроки:

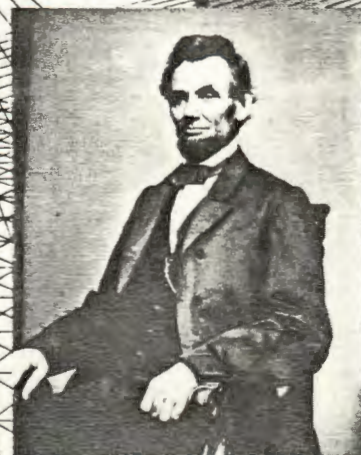
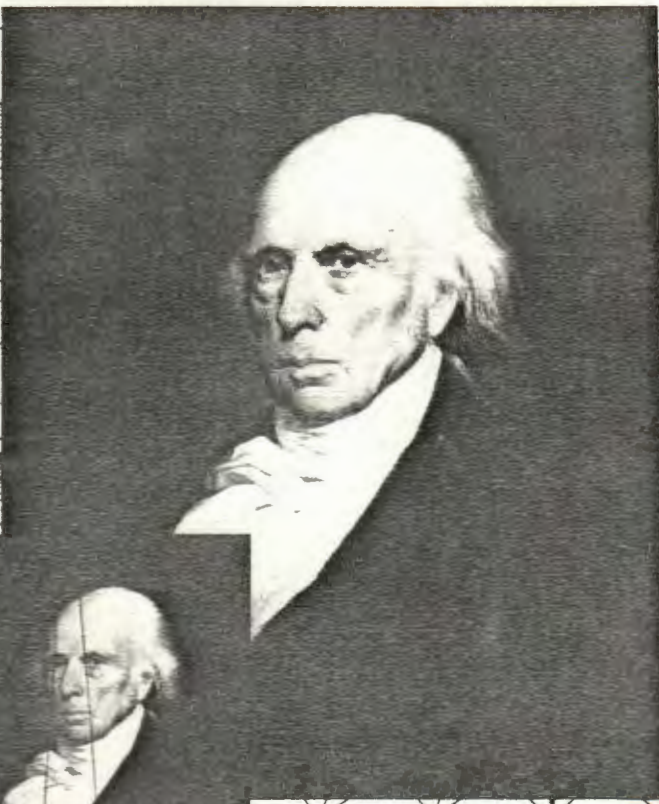
«Мы должны дать должностному лицу побудительный стимул и решимость хорошо исполнять свои обязанности, а общественности — время и возможность понаблюдать за направленностью его действий и таким образом оценить их достоинство. Люди должны иметь возможность продлить его пребывание в должности, если они одобряют его действия».

По мнению Гамильтона и его единомышленников, было исключительно важно, чтобы «при мудром порядке правления правительству давалось преимущество постоянства». Такие взгляды, однако, просуществовали очень недолго. Первый Президент США, избранный в соответствии с Конституцией (см. «Америка» № 313, декабрь 1982 г., «Джордж Вашингтон и его президентство»), установил целый ряд прецедентов, в том числе и уход после второго президентского срока. В течение следующих сорока лет из шести следовавших за ним Президентов четверо избирались на два срока, а двое — только на один. Таким образом, нормой для Президентов, в случае успешного первого срока, стало выставление своей кандидатуры на второй, но не на третий срок.

Другая связанная с этим вопросом политическая традиция заключается в том, что «сильные» Президенты, то есть те, кто старался проводить энергичную политику, ассоциируются

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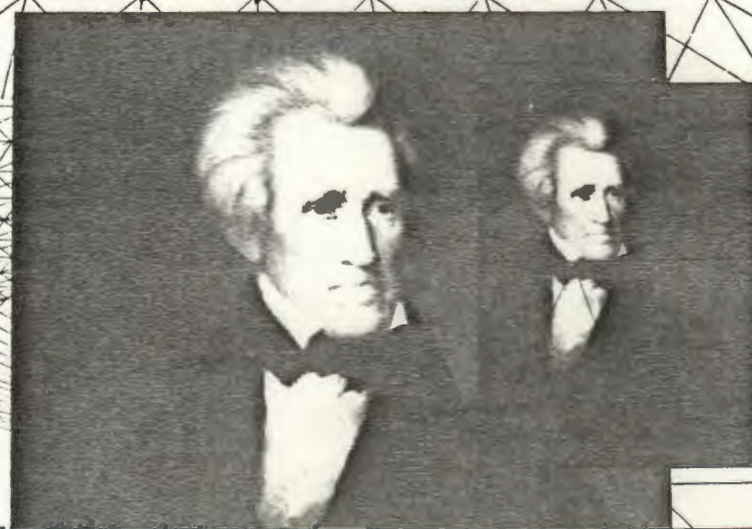
Мэдисон (1809-17)



Линкольн  
(1861-65)



Джексон (1829-37)



со способностью выиграть переизборы на второй срок. Это положение было справедливым для первых Президентов, которые, баллотировавшись на второй срок, сталкивались с серьезными оппонентами. Например, Томас Джефферсон (1801—1809), Джеймс Монро (1817—1825) и Эндрю Джексон (1829—1837) считались сильными Президентами, и каждый из них оставался Президентом восемь лет.

После окончания полномочий Президента Джексона в 1837 году эта традиция стала ослабевать, превратившись скорее в потенциальную возможность, чем в обычную практику. На протяжении оставшейся части XIX века только два Президента избирались на два срока: Улисс Грант (1869—1877) и Гровер Кливленд (1885—1889 и 1893—1897). Остальные Президенты либо умирали во время первого срока, либо терпели поражение на выборах.

Гровер Кливленд занимает особое место среди американских Президентов. Несмотря на свою популярность среди избирателей, он потерпел поражение, когда избирался на второй срок в 1888 году, в результате неблагоприятного распределения голосов коллегии выборщиков. Но через четыре года Демократическая партия вновь выставила кандидатуру Кливленда, и он был избран Президентом на второй срок

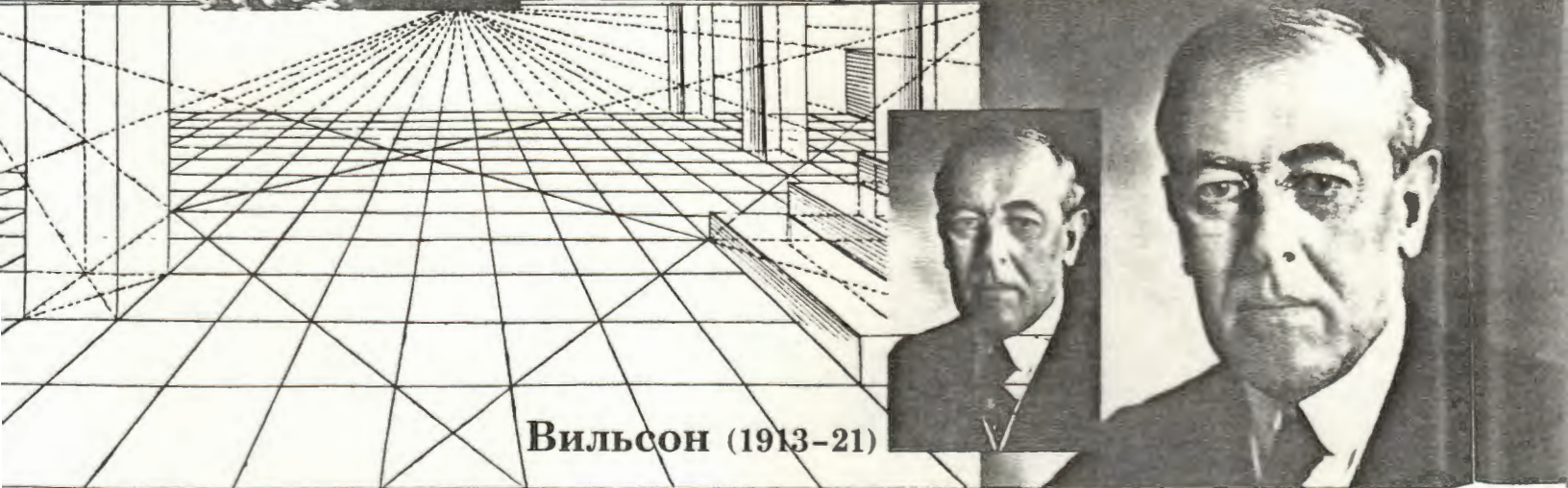
**Президенты, переизбранные на второй срок.** Джордж Вашингтон, прославившийся как главнокомандующий американскими войсками в Войне за независимость (1775—1783), стал символом национального единства. Он был председателем Конституционного Конвента в 1787 году, был единодушно избран Президентом и неохотно согласился послужить второй срок. Томас Джефферсон, ученый, фермер и архитектор, был главным автором Декларации Независимости. Будучи 3-м Президентом, он увеличил территорию страны вдвое и включил в ее границы реку Миссисипи благодаря покупке Луизианы у Франции. Джеймс Мэдисон, 4-й Президент, участвовал в составлении «Билля о правах», настаивал на строгой интерпретации Конституции и возглавлял страну во время войны 1812 года против Великобритании. Джеймс Монро, 5-й Президент, был сенатором США, послом во Франции, губернатором Вирджинии и государственным секретарем при Мэдисоне. Его «доктрина Монро», защищающая американские интересы в Западном полушарии, стала краеугольным камнем американской внешней политики. Эндрю Джексон, 7-й Президент, участвовал в составлении конституции штата Теннесси, был членом обеих палат Конгресса США и принимал участие в создании Демократической партии. Он прославился в сражении под Новым Орлеаном во время Англо-американской войны 1812 года. Авраам Линкольн, 16-й Президент, провел страну через ожесточенную Гражданскую войну, в которой решался вопрос о рабстве и единстве страны. Он был убит через месяц после вступления во второй срок президентства. Его выразительные, классические формулировки демократических принципов и идеалов выучивают в школах наизусть.





**Грант**  
(1869—77)

**Кливленд** (1885—89, 1893—97)



**Вильсон** (1913—21)



после четырехлетнего перерыва. В начале нынешнего века только Вудро Вильсон (1913—1921) избирался на два срока.

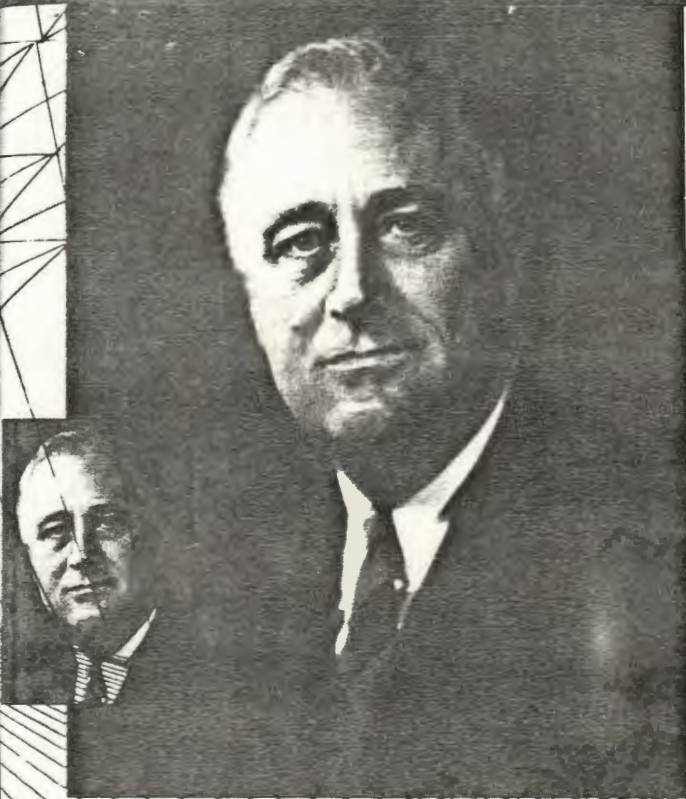
Президентство Франклина Д. Рузвельта (1933—1945) было беспрецедентным как в смысле продолжительности его пребывания на этом посту, так и во многих других отношениях. В 1940 году, когда война уже охватила почти весь мир, Рузвельт выдвинул свою кандидатуру на третий срок и победил. Его решение идти наперекор традициям вызвало недовольство даже среди членов Демократической партии. Его Вице-президент Джон Нэнс Гарднер отказался баллотироваться вместе с ним в 1940 году, и многие сторонники Рузвельта отнеслись к его намерениям также скептически. То обстоятельство, что в 1944 году война еще продолжалась, оправдывало в глазах Рузвельта его решение баллотироваться в четвертый раз. Когда он одержал эту историческую победу, его здоровье было совершенно расшатано, и вскоре после инаугурации он скончался.

Пробыв в должности Президента дольше, чем любой из его предшественников, и проведя страну через два тяжелых кризиса — Великую депрессию и Вторую мировую войну, Рузвельт показал пример того, какими качествами должен обладать современный Президент. Многие американцы, вы-

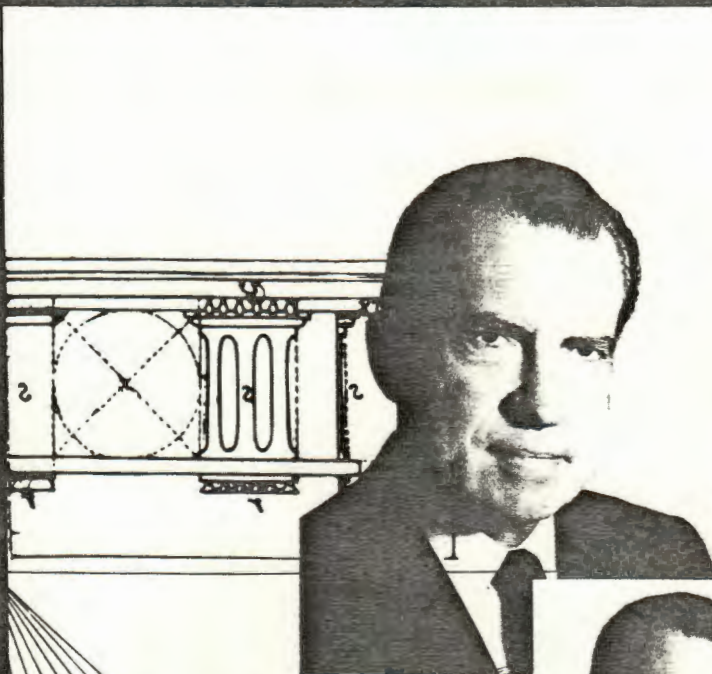
росшие в эпоху Рузвельта, включая и Роналда Рейгана, сравнивали последующие администрации с рузвельтовской. Отношение американской политической системы к этому наследию Рузвельта является ярким напоминанием о неугасающей борьбе за принцип сдержек и противовесов.

Растущая популярность Рузвельта стала вызывать опасения, что некоторые из будущих Президентов, добившись аналогичного положения, смогут злоупотреблять своей властью. Исходя из этого после окончания Второй мировой войны, члены Конгресса, разделявшие такие опасения, предложили внести изменения в Конституцию. XXII поправка к Конституции, ратифицированная всеми штатами в 1951 году, узаконила традицию, сложившуюся за 150 лет до того: ни один Президент не может служить на этом посту более чем два полных срока. Исследователи американской политической системы рассматривают принятие XXII поправки как замечательное свидетельство верности страны своим основополагающим принципам. В определенные периоды, как например в годы Второй мировой войны, переизбрание стоящего у власти Президента на следующий срок несло с собой значительные преимущества. С другой стороны, уступка таким переходящим обстоятельствам могла подорвать более важные

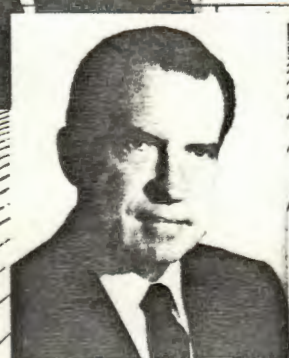
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**Рузвельт**  
(1933-45)



**Никсон** (1969-74)



**Эйзенхауэр** (1953-61)



устои, заключающиеся в ограничении власти отдельной сильной личности или политической фракции.

Как позже писал историк Ричард Пайос, «XXII поправка к Конституции ограничивает выбор партии и избирателей. И если страна окажется в состоянии войны или внутреннего кризиса, эта поправка вынудит произвести смену Президента как раз в то время, когда нужно продолжение принятого политического курса. И, тем не менее, она ярко свидетельствует, что основа конституционного процесса в вопросе выбора нового Президента или переизбрания прежнего заключается в приверженности к конституционным принципам, а не в удовлетворении популярных тенденций».

По иронии судьбы первым Президентом, к которому были применены положения XXII поправки, был Дуайт Эйзенхауэр. В конце своего второго срока он все еще пользовался большой популярностью и, не будь этой поправки, по-видимому, был бы опять переизбран, если бы снова решил баллотироваться. Два десятилетия, следовавшие за уходом Эйзенхауэра с политической арены в 1961 году, были годами политической напряженности, во время которых могло сложиться впечатление, что американские Президенты утратили способность оставаться у власти в течение восьми лет.

**Пр**езиденты, переизбранные на второй срок. Улисс С. Грант, 18-й Президент, герой Гражданской войны, победоносно командовал войсками северян. При нем была принята поправка к Конституции, обеспечивающая избирательные права безотносительно к расовой принадлежности. Гровер Кливленд занимал ряд административных должностей и пост губернатора штата Нью-Йорк прежде чем стать 22-м и 24-м Президентом. За ним утвердилась репутация независимого, честного администратора, не терпящего коррупции. Вудро Вильсон, 28-й Президент, был профессором и президентом университета. Его нейтральная позиция в начале Первой мировой войны способствовала его переизбранию. Он известен своими трудами по созданию Лиги Наций. В 1919 году ему была присуждена Нобелевская премия мира. Франклин Делано Рузвельт, 32-й Президент США, ввел ряд реформ и социальных программ для преодоления Великой депрессии. Он установил дипломатические отношения с Советским Союзом и провел Соединенные Штаты через Вторую мировую войну. Дуайт Дейвид Эйзенхауэр, герой войны, был главнокомандующим союзными войсками в Западной Европе во время Второй мировой войны. В качестве 34-го Президента он считал, что роль правительства должна быть ограничена, содействовал развитию системы свободного рынка и реорганизовал вооруженные силы США. Ричард Милхауз Никсон был членом обеих палат Конгресса США и Вице-президентом при Президенте Эйзенхауэре перед тем, как стать 37-м Президентом. Он был первым американским Президентом, посетившим Китайскую Народную Республику и Советский Союз, и первым Президентом, сложившим свои полномочия до истечения срока.

Убийство Джона Кеннеди прервало его политическую карьеру. А из четырех следовавших за ним Президентов никто, по разным причинам, не был на посту полных два срока. Линдон Джонсон отказался выставить свою кандидатуру на второй срок. Ричард Никсон был переизбран на второй срок, но вынужден был сложить с себя обязанности через полтора года второго срока своего президентства. Два следующих Президента, Джеральд Форд и Джими Картер, проиграли на выборах, баллотировавшись на второй срок. Некоторые специалисты даже стали сомневаться, может ли кто-либо из Президентов оставаться сильным и эффективным в течение восьми лет президентства. Перспектива того, что с момента прихода в Белый Дом на второй срок Президент не может быть больше переизбранным, ослабляет его способность к эффективному руководству. Когда в 1980 году Джими Картер шел к поражению на выборах, политический комментатор Роберт Шоган опубликовал пессимистический анализ предыдущих двадцати лет. После Эйзенхауэра, писал Шоган, «вся история президентства была омрачена серией политических сдвигов и осложнений, что привело к самым неожиданным поворотам политических судеб».

Когда пять лет назад Роналд Рейган победил Картера, мало кто верил, что ему удастся восстановить стабильность в Белом Доме. Одной из причин сомнений был возраст Рейгана, которому в то время было 69 лет и он был самым пожилым американцем, ставшим Президентом, за всю историю США. Некоторые обозреватели считали, что Рейган не будет выдвигать свою кандидатуру на второй срок, даже при самом благоприятном исходе первого. Кроме того, Рейган стремился произвести ряд коренных перемен во внутренней и внешней политике, которые могли дать его противникам удобную позицию, чтобы атаковать его, если он захочет баллотироваться на второй срок.

Как заметил недавно биограф Рейгана Лу Кеннон, журналисты и политические соперники хронически недооценивали его силы. Здоровье Рейгана, несмотря на возраст и покушение на его жизнь со стороны душевнобольного человека, было прекрасным. Во второй половине 1983 года его политические позиции были весьма прочны. Подавляющее большинство избирателей одобряло политику Рейгана. Поэтому, когда у него шел разговор с женой о том, стоит ли подвергать себя трудностям второй избирательной кампании, Рейган с уверенностью мог говорить о своем стремлении довести до конца свои начинания. И Нэнси Рейган и избиратели сочли его доводы вполне убедительными.

Второй президентский срок Рейгана начался в январе 1985 года в исключительно благоприятной для него обстановке. Опросы общественного мнения свидетельствовали, что его популярность была даже выше, чем в день выборов в ноябре 1984 года. Инфляция — одна из самых серьезных проблем администрации Картера — была наконец обуздана. Общая экономическая активность, выраженная в цифрах валового национального продукта, росла быстрыми темпами.

Но не менее важным было то обстоятельство, что наметился прогресс в самом серьезном вопросе внешней политики — в отношениях Вашингтона с Москвой. Правительство обеих стран согласилось возобновить после долгого перерыва переговоры о контроле над ядерными вооружениями. На следующее же утро после принятия присяги в качестве Президента, выбранного на второй срок, Рейган встретился с государственным секретарем Дж. Шульцем и другими официальными лицами — представителями Соединенных Штатов на новом раунде переговоров. Несколько дней спустя было опубликовано совместное коммюнике Белого Дома и Кремля о времени и месте проведения новых переговоров.

По крайней мере в это время Рейган мог наслаждаться, по выражению журналистов, своим «политическим медовым месяцем». Даже самый влиятельный лидер оппозиции, спикер Палаты Представителей Томас П. О'Нил, великодушно заверил Президента, что демократы (по-прежнему контролирующая Палату Представителей) не будут прибегать к обычным приемам парламентской тактики, чтобы заблокировать его программы. Сам Рейган пребывал в состоянии радостного возбуждения, стремясь доказать, как много можно сделать во время второго президентского срока. В первую же неделю он сказал членам своей администрации: «Преды-

дущие четыре года были совершенно замечательными, и я очень оптимистично смотрю на предстоящие четыре года. На днях мне пришла в голову мысль, что время нашей первой администрации было историческим, а во второй срок мы сможем повернуть колесо истории».

В каком же направлении он собирается повернуть колесо истории? В области внутренней политики Рейган надеется продолжить взятый им курс на снижение роли Федерального правительства в жизни американского общества. Его консервативные убеждения подсказывают ему, что самый верный путь к прочному процветанию состоит в развитии частного предпринимательства и личной инициативы. Несмотря на успехи, достигнутые в этом и других направлениях за время первого президентского срока, Рейган знает, что в деле сокращения роли федеральных регуляций и предписаний и полного пересмотра системы подоходных налогов предстоит сделать еще очень многое.

В мае этого года Президент направил Конгрессу подробный законопроект, предусматривающий введение более простой и справедливой налоговой системы, которая должна облегчить финансовое бремя граждан и одновременно стимулировать экономическую активность. Республиканцы и демократы охотно поддержали законопроект в принципе, считая, однако, что потребуются несколько месяцев дебатов и обсуждений по ряду положений билля, чтобы выработать окончательный его вариант. Одна из важных проблем, которую Рейган не разрешил во время своего первого президентского срока, касается федерального дефицита. Правительство все еще тратит намного больше, чем получает от налоговых обложений. Но в середине этого года, обсуждая федеральный бюджет, Рейган и члены Конгресса выразили желание пойти на компромисс и значительно урезать правительственные расходы с целью сократить дефицит.

Хотя возобновление переговоров о контроле над ядерными вооружениями было с радостью встречено и в Советском Союзе, и в Соединенных Штатах, ни одна из сторон не рассчитывает на простое и быстрое решение проблемы. В ходе переговоров обеим сторонам предстоит преодолеть сложные разногласия. Немало внимания потребуют и другие аспекты американо-советских отношений, как и целый спектр вопросов, касающихся положения на Ближнем Востоке, в Центральной Америке и в других районах мира.

Победа, одержанная на выборах во второй раз, дает Президенту возможность проводить свои программы, но далеко не гарантирует их успеха. На смену большим ожиданиям могут прийти глубокие разочарования. Франклин Рузвельт, например, был обескуражен неудачей своих попыток реорганизовать Верховный Суд в 1937 году. Но даже проиграв эту битву, он сумел добиться одобрения Верховным Судом ключевых положений своего «нового курса». Эйзенхауэру во втором сроке своего президентства пришлось столкнуться с замедлением темпов экономического развития. Но, с другой стороны, он достиг больших успехов в борьбе с расовой дискриминацией. Кроме того, в бытность Эйзенхауэра Президентом в состав США были приняты Аляска и Гавайи в качестве 49-го и 50-го штатов.

Рейган решительно отвергает все рассуждения относительно того, что во время второго срока президентства темпы могут замедлиться, а энергия — истощиться. Он оптимист по природе. В недавнем газетном интервью Рейган выразил глубокое удовлетворение тем, что ему довелось возродить традицию восьмилетнего президентства. «Исходя из моего собственного опыта, я ожидаю очень многого, — сказал он. — Когда я был губернатором Калифорнии, самые большие успехи были достигнуты именно во время второго срока».

На вопрос, не кажется ли ему, что возбуждение от предвыборной борьбы немного спало, Президент весело ответил: «О нет, оно совсем не спало. Вот если бы я ушел сейчас, а мое место занял кто-нибудь другой, с другими взглядами, то тогда бы все развалилось. Вся идея заключается в том, чтобы довести дело до конца». Никто из отцов-основателей Соединенных Штатов не смог бы дать более убедительного довода в пользу восьмилетнего президентства. ■

Лоренс Барретт, корреспондент журнала «Тайм», аккредитованный при Белом Доме, автор книги «Играя с историей: Рейган в Белом Доме».

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November    1985  
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No.

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(SLUG) NEWSWEEKLIES COVERING THE WORLD FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 150-85

4/24/85 (WAS/was)

### PICTURE PARADE

1. Itinerant painter Steve Gooding works on a light pole in Fort Collins, Colorado. Gooding specializes in painting light poles, and plies his trade in eight U.S. western states.
2. Three trains of different railroads come together on a triple trestle crossing in Richmond, Virginia, believed to be the only one of its kind. The picture was arranged for use by a railroad magazine, but officials say three trains have crossed simultaneously in normal operations.
3. Glenn Bradley (center), a member of a U.S. Coast Guard diving unit that fights oil and chemical spills, is led by two helpers to water's edge in Seattle, Washington, for a test of a new suit designed to afford maximum protection in contaminated waters.

#### CAPTION A

1. Light pole painter

(more)

CAPTION B

2. Triple railroad trestle

CAPTION C

3. Protective diving suit

CREDIT A

Jim Wakeham, The Coloradoan

CREDIT B

Jim Boyd, courtesy Railfan & Railroad

CREDIT C

Wide World

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RETURN OF THE TWO-TERM PRESIDENCY

By Laurence I. Barrett

(none)

One of the most important continuing tests facing a working democracy is the way it chooses to change its national leadership or to retain a particular administration in power. Since 1789, when George Washington assumed the office of president, Americans have maintained an orderly system through periods of peace and war, prosperity and hardship.

That stability is the subject of national pride. As he began his new term in January, Ronald Reagan took note of the straight line dating back to Washington's first inaugural ceremony. "So much has changed," the 40th president said, "and yet here again we stand, together as centuries ago.... Once again, an American president freely chosen by a sovereign people has taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution that guides us still. This alone is cause for rejoicing."

Yet the mix of law and tradition from which the system evolved has dealt more loosely with the crucial question of the president's tenure. What should be the limits on a chief executive's incumbency? How much of a president's time should be spent on the next election? Even if permitted to do so by law, is it always wise to run again?

When President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, talked alone during the autumn of 1983 about his political future, she had mixed feelings about whether he should seek a second term in office. Returning to private life, she thought, had its attractive side. Months later she told me in an interview: "I

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dragged my heels a little bit" as Reagan listed the reasons for running again. "I guess he was wooing me," she said with a smile.

In those intimate conversations between husband and wife and in public comments as well, the Reagans consistently mentioned the most important argument in favor of striving for reelection: continuity. It would benefit the country, she said, to renew the tradition of two-term presidencies.

Though Mrs. Reagan is neither a historian nor a political scientist, she was touching an important element of the way Americans regard the presidency as an institution. The Constitution of the United States, as originally enacted two centuries ago, was silent on this point. While setting the president's term at four years, the national charter imposed no limit, directly or indirectly, on the number of times an incumbent could seek reelection. Theoretically, at least, a president under those rules could have attempted to remain in office for life by asking the electorate for a new mandate every four years.

This issue was controversial in the 1780s, and the debate flared anew many decades later before a legal resolution was achieved (an event that we will examine shortly). The dispute was typical of the U.S. political system's constant search for balance among competing needs. In the case of the president's tenure, there has always been tension between the need for a

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chief executive with enough political power to function effectively and an equally strong need to prevent any individual or branch of government from amassing so much power as to threaten the people's liberties.

As the Constitution was being debated in a raw young country that had only recently freed itself from monarchy, there were fears that a president might take on the attributes of a king. Thus there was a clear need to fix a limited term, after which the electorate would have the right to choose a new leader if it wished. In a series of essays that came to be called the Federalist Papers, Alexander Hamilton (who would later serve as secretary of the treasury under George Washington) argued that "a duration of four years will contribute to the firmness of the Executive /without causing/ any alarm for the public liberty."

Hamilton was among those who believed in strong central government. In his next essay urging enactment of the proposed Constitution, he took up the issue of reelection. The possibility of additional terms was necessary, he contended in the ornate language of his day, "to give the officer himself the inclination and the resolution to act his part well, and to the community time and leisure to observe the tendency of his measures, and thence to form an experimental estimate of their merits. The last is necessary to enable the people, when they see reason to approve of his conduct, to continue him in his station."

(more)



According to Hamilton and some of his associates, there was great virtue in providing to the "government the advantage of permanency in a wise system of administration." This view, however, failed to survive very long. As the first president under the new Constitution, Washington set many precedents (see America Illustrated No. 313, December 1982, "George Washington and the Presidency"). He chose to leave office after his second term. Among the six leaders who followed him during the next four decades, four also served two terms each, while two held power for only one term each. It became the norm, then, to expect a president who was generally considered successful in his initial administration to seek reelection once -- but no more than once.

Similarly, it became part of the country's political tradition to associate "strong" presidents -- those who attempted to marshal the powers of the office vigorously -- with the ability to win a second term. That was true among the early presidents who had serious competition when they sought second terms. For instance, Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), James Monroe (1817-1825), and Andrew Jackson (1829-1837) were regarded in that light as each served a full eight years.

After Jackson retired in 1837, however, this tradition weakened, becoming more of an ideal than a functional pattern. During the balance of the 19th century, only two other presidents, Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877) and Grover Cleveland

(more)

(1885-1889, 1893-1897), managed to serve two full terms. Other presidents either died in office or suffered political defeat.

(Cleveland is unique in the history of American presidents. Though he was popular with the voters, he was defeated for reelection in 1888 because of the distribution of electoral votes. But the Democratic Party nominated him again four years later and he won his second term after being out of power.)

In the early decades of this century, only Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) fulfilled the two-term tradition.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), as he did in several other ways, broke precedent on presidential tenure. With war already engulfing much of the world, Roosevelt in 1940 ran for a third term and won. His decision to shatter the tradition was controversial even within his own Democratic Party. His vice president, John Nance Gardner, refused to run with Roosevelt in 1940, and many others were similarly skeptical. The war was still raging in 1944, which in Roosevelt's mind justified yet one more campaign. His health was already frail when he won that historic contest and he died soon after his fourth inaugural ceremony.

Having served far longer than any of his predecessors and having led his country through two enormous crises -- the Great Depression and World War II -- Roosevelt set the dimensions of the modern American presidency. Many Americans who came to maturity in that period, including Ronald Reagan, would measure

(more)

future administrations against Roosevelt's. The manner with which the American political system dealt with that legacy was a remarkable reminder of the enduring struggle for checks and balances.

Roosevelt had become so popular during his years in office that there were fears about some future president's gaining similar stature and using it to abuse the powers of his post. Soon after World War II, then, members of Congress who shared this apprehension sponsored a constitutional change. The Twenty-second Amendment, ultimately ratified by the states in 1951, finally codified the tradition set a century and half earlier; no president would serve more than two full terms.

Students of American government considered this a fascinating test of the country's fealty to first principles. There were times, as in World War II, when continued incumbency had great expedient advantages. On the other hand, yielding to such temporary imperatives could undermine the more durable imperative concerning limiting the power of a single individual or faction. As the historian Richard M. Pious later wrote of the Twenty-second Amendment: "It restricts the choice of the party and of the electorate. And if the nation is in the midst of war or domestic crisis, it forces rotation in office just when people may wish for continuity. Yet it...demonstrates that the fundamental core of the constitutional processes for

(more)

selection and retention in office emphasizes constitutionalism rather than the popular connection."

Ironically, the first president to whom the amendment's provisions applied was Dwight D. Eisenhower. He was still widely respected and liked at the end of his second term, and probably could have remained in office under the old rules had he chosen to make the effort. The two decades after Eisenhower's departure in 1961 produced a much larger irony: a period of political stress during which it appeared that American presidents had lost the ability to keep power for eight years.

John Kennedy's violent death was an aberration. But the four leaders who followed him each failed, for different reasons, to act out the eight-year model. Lyndon B. Johnson declined to seek reelection to a second full term. Richard M. Nixon was reelected a second time, but resigned a year and a half into his second term. The next two presidents, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, each failed to win election to a second term. Some experts in the field began to doubt that any incumbent could manage to govern effectively and retain power for eight years. The prospect of being a "lame duck" from the moment one enters the White House itself is a great dilution in the ability to govern well. As Jimmy Carter headed toward his defeat in 1980, political commentator Robert Shogan published a pessimistic analysis of the previous twenty years. After Eisenhower, Shogan

(more)

wrote, the "story of the presidency is dominated by upheaval and distress, producing erratic swings in political fortunes."

When he defeated Carter five years ago, Ronald Reagan seemed to many Americans an implausible candidate to restore stability in the White House. There was the matter of his age: at 69, he was the oldest American ever to assume the presidency and some observers thought that he would never try for a second term no matter what happened in his first. Further, Reagan sought several basic changes in domestic and foreign policy. These were sure to be sufficiently controversial to give his opponents a rallying point from which to attack him if he did attempt reelection.

As the president's biographer, Lou Cannon, wrote recently, journalists and political rivals have chronically underestimated Reagan's resilience. His health remained good despite his age and despite the attempt on his life by a deranged gunman. By late 1983, his political standing was also healthy; the electorate clearly approved of the way he was running the presidency. Thus, when it came time for "wooing" his wife concerning the rigors of a second national campaign, Reagan could talk confidently about his strong desire to carry forward the programs he had begun. Both Nancy Reagan and the voters found his courtship persuasive.

Reagan was fortunate, as he began his second term in January, in that the political climate favored him. Public opinion polls

(more)

showed his personal popularity was even higher than on Election Day the previous November. Inflation -- one of the worst problems for Carter in 1980 -- was well under control. General economic activity, as measured by the gross national product (a measure of the country's goods and services), was growing at a healthy rate.

Just as important, there appeared to be progress in dealing with his most serious foreign-policy concern: Washington's relationship with Moscow. The two capitals had already agreed to resume arms control negotiations after a lengthy hiatus. Reagan's first business meeting, the morning after he took the oath of office for the second time, was with Secretary of State George Shultz and the officials who would represent the United States in the new round of meetings. Just four days after that, the White House and the Kremlin announced jointly the time and place for the start of new talks.

For the time being, at least, Reagan was enjoying what American writers call a political honeymoon. Even the senior spokesman for the political opposition, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, jovially told the president that the Democrats (who still control the lower house of the Congress) would not seek to obstruct his program with parliamentary tactics.

Reagan himself was in a ebullient mood, eager for the opportunity to show that much could be done in his second term. In the first week of that term, he told a group of government

(more)

officials: "It has been a tremendous four years, and I'm feeling absolutely bullish /trans: optimistic/ about the next four. I was just thinking the other day that in our first administration we made history, and in the second, we can change history forever."

Just how does he wish to "change history"? In domestic affairs, Reagan hopes to continue to reduce the role of government in American society. His conservative credo dictates that the surest way to enduring prosperity is to enhance private enterprise and individual initiative. While he made some progress in that direction during his first term, he feels that there is much still to do in diminishing federal regulations and in drastically overhauling the country's income tax system. Concerning the latter, he sent to Congress in late May a comprehensive bill to make the tax code fairer and simpler, and to reduce the levy on individuals while stimulating economic activity. Republicans and Democrats readily supported the bill in principle, but they acknowledged that it would take several months of debate and negotiation on its specific provisions to achieve final agreement.

One important problem that Reagan had not solved during his first term was the federal deficit. The government still spends far more than it collects in taxes. However, in mid-1985 Reagan and members of Congress were showing a willingness to compromise

(more)

on the federal budget and to make significant cuts in government spending aimed at reducing the deficit.

While the resumption of arms control negotiations was welcome news in both the Soviet Union and the United States, neither side imagined that the process would be quick or easy. Complex differences would have to be addressed, and this subject would be an ongoing concern to Reagan. Other aspects of Soviet-American relations would also require close attention -- along with a variety of issues affecting the Middle East, Central America, and other regions of the globe.

Winning a second term gives a president an opportunity to see his programs through, but does not necessarily assure success. There can be disappointments after high expectations. Franklin Roosevelt, for instance, was frustrated when he attempted to reorganize the Supreme Court in 1937. But, after Roosevelt lost that battle, he did succeed in getting the court's approval for key portions of his New Deal program. Eisenhower had problems with an economic slowdown in his second term. On the other hand, he was able to advance the cause of racial integration in dramatic ways. He also presided over the admission to the federal union of Alaska and Hawaii as the 49th and 50th states.

When reminded that a president's second term can witness a loss of momentum, an attrition of energy, Reagan shrugged off such commentary. He is a natural optimist. He is delighted to have led the United States back to the two-term tradition, he

(more)



said in a recent newspaper interview. "I have had a previous experience that makes this exciting," he said in that conversation. He said that when he was governor of California, "most of our great accomplishments came in the second term."

Asked then if he didn't feel as if "a little of the thrill of the chase is gone," the president responded cheerfully: "Oh no, no. If you walked away now and someone else came in with a different view, all of this could be unraveled. The idea is to get it clenched and in place."

None of the country's founding fathers could have put the argument for a two-term presidency more vividly.

/EDITOR'S NOTE/

Laurence I. Barrett, White House correspondent for Time magazine, is author of the book Gambling with History: Reagan in the White House.

/END EDITOR'S NOTE/

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 73-85

5/28/85/ (GO/go)

Return of the Two-Term Presidency

CAPTION A

President Ronald Reagan at work in the Oval Office of the White House.

CAPTIONS B, C, D, E, F, & G

TWO-TERM PRESIDENTS. George Washington's success as commander-in-chief during the U.S. Revolutionary War (1775-1783) made him a popular symbol of national unity. He chaired the Constitutional Convention of 1787, was unanimously elected president, and reluctantly agreed to popular appeal to serve a second term. Thomas Jefferson, scholar, farmer, and architect, was principal author of the Declaration of Independence. As third president, he doubled the country's size and acquired the Mississippi River by purchasing the Louisiana Territory from France. James Madison helped frame the U.S. Bill of Rights and served in the House of Representatives in 1789. As fourth president, he insisted on a strict interpretation of the

(more)

Constitution and led the country during the war of 1812 against Great Britain. James Monroe, fifth president, was a U.S. senator, minister to France, governor of Virginia, and secretary of state under Madison. His Monroe Doctrine, a declaration of American interests in the Western Hemisphere, became a cornerstone of American foreign policy. Andrew Jackson, seventh president, helped draft the constitution of the state of Tennessee, served in both houses of Congress, and helped form the Democratic Party. He achieved fame as a military leader in the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812. Abraham Lincoln, 16th president, guided the country through a bitter Civil War over slavery and the Union. An assassin killed him one month into his second term of office. His eloquent and classic statements of democratic beliefs and goals are memorized by schoolchildren.

INSERT B

Washington (1789-97)

INSERT C

Jefferson (1801-9)

INSERT D

Madison (1809-17)

(more)

INSERT E

Monroe (1817-25)

INSERT F

Jackson (1829-37)

INSERT G

Lincoln (1861-65)

CAPTIONS H, I, J, K, L, & M

TWO-TERM PRESIDENTS. Ulysses S. Grant, 18th president, war hero, led the Union Armies to victory in the Civil War. His administration passed a constitutional amendment assuring voting rights regardless of race. Grover Cleveland held local government posts and the governorship of New York before becoming the 22nd and the 24th president. He had a reputation as an independent, honest administrator who hated corruption. Woodrow Wilson, 28th president, was a professor and university president. His neutrality stand at the beginning of World War I helped him win reelection, but soon afterward he asked Congress to declare war against Germany. He is best known for his campaign to establish the League of Nations, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32nd president, instituted a wide range of administrative changes and social programs to overcome the Great Depression. He

(more)

established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and led the United States through World War II. Dwight David Eisenhower, war hero, was Supreme Allied Commander during World War II. As 34th president, he believed in limited government, promoted the free market system, and reorganized the defense establishment. Richard Milhous Nixon served in both houses of Congress and as vice president to President Eisenhower before becoming 37th president. He was the first U.S. president to make state visits to the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, and the first to resign while in office.

INSERT H

Grant (1869-77)

INSERT I

Cleveland (1885-89, 1893-97)

INSERT J

Wilson (1913-21)

INSERT K

Roosevelt (1933-45)

INSERT L

Eisenhower (1953-61)

(more)

INSERT M

Nixon (1969-74)

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 56-85

3/15/85 (RLT/rlt)

### THANKSGIVING DINNER

Photographs by Ken Heinen

Each autumn, families across America celebrate Thanksgiving Day. What began in the earliest days of Colonial America as an expression of gratitude for survival in a strange and sometimes hostile new land has become a cherished holiday time for gathering with family and friends.

"Setting apart the last Thursday in November as a day of thanks," says Diana Karter Appelbaum in her new book Thanksgiving, "is part of the fixed rhythm of our national life; the newest immigrants readily gather for a family meal on this day, and the oldest inhabitant searches in vain for remembrance of a year when Thanksgiving failed to be celebrated as autumn gives way to winter."

The custom generally is traced back to the New England colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts, where 101 Pilgrims stepped off their ship, the Mayflower, in December 1620 (see America Illustrated

(more)

No. 333, August 1984). Only half of them lived through that first harsh winter, but the survivors resolved to learn to live in their new home. An Indian named Tisquantum (called Squanto by the Pilgrims) taught the colonists how to plant corn and squash, where to fish, and how to hunt. That next autumn, when an ample harvest provided enough food for the coming winter, the colony's governor, William Bradford, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving to God. Indians living nearby were invited to share a three-day feast that probably included turkey, deer, corn, cranberries, and pumpkin.

The custom spread throughout the New England colonies, and in 1789, George Washington, president of the new United States, proclaimed November 26 a nationwide day of thanksgiving. As years passed, some states continued to observe yearly Thanksgiving holidays, and some did not, but there was no special national observance. By 1830, New York had established an official state Thanksgiving Day, and soon other northern states followed its example. In 1855, Virginia became the first southern state to establish the holiday.

Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of a popular magazine called Godey's Ladies Book, took the idea of a national Thanksgiving Day as a personal cause and worked for many years to promote it. Success came in 1863 when President Abraham Lincoln made the last Thursday in November "a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father." U.S. presidents continued to issue

(more)



formal proclamations each year until 1941, when Congress adopted a joint resolution making Thanksgiving Day, the fourth Thursday of November, a federal holiday.

The day has become a traditional time for families to gather for a big meal that often includes some of the foods eaten by the Pilgrims back in 1621 -- turkey, cranberries (now made into sauces or relishes), and pumpkin (which usually appears in a pie). Marisa and Michael Murphy are hosts each year for a Thanksgiving dinner at their 260-acre /105-hectare/ farm (above) near Unionville, Virginia. The most recent gathering, shown on these pages, was attended by 28 family members and friends.

CAPTION A

No caption

CAPTIONS B, C, D, E, F, G, & H

Far left, top: As the Murphys prepare for Thanksgiving dinner, their son Kevin carries food brought by a guest into the house. Far left, bottom: Marisa Murphy's parents, brother, sister-in-law, niece, and nephew arrive at the farm. Center left: Marisa checks pies baking in the oven while a cousin, Cathy Beasley, thickens gravy on top of the stove. Near left, top to bottom: Marisa whips potatoes in a food processor, Kevin squirts whipped cream from a can onto a piece of pumpkin pie, and Emmett Deavers

(more)

puts more potatoes through a food mill. Right, Michael Murphy videotapes the day's events.

CAPTION I

Guests at the dining room table (moving clockwise from the head) are William Ferrando, Sr. (carving the turkey); Kevin Murphy; Cathy Beasley (standing); Dana Murphy; Robert Ferrando; Rita Beasley; Babe Murphy (Michael's mother); Erin Murphy; Marisa Murphy; Michael Murphy; William Ferrando III; Ramona Ferrando; Marie Ferrando; and William Ferrando, Jr. More guests sat at two other tables.

CAPTIONS J, K, & L

Above left, Marie Ferrando holds her grandson up to the telephone so he can say hello to relatives in New York City. Above right, William Ferrando, Sr., and Arnold Beasley relax on the porch after the Thanksgiving dinner. Below, guests watch themselves on the videotape made throughout the day by Michael Murphy; the videotape was taken from the video camera and put immediately into the family's videocassette recorder, which then showed the tape on their television set.

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 57-85

1/16/85 (RLT/gm)

English count: 5,600 w/options

5,300 w/o options

ASSESSING TEACHERS

Courtesy of The New York Times

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Last year, the pupils in Lynn Burns's fourth-grade class were found to be reading a third-grade book, and school administrators feared that her reading program was deficient. They decided to recommend Burns for a program that /officials in Toledo, Ohio,/ think is unique in American public schools -- peer evaluation of experienced teachers.

For six months, every aspect of her teaching was observed by a consulting teacher, one of seven who are paid an extra \$1,000 annually. Then Burns was given two written evaluations, in December and in March. Burns, who is now in her 13th year as a Toledo teacher, successfully completed the evaluation process and praises it. But she acknowledges that her initial reaction to the recommendation was "a little bitter or hostile."

"I felt she needed a little direction," said Thomas Creekmore, the principal at Walbridge Avenue School, "and she got it with the intervention program."

Burns, who said her pupils had not finished the third-grade book in their previous class, said that her consulting teacher "made me feel comfortable and at ease, and the experience was positive." The consulting teacher, Josephine Bester, told Burns that the curriculum guide was merely a guide and that perhaps she was concentrating too much on details and not enough on the broad picture. "You have to really build trust with one another," said Bester, who has spent 34 years in the classroom.

(more)

Burns said she has felt much better about her job since the evaluation program. "She's doing just fine," Creekmore said. "She wasn't a severe case; she just needed a little help. She loves teaching, and that's half the battle if you like what you're doing."

Another teacher, Mary Spencer Hodge, was told she would have to take part in the program when she returned to the school system in September 1983 as a permanent substitute after an 18-year absence from teaching. "Evaluation is a frightening word," Hodge says, but she called the program "tremendous" and said her consulting teacher provided several good suggestions on adding variety to her teaching of mathematics. /("It's so close to being objective," she said. "The people doing the observing are peers.")/

The program, set up in March 1981 through agreement of the Toledo school district and the teachers' union, is designed to aid both incoming and returning teachers like Hodge and tenured teachers who, like Burns, are experiencing problems. Since it began, 25 experienced teachers have been recommended for intervention, says William Lehrer, assistant school superintendent for personnel in the 43,000-student system, which has 2,300 teachers. Also going through the evaluation program are 65 teaching interns.

Dal Lawrence, president of the union, says he had been urging an intern evaluation program since 1973. Hugh Caumartin, who

(more)

became Toledo school superintendent in 1980, agreed to consider the intern program if the union took a look at an intervention program for practicing teachers.

Both sides see a balanced result. The program "is not a power tool of management or union," the superintendent says. And Lawrence, the union leader, says, "It's really working well for teachers and management and for the new people coming into the profession."

Leslie Chamberlain, chairman of the department of educational administration and supervision at nearby Bowling Green State University, calls the program "unique, because it deals with a significant problem: tenured teachers who for one reason or another have not performed satisfactorily." The Toledo plan, he said, "has taken an open, honest, constructive point of view and entered into the business of intervening in a positive manner with teachers who have some difficulty."

/(Chamberlain cited the "shared responsibility" under the program as a model for others and said of the consulting teachers in Toledo, "My impression is that they are as professional as possible.")/

One /consulting teacher/, Cheryl Waters, tells of an intervention case that she and another consulting teacher worked on for a year. A man with many years' teaching experience was having discipline problems and a high rate of student failure.

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Waters said the teacher "ignored the discipline problems" and failed to interact with the students, often being condescending.

One written suggestion made to the teacher was "to be conscious you are teaching both human beings and mathematics," Waters says, and another recommended that leaving his customary three-piece suits at home would help lessen his authoritarian appearance. "We had to convince him he was creating some of the problems," says Waters, who has taught high school English for more than a decade.

She found the intervention process a success in his case. On a recent visit to the class, the two consulting teachers said they found an entirely new atmosphere between teacher and pupils. "We didn't believe the change in him," Waters said, and the rate of failures in his class dropped from 80 percent to about 20 percent.

Few teachers have been dismissed as a result of their evaluations. One with 23 years' experience, described as a classic case of "burn-out," became a hall monitor, taking a salary cut....

Teachers who believe they have been evaluated unfairly may file a grievance. The school administration has arranged with a University of Toledo Law School professor to judge the appropriateness of the intervention in any particular case....

Michael J. Damas, a former mayor of Toledo, is now a school board member and served two years as president. The peer

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evaluation program, budgeted at \$80,000 annually, is "not 100 percent perfect," Damas says, "but /it is/ the best that has been developed."

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 14-85

12/17/84 (RLT/rlt)

### SALMON FARM

Photographs by Kip Brundage

Ocean Products, Inc., has established a thriving salmon-raising business in the small town of Eastport on the coast of Maine. The company, founded in March 1982, began by hatching thousands of fertilized salmon eggs at an inland freshwater hatchery. After 18 months, the fish underwent the natural change that allows them to live in salt water, at which time they were transferred to 12 40-foot-square /12-m-square/ cages in Passamaquoddy Bay near Eastport.

For another 18 months, workers fed the young salmon a diet of herring, fish meal, and vitamins. When the fish reached marketable size of six to nine pounds /three to four kg/, the company's 24 full-time employees began harvesting a total of 35,000 of the salmon. Most of the fish, sold fresh to seafood wholesalers, were killed only when orders were in hand and were

(more)

flown to their destinations in less than 24 hours. Other salmon were smoked at the Ocean Products plant and sold at retail through L. L. Bean, a mail-order company located in Maine.

CAPTIONS A, B, C, D, & E

Above, workers harvest fish from a cage in Passamaquoddy Bay on the coast of Maine, where Ocean Products, Inc., raises salmon for the seafood market. Left, Peter G. Pierce, the company's vice president for operations, stands amid cages out in the bay where salmon are raised; workers put fish into boxes of salt-water ice before taking them ashore; workers in processing plant remove entrails and gills before packing salmon for shipment; and salmon on ice are ready to be flown to wholesale dealers.

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TEXT AVAILABLE FOR USIA/USIS USE.

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AMERICA 348

ILLUSTRATED

Story No. 203-83

2/2/84 (GO/gm)

English count: 19,525 w/options  
16,800 w/o options

America's Railroads are...

BACK ON TRACK

By Richard L. Worsnop

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The story of railroads in the United States is the familiar one of rise and fall. But the story, far from over, has a typically American plot twist: The country's railroads are rising again.

Such a development would have seemed highly unlikely a decade ago, when many American rail lines were in deep financial trouble. The Penn Central, the Rock Island and other carriers were going bankrupt. It seemed that the great rail systems, which had moved American farm and industrial products for more than a century, might pass into history.

The railroads' fortunes began to revive after 1973, when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries imposed the first of a series of sharp increases in the price of oil. Because trains are two to four times more fuel-efficient than trucks, railroads quickly gained a significant cost advantage over rival motor carriers. The high cost of oil also created a large rise in demand for steam coal in the United States and foreign countries. In 1982, coal accounted for 41 percent of the rail industry's total tonnage and for 24 percent of its freight revenues of \$25.6 billion.

However, the true key to the railroads' resurgence has been elimination of many government regulations, as provided by the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976 and the Harley O. Staggers Rail Act of 1980. These two laws removed many of the constraints that had made it difficult for railroads

(more)

to compete on an equal footing with long-haul highway and water carriers. They made it easier for railroads to adjust prices, abandon unprofitable lines, and merge with other carriers. They also made it easier for rail companies to engage in so-called piggyback traffic -- moving truck trailers and ocean containers on flatbed rail cars.

In its 1983 edition of "Railroad Facts," the Association of American Railroads, an industry trade group, called piggyback traffic "the fastest and most consistently growing traffic source for the railroad industry in recent years." At the end of 1984, the number of cars loaded in piggyback service was 14.5 percent greater than the number for the previous year. By the middle of 1985, moreover, piggyback traffic was 3.8 percent greater than at the same point in 1984.

This trend and others like it have encouraged railroad executives to look to the future with optimism. "Railroads are probably one of the better growth industries for the next decade," said Hays T. Watkins, the chairman of CSX Corporation, a major rail company. "Thanks to deregulation, railroads are now able to really compete with trucks and barges for traffic. You've only seen the beginnings of such competition, but we are quickly learning how to survive in the marketplace."

Chris Knapton, a spokesman for the Association of American Railroads, also credited deregulation for what he called the "rail renaissance." Because of deregulation, he said,

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"railroads finally have the opportunity to manage their business, not just operate it."

In Knapton's view, the bankruptcy of the huge Penn Central in 1970 was somewhat of a blessing in disguise, for it "snapped people in the railroad industry wide awake." More attention was paid to maintenance and equipment, to the point that "today there is...not one mile of track on any major rail line suffering from deferred maintenance." Knapton also pointed to increased efficiency, as evidenced by the fact that the nation's railroads now operate with only 330,000 employees, as against 2 million during World War II. Moreover, the Association of American Railroads has a master computer system that keeps track of every one of the nation's 2.7 million railway freight cars.

Computerization is only one of many ways that American railroads are making use of high technology. They are experimenting with freight cars made of lightweight fiberglass or aluminum, putting industrial robots to work in their shops, and using laser beams to align track. They also are willing to sell easements along their extensive rights of way to companies wishing to lay fiber optic communications cables between major population centers. As part of the deal, the railroads themselves would make use of the cables.

\* \* \*

Regular rail service in the United States began on December 25, 1830, when a four-ton, steam-powered locomotive of the South

(more)

Carolina Canal and Rail Road Company rolled off pulling five coaches on a 10-kilometer section of track near Charleston. The 141 passengers, according to the Charleston Courier, "flew on the wings of the wind" as the engine "darted forth like a live rocket, scattering sparks and flames on either side...."

Within a year of that inaugural trip, steam engines were running on three other rail lines: the Baltimore & Ohio, between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, Maryland; the Mohawk & Hudson, which bypassed the Erie Canal locks between Albany and Schenectady, New York; and the Camden & Amboy, which was capturing the traffic between New York City and Philadelphia. By 1840 nearly 3,000 miles /5,000 km/ of track had been laid in the United States, already more than in all of Europe.

As the country expanded westward, so too did the railroads. At the end of the 1850s the largest rail system was the Illinois Central's two lines that ran almost the length of the state. The railroad advertised in Europe to lure immigrants to till the Midwest's rich farmland.

Earlier in that decade, heeding the national mood, Congress had called for a survey of possible rail routes to the Pacific. Jefferson Davis, the secretary of war, sent out expeditions to explore four alternatives from near the Canadian border to near the Mexican border. All were found feasible -- and all would someday be traversed by rails.

(more)

But then the Civil War (1861-1865) intervened, and railroads played an important role in its outcome. "If the southern states had seceded in 1832, when South Carolina was threatening to do so, nothing could have stopped them," said Franklin Garrett, director of the Atlanta Historical Society. "It was largely the railroad that enabled the North to win the war."

/(Obviously, railroads greatly enhanced the mobility of military forces. They enabled the Confederacy (the Southern states) to make the most of its internal lines of communication; but they also permitted armies for the first time to fight far from their sources of supply without being tied to navigable waters or compelled to live off the countryside. And that -- given the North's great superiority in railroads and foundries - - was why Union forces were able to strike deep into the South without suffering Napoleon's fate in Russia, as many Europeans had predicted they would.)/

Even as the war was raging, the federal government pursued the dream of a transcontinental railroad. The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862 chartered the Union Pacific Railroad and directed it to build westward from the Missouri River to Nebraska to a meeting with the Central Pacific reaching eastward from Sacramento, California. It also granted the two railroads 10 square miles /sq km/ of public land (later increased to 20) for every mile /km/ of track laid, and loans in government bonds of

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\$16,000 to \$48,000 per mile /\$9,900 to \$29,750 per km/, depending on the topography.

Construction of the converging rail lines amounted to a national epic. Chinese laborers spiked track on the Central; Civil War veterans and Irish immigrants worked on the Union. The railroad camps, "Hell on wheels," were recurrently dismantled, loaded on cars, and moved forward with the advancing railheads. On May 10, 1869, the two lines were joined at Promontory in the Utah desert. / (The final tie was of California polished laurel, the last spike of California gold. The telegraph transmitted an account of every stroke of the hammer driving the golden spike home.) /

By the time of the meeting at Promontory, the most remarkable construction period in American railroad history was in full swing. Within a decade after 1864 the railroad network had doubled in size, and expansion went forward at such a pace that 192,556 /310,000 km/ miles of track were in operation by the end of the century. Every section of the country was affected. West of the Mississippi River, one transcontinental railroad proved insufficient. In a region once dismissed as an American desert, five (later seven) east-west lines were completed, and feeders and connections crossed vacant spaces on the map. It was in this area that the federal government's policy of granting public land to railroad companies found its fullest expression.

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The railroads were eager to sell these land holdings because they needed cash and because the presence of settlers and the crops they raised would provide traffic and revenue. As a result, most land-grant railroads established departments that advertised, in the United States and abroad, the real estate they were selling, solicited migrants, and extended credit for land purchases. In this fashion the railroads populated the territories where their grants lay.

/(This was the era of "empire builders" -- legendary railroad magnates like Collis P. Huntington, James J. Bill, Leland Stanford, Jay Gould, and Edward H. Harriman. Willa Cather described one such a figure in her novel "A Lost Lady" (1923) -- Captain Forrester, whose philosophy of life was that a man could get anything he wanted by wanting it hard enough. "All our great West has been developed from such dreams; the homesteader's and the prospector's and the contractor's. We dreamed the railroads across the mountains....")/

The 1860s ushered in a period of luxury railroad passenger travel of a type no longer available. /(Beginning then, affluent Bostonians could ride in the umber-colored Pullman cars of the Boston & Mt. Desert Limited Express to their summer mansions at Bar Harbor, Maine; the New York and Florida Special provided escape southward from the rigors of northern winters; and the Crescent Limited inaugurated the Washington-Atlanta leg

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of what was to become through service from New York to New Orleans.)/

Lucius Beebe, a wealthy journalist and railroad enthusiast, wrote that "the trains we rode in the belle epoque...were but an extension of the luxury, decor, and facilities that were part of the hotels which were, in effect, their terminals or junction points." / (The Greenbrier, at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, was operated by the Chesapeake & Ohio. The Florida East Coast Railway owned the Royal Poinciana Hotel at Palm Beach. "Patrons of the Southern Pacific's magnificent Del Monte Hotel /near/ Monterey got there aboard the Southern Pacific's de luxe train of the identical name, "Beebe noted, "while the Santa Fe's California Limited paused, conveniently, under the very porte cochere of the Green Hotel at Pasadena.")/

The 1880s also saw the beginning of federal regulation of the railroad industry. In 1887 Congress established the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), whose considerable discretionary power was to be shared by commissioners whose tenure and decisions were independent of presidential authority. However, the ICC was unable at first to provide effective regulation because it lacked final legislative and adjudicative power; the enforcement power still resided in the judiciary.

Passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906 freed the ICC from the judicial straitjacket. The commission was given final rate-making powers subject to judicial review on complaint of the

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carriers; hence rates established by the ICC were to become effective immediately without need for prior judicial approval. This had the effect of shifting the burden of proof onto the carriers if they wished to challenge a commission ruling.

The American railroad system reached its peak size of 254,057 miles /408,865 km/ of track in 1916. By that time, however, the railroads were in a deep financial crisis, which was aggravated by American entry into World War I the following year. With all war materiel headed east for shipment to Europe, there were massive traffic jams. In the autumn of 1917, when the shortage of freight cars was as high as 158,000 units a day, some 100,000 loaded cars were piled up at approaches to East Coast ports. The railroad industry's War Board proved unequal to the challenge, and in December 1917 the federal government seized control of the railways.

For the entire 26 months of government control -- January 1, 1918, to March 1, 1920 -- operating expenses and rentals exceeded revenues by \$900 million, not including \$204 million subsequently paid to the railroads in settlement of under-maintenance claims. While successful in its main aim of moving war traffic, government control was a financial disaster that railroads later estimated cost the taxpayers \$2 million a day -- a statistic cited for many years thereafter as a prime argument against nationalization of railways.

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The decade of the 1920s has been called the "Indian summer" of American railroading. Highway and air competition were distant threats on an otherwise unclouded horizon. Riding a wave of national prosperity, railroads also helped themselves with advances in operating efficiency. Automatic train control and centralized traffic control were the great technological accomplishments of the decade. Car capacity, daily car mileage, and train speeds all increased. In 1929 the nation's railroads reported combined net income of \$896.8 million, for a rate of return on net depreciated investment of 5.3 percent.

The Great Depression of the 1930s wiped out all of the gains of the preceding decade, and more. Revenues dropped below pre-World War I levels. There were deficits in railroad net income in 1932, 1933, 1934, and again in 1938, by which time companies accounting for 31 percent of all railroad mileage were in bankruptcy or receivership. The average rate of return during the 1930s was just over 2 percent. It took war preparedness and World War II to restore the industry.

The Depression and the rising pressures of highway and air competition during the 1930s had forced a shrinkage of the railroads' physical plant and rolling stock, with the result that the industry entered World War II with 25 percent fewer freight cars, 30 percent fewer passenger cars, and 32 percent fewer locomotives than existed in 1916. There was considerable idle capacity nonetheless, and the experience of World War II

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demonstrated forcefully the great ability of railroads to meet rising traffic demands with little if any increase in fixed plant.

Moreover it was a two-front war, with freight and troop trains rolling west as well as east, and thus the great traffic pileups of World War I were not duplicated. Tonnage of freight hauled in each of the four World War II years was 50 percent higher than in 1916. Passenger traffic rose almost sixfold from the prewar years. With highway and air traffic severely curtailed, railroads handled 97 percent of all troop movements and 90 percent of all military freight traffic within the United States.

After World War II, railroads again went into decline as highway and air traffic picked up. By 1970 the railroads' share of total intercity freight traffic, in terms of ton-miles hauled, had dropped to about 40 percent. Also, trains were accounting for only about 1 percent of intercity passenger miles. To maintain a modicum of passenger service, Congress passed the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970. The law created the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, popularly known as Amtrak, to operate a nationwide railroad passenger system beginning March 1, 1971.

The 1970 law enabled railroads, if they wished, to transfer all their intercity passenger operations -- except commuter services -- to Amtrak. For being relieved of passenger

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responsibilities, a railroad was to pay Amtrak a fixed amount during each of three years in money, equipment, or services. In return the railroad was to receive either common stock in the corporation or a tax deduction, but not both, equal to the value of the funds, goods or services given to the corporation. / (The law also authorized Amtrak to operate trains outside the basic system and to operate trains requested by any state, regional or local agency if such agency agreed to pay the corporation at least two-thirds of the deficit solely related to the service.) /

In its early years Amtrak benefited from the gasoline shortage that led many motorists to travel by rail. By 1973 Amtrak reported a 25 percent increase in passengers. Congress meanwhile provided the funds needed to cover huge operating deficits and to finance expansion.

Before establishment of Amtrak, mergers were seen as a major solution to railroad problems. The biggest merger brought the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads together into the Penn Central in 1968. The bankruptcy of this company just two years later placed in serious question the use of consolidation alone as a solution.

Passage by Congress of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 was another milestone in U.S. railroading. The law, designed to preserve the railroad system in the Northeast and Midwest, created the United States Railway Association to restructure bankrupt lines in the region under a new common

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carrier, the Consolidated Rail Corporation, known as Conrail. On April 1, 1976, Conrail, a quasi-governmental organization, took control of seven bankrupt railroads -- the Penn Central, Central Railroad of New Jersey, Erie Lackawanna, Lehigh & Hudson River, Lehigh Valley, Reading, and Ann Arbor. Conrail lost money in its early years, but it reported net earnings of \$174.2 million in 1982, \$313 million in 1983, and \$500 million in 1984.

/(The Reagan administration has proposed to sell Conrail to private interests. Conrail's 38,000 employees have made a firm purchase offer. CSX Corporation, operator of the nation's largest railroad (26,500 miles /42,650 km/ of track), the Norfolk Southern Corporation, and the Sante Fe Southern Pacific Corporation -- attracted by Conrail's recent profitability -- have expressed interest in submitting bids of their own.)/

\* \* \*

While American railroads probably will never regain their former eminence as passenger carriers, they show no sign of abandoning such service. For instance, a new high-speed rail line linking Los Angeles and San Diego in California is scheduled to go into operation in 1988. Traveling at speeds of up to 160 miles /260 km/ an hour, the trains will be able to make the 130-mile /210-km/ trip in 59 minutes. High-speed lines also are being considered for routes between Las Vegas, Nevada, and Los Angeles; Dallas and Houston, Texas; New York City and Montreal, Canada; Orlando-Tampa-Miami in Florida; Philadelphia

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to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Detroit, Michigan to Chicago, Illinois.

Brock Adams, former as secretary of transportation, is confident about the future of the nation's railroads. He says: "Americans love the folklore and romance of railroading, whose history is so interwoven with the growth of the United States, but the railroad train is not a historical artifact. It is fuel-efficient over long hauls, and its rights-of-way use relatively small amounts of land and are already in place. Trucks and barges simply could not handle the bulk commodities that move by rail, if rail service were abandoned.... The energy crisis is not over; it will be with us for years to come. A sensible program of energy conservation will have to be based on continued use of the railroad train, as a carrier of both freight and people."

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AMERICA 348

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5/21/84 (GO/go)

Back on Track

CAPTION A

No caption

CAPTIONS B & C

Modern computerized equipment enables employes at the CSX Corporation's Queensgate control center (above and left) in Cincinnati, Ohio, to move an incoming car to the proper outgoing train in half the time that it used to take.

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CAPTION D

Hopper cars laden with low-sulfur coal line up to fill foreign freighters in Norfolk, Virginia.

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