



# Manhattan Free Press

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An Award Winning Weekly Newspaper

Thursday, August 19, 2010

## Significant Storm Damage At Kansas State Due To Wind



Anderson Hall chiller crushed by tree.



Facilities employees were quick to cover the damaged portions of the Anderson Hall roof to prevent further problems. Photos by University Photographer David Mayes.

A late afternoon storm with damaging winds caused significant losses to trees and some damage to buildings on the Kansas State University campus Friday. K-State police Capt. Don Stubbings estimated that the tree damage near Anderson and Eisenhower Halls was nearly as bad as that of the June 2008 tornado.

"The damage in that small area resulted in tree loss similar to what we experienced on campus a couple of years ago due to the tornado," Stubbings said.

Anderson Hall sustained roof and ceiling damage and lost a chiller. A stone wall along Manhattan Ave., also was severely damaged.

Bruce Shubert, vice president for administration and finance, estimates the damage to be about \$250,000, not including tree replacement. The major portion of the expense is to replace chillers

and roofs.

### CAMPUS CLEAN-UP

Thanks to the work of Kansas State University facilities workers, the campus is recovering from the Aug. 13 storm. "Our facilities workers have done an outstanding job," said K-State President Kirk Schulz. "They responded quickly to the storm damage and have been working long hours to clean up the campus. I can't say enough about the tremendous job they are doing."

Anderson Hall sustained roof and ceiling damage and lost a chiller -- air conditioner -- in the storm. A stone wall along Manhattan Ave., walk lights around Anderson Hall, benches and numerous trees on campus also were damaged.

"As the campus is being reviewed, other minor damage to roofs, fences and a few windows is becoming evident," said Bruce Shubert, vice president for admin-

istration and finance.

Shubert said facilities' crews and local contractors were on the job over the weekend to get things cleaned up.

"They worked long hours cleaning Anderson and the grounds, and are continuing work today," Shubert said. "We hope to begin work on a permanent replacement for the damaged Anderson Hall roof soon. Everyone is ready for the excitement and activity surrounding the start of the fall semester Aug. 23."

Anderson Hall's main chiller -- or air conditioner -- was destroyed when a tree fell on it. Shubert said a temporary chiller will arrive today, but that it will take some time to make it operational. A permanent replacement has been ordered.

Shubert estimates damage at \$250,000, not including tree replacement.

## Foundation Grant To Christian School

The Flint Hills Christian School, Manhattan, has received a \$5,000.00 grant from The Greater Manhattan Community Foundation. The grant was awarded through a competitive process and will be used to address technology needs to enhance student learning.

This grant signifies that Frank Leone, Administrator, Stephanie Chitwood, Grant Writer, and Mervin Bitikofer, Secondary Teacher/Lead Technology, have worked to develop, plan, and implement opportunities for classroom teachers to purchase and use up-to-date technology to allow for efficient and effective instruction. Supplemented by curriculum funds from the Flint Hills, the grant will enable the purchase of 12 laptops and two Elmo projection devices. The laptops and Elmos will be used by teachers to increase student engagement in their lessons. They will also be used to improve students' writing, trigonometry and technology skills.

The Greater Manhattan

Community Foundation is a non-profit, charitable organization which serves both the donor and grant seeker by providing a community endowment to meet the donor's wishes and the community's needs. Flint Hills Christian School is an independent, non-profit community supported school designed to meet the needs of the Christian community by providing a quality education from a Biblical perspective. Both agencies are excited about this opportunity to collaborate and provide updated technology to improve student and community success.

Flint Hills Christian School greatly appreciates this grant opportunity that The Greater Manhattan Community Foundation is able to provide in the area of technology. A special thank you to KSU Professor, Dr. Timothy Frey, for assisting and facilitating with the writing of this grant.

"If we teach today as we taught yesterday, we rob our children of tomorrow." John Dewey

## Ft. Riley Housing Summit

Fort Riley officials are inviting builders, developers, realtors and financiers to a Housing Summit from 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. Aug. 23 at Riley's Conference Center.

The basis of discussion will be projected housing needs and affordable housing for Soldiers and their Families in the Central Flint Hills Region, as well as troop movement at Fort Riley.

"The Housing Summit provides an avenue for Fort Riley to update local lending institutions and developers on the growth of Fort Riley and to relay

our housing requirements that can be met within the Central Flint Hills Region," said Larry McGee, director of Fort Riley's Public Works. "Adequate and affordable housing is a critical component to the retention of our Soldiers and Families at Fort Riley and in the Army."

Builders, developers, realtors and financiers are highly encouraged to contact Pattie Mayhew, Fort Riley Housing Office, to reserve a seat at the summit by calling 239-0679 or e-mailing pattie.mayhew@riley.army.mil

## Columbian Fund Raising Update

The Columbian Theatre Foundation's drive to raise \$360,000 to pay off all debt and allow the transfer of ownership of the building to the City of Wamego is edging closer to its goal. Vivian Orndorff, executive director of the Foundation, announced at the monthly Wamego Chamber of Commerce meeting this week that pledges now exceed \$310,000. "We can see the light at the end of the tunnel. The extension of the deadline agreed to by the City Commission was just what we needed."

With a new deadline of October 4 the fundraising committee expressed its optimism at achieving the goal. Orndorff continued, "We have a phone

calling effort now being planned to contact all present and past members, and to also call patrons from other communities who have been regular attendees at Columbian productions."

Concurrent with the fundraising activities the board has launched an effort to identify and recruit added leadership to the volunteer ranks to insure that the Columbian is strong and healthy well into the future. Anyone interested in either making a contribution, or volunteering to be a part of the Columbian going forward can contact Vivian at the Columbian, 456-2029, or via email to Vivian@ColumbianTheatre.com.

## K-State Computer Store Relocates

Your K-State Student Union announces the relocation of the Union Computer Store to the K-State Student Union Bookstore effective Thursday, August 19.

Your Union Computer Store, an Authorized Apple Campus Reseller, looks forward to increased visibility with the new, ground floor location. "We are extending our operating hours to match those of the Union Bookstore and will be able to service the campus more efficiently," said Chris Loehr, computer store manager.

An extensive inventory featuring MacBooks, iPads, iPods, accessories, as well as a select line of Dell laptops and printers, will still be available to those with valid K-State IDs. The store will continue to offer education discounts on Student Select Microsoft and Adobe products. Back-to-school offers will end on September 7.

A grand reopening is planned for the near future. For more information about the Union Computer Store, visit the new location, the website at k-state.edu/computerstore or call 785-

## City Clean Up Started

There will be a city-wide effort to remove tree branches as a result of the recent wind storm started yesterday. City crews will begin their work in Section A (Northeast area of Manhattan, North of Ratone Street and East of North Manhattan Avenue) of the attached map and then move through sections B, C, D, and E. This will provide additional time for those residents most affected by the storm to move their tree limbs to the curb for removal.

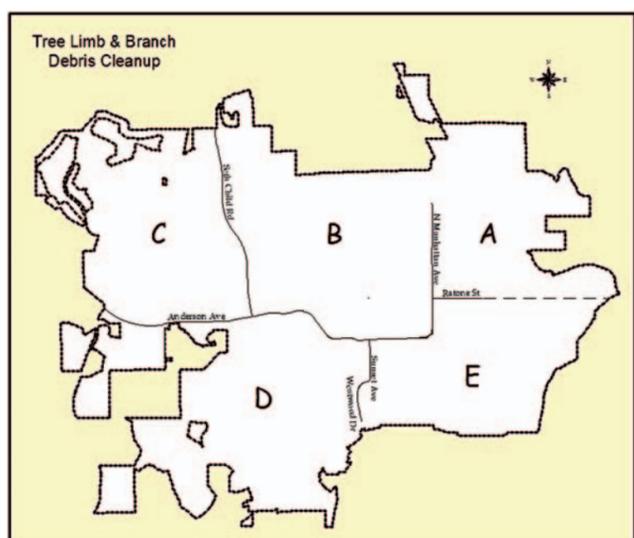
Please try not to obstruct roadway or sidewalks with downed tree limbs and move limbs as close to the curb as possible, to facilitate mechanical collection of limbs. City crews will not enter alleys or private property to collect tree limbs or branches. Residents are being asked to have all branches and limbs moved to the curb side by 8:00 a.m. on Wednesday, August 18, to facilitate the city-wide efforts, as crews will only go through neighborhoods for collection once. Crews will only pick up limbs and branches that fell as a result of the recent wind storm. Any debris other than tree limbs and branches left at the curb side will not be collected. There may be areas in the community that will need to be posted and designated No Parking, to ensure that crews can remove larger tree limbs safely. The collection schedule of tree branches

and limbs will be dependent upon the availability of equipment and personnel resources.

If residents would like to remove debris prior to City removal, they may take the tree branches to the Riley County Transfer Station. The Transfer Station is open Monday through Saturday from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., and is located at 1881 Henton Road. There is no charge for private individ-

uals to take tree limbs and branches to the Transfer Station.

If you or someone that you know needs assistance to move downed tree limbs and branches, please call the City offices at 587-2404. If an individual or group would like to volunteer their services to help those needing assistance, please call the same City phone number at 587-2404.



## Santa Fe Trail Travelers

Attention future Santa Fe Trail travelers! The 2011 Santa Fe Trail Trip, a 12-day camping trip, for current 5th and 6th grade students, down the historic Santa Fe Trail, is now being organized. These trips began in 1985 and have continued every other summer. Trip directors are Chris Day and Janet Armstead. Applications will be available at the Informational Meeting, Monday, August 23rd, 2010, at 7

p.m., at Wamego Middle School Commons area. Details of the trip, including dates and cost will be discussed at this time. Visit our last trip by gogging, rockcreekschools.org then click on the St. George Elementary School link, then the Santa Fe Trail Trip link. For further information, please call Mrs. Day at 785-456-5325 or Mrs. Armstead at 785-456-7737.

## Vendor Applications

Applications are being accepted now for the annual OZtoberFest street festival, October 2 & 3, 2010 in Downtown Wamego. Non-profit groups, crafters, commercial vendors and food vendors are strongly

encouraged to apply. Attendance for OZtoberFest in 2009 was 7,000 people. Applications are available on the Wamego Chamber website at www.wamegochamber.com or at www.OZtoberFest.com .

## Wabaunsee Homecoming

Homecoming at the Beecher Bible and Rifle Church at Wabaunsee is scheduled for Sunday, August 29th. Sunday School is at 9:00 a.m. and Church Service at 9:45. A basket dinner will follow at 12:00 noon with a

program at 1:30. The Flint Hills Old Timers Band will furnish the music and Richard Weixelman speaking on Life in Wabaunsee Township. Come and enjoy the day.

# Obituaries

## Lacy Deters

Lacy Jane Deters, loving mother, daughter, and sister, passed away August 15, 2010 at the young age of 27. She was the daughter of Lee and Cindy Nelson of Manhattan, and Mike Vogt D.V.M. of Boyd, Texas.

She was born on September 17, 1982 in Manhattan. Lacy was welcomed home by her sister Megan, and at the age of 10 she welcomed home her baby brother, Zach. On December 16, 2002 the man of her life entered this world, her son Cooper.

Lacy attended Manhattan High School and graduated Magna Cum

Laude from Washburn University with a bachelors and masters of social work in 2005. She was employed as a social worker for KVC, and worked with foster families and foster children. Lacy loved being outdoors, she enjoyed playing softball, fishing, camping and spending time at the lake. She also enjoyed preserving her memories by scrap booking.

Lacy is survived by her son Cooper, her parents Lee and Cindy Nelson, and Mike Vogt, sister Megan (Greg) Schultejans, and her brother Zach Nelson.

A rosary will be prayed at 6:00 pm Tuesday night at the Yorgensen-Meloan-Londeen Funeral Home with a visitation to

follow until 8:30 pm. Mass of Christian Burial will be at the Seven Dolors Catholic Church on Wednesday at 2:00 p.m., with Father Joseph S. Popelka as celebrant. Burial will follow in the Saint Patrick's Cemetery in the Lake Elbo Community.

Online condolences may be left for the family through the funeral home website at [www.ymlfuneral-home.com](http://www.ymlfuneral-home.com)

Memorials may be made to the Cooper Deters Education Fund at Community 1st National Bank in Manhattan. Contributions may be left in care of the Yorgensen-Meloan-Londeen Funeral Home, 1616 Poyntz Avenue, Manhattan, Kansas 66502.

## Helen Parks

Helen Lynette "Lynn" (Ward) Parks, 87, died peacefully August 16th, 2010 at the Good Shepherd Hospice House in Manhattan, Kansas surrounded by loved ones.

She was born June 5, 1923 on the family farm in New Canton, Illinois, the middle child of Giles E. and Gertrude (Haskins) Ward. She attended Brewster Grade School, New Canton Community High School and Western Illinois State Teacher's College in Macomb, IL. She taught first and second grade in New Canton for several years before marrying her high school sweetheart, Charles "Charlie" Elwood Parks. They were married May 20th, 1944 in Montgomery, AL while Charlie was serving in the U.S. Army Air Corp.

Lynn Parks and her husband made Manhattan, Kansas, their home from 1949 to 1973 as Charlie worked for the Kansas State Extension Service and the Department of Landscape Architecture at Kansas State University. They moved to Starkville, Mississippi in 1973 when Charlie became the department head of Landscape Architecture at Mississippi State University. Charlie retired in 1990

and preceded her in death in 1996.

Lynn was the consummate homemaker and all who knew her share stories of her expertise and enthusiasm for her hobbies of sewing, cooking, entertaining and creating a lovely happy home for her family. She also was a tireless volunteer, spreading her time in her children's schools and in her churches. Lynn was an active member at the First United Methodist Church while in Manhattan. In Starkville, she joined the First Presbyterian Church where she welcomed the children of the church running the Cradle Roll for 11 years. Lynn regularly baked and delivered her famous banana bread to the elderly through the church outreach program. In 2002, she was the recipient of the Presbyterian Women's Life Membership Award for her many contributions. While in Starkville she was an active P.E.O. member and served as a President of the Mississippi State University Newcomer's Club.

Mrs. Parks is survived by her daughter, Janis Lynette Carpenter and her husband, Frank of Manhattan, KS and by her son, Timothy Charles Parks and his wife Diane of Vail, CO. Lynn leaves beloved grandchildren Aaron Carpenter, Ellen Noll, Brian Carpenter, Mary Smith,

Jaelyn Parks and Mallory Parks. She is also great grandmother to Parker, Gavin, Clark, Owen, Miles, Lila and the late Graycee Carpenter. Fifteen additional nieces and nephews mourn her passing.

She is survived by all her siblings: Eloise Bourque, Manhattan, KS; Melvin Ward and his wife Anne, Hull, IL; Bette Howick and her husband Les, Salt Lake City, UT; and Awana Stauffer, Colorado Springs, CO.

Private family graveside services will be at Sunrise Cemetery. A Memorial Service will be held at the Meadowlark Retirement Center Community Room on Saturday, August 21st, 2010 at 2:00 P.M. with Reverend Ben Duerfeldt officiating.

Online condolences may be left for the family through the funeral home website at [www.ymlfuneral-home.com](http://www.ymlfuneral-home.com)

Memorial contributions may be made to Good Shepherd Hospice House or Meadowlark Hills Foundation both of Manhattan, KS or the First Presbyterian Church Bell Tower Maintenance Fund in Starkville, MS. Contributions may be left in care of the Yorgensen-Meloan-Londeen Funeral Home, 1616 Poyntz Avenue, Manhattan, KS 66502.

## Virginia Johnson

Virginia Nixon Johnson died Thursday, June 24, 2010 at the Good Shepherd Hospice House, Manhattan, KS.

'Ginger' was born on September 21, 1920 in Hoyt, Kansas, one of five daughters of Achie Peter and Adele Kate (Small) Nixon. Her mother's family, the Smalls, was prominent around the turn of the 20th Century, owning a large cattle operation and the first bank in North Topeka. Family lore has it that Buffalo Bill often dined with the Smalls at their ranch near Hoyt.

She grew up in Hoyt and Topeka, and later moved to Manhattan, where she graduated from the Manhattan High School and met her future husband, William P. Johnson. They were married on September 3, 1939 and were blessed with 4 children: Connie, Lee, Kitty, and Bill Jr.

Ginger and Bill left Manhattan in 1944 to follow Bill's career, and returned in 2003 where they spent

their final years at Meadowlark Hills. In the interim years, they lived in several states, including MO, NJ, IL, CA, FL, and NC. Ginger especially treasured her homes on the New Jersey shore and in the mountains of North Carolina.

Ginger loved being a mother, and with four children and a houseful of pets, life was busy, but never dull. She was a talented painter and filled her home with her canvases. She also enjoyed crafts of any kind, golfing, fishing, and boating. Later in life, while living in Florida, she earned her 1000 hour pen as a hospital emergency room volunteer.

Ginger had a wonderful sense of humor, and throughout the years, delighted friends and family with stories of her childhood/life. She later captured many of these stories in her memoir, a lasting gift for her family.

She was preceded in death by her parents, four sisters, and her husband Bill on May 1, 2006.

Survivors include three daughters: Connie Johnson, Lee

Neuerth-Conlan, Kitty Borg; a son: Bill Johnson; two nieces: Pat Gamble, Mary Hohman; three nephews: Denny Leasure, Mike Leasure, Tom Frenn; thirteen grandchildren, ten great-grandchildren and one great-great grandchild. Ginger is also survived by her beloved companion, Sophie, a Yorkshire Terrier, who was her constant companion.

The family would like to thank Meadowlark Hills, especially the Home Health, Medical, and Tinklin staff for the excellent care and support over the years; the Good Shepherd Hospice House for the extraordinary care and support during her final days; and Laura and Corky Crabs for their kindness, love, and friendship.

Donations in Ginger's memory can be made to the Virginia Nixon Johnson Memorial at Meadowlark Hills Foundation, 2121 Meadowlark Road, Manhattan, KS 66502, or The Good Shepherd Hospice House, 3801 Vanesta Drive, Manhattan, KS 66503 in care of the Yorgensen-Meloan-Londeen Funeral Home.

Private memorial services will be held at a later date.

Yorgensen-Meloan-Londeen Funeral Home 1616 Poyntz Avenue, Manhattan, Kansas 66502 is handling local arrangements.

On-line condolences may be left for the family through the funeral home website at: [www.ymlfuneralhome.com](http://www.ymlfuneralhome.com).



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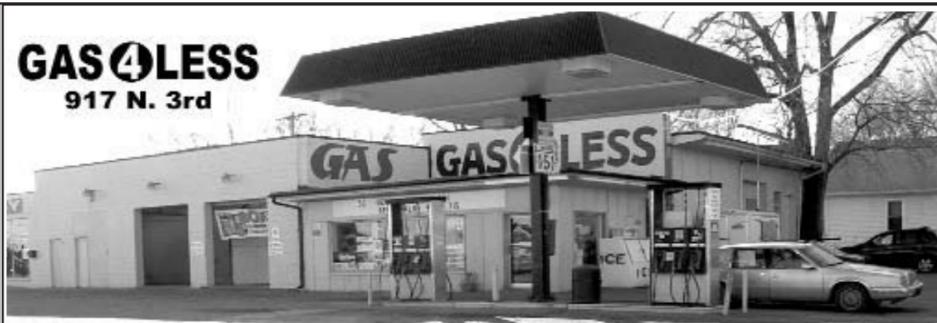
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# Bob Boozer Talks "Dream Team"

Bob Boozer had a dream and he followed it.

The former Kansas State Wildcat delayed his entry into professional basketball for the right to try out for the 1960 Olympic basketball team. Boozer made that team, and tonight in Springfield, Mass., that Gold Medal-winning team will enter the storied Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame.

Times have changes, Boozer said. "With the money they're passing out today, it would have been a very difficult decision. But at the time, the No. 1 draft choice was only getting \$15,000 or \$16,000, and for me, the possibility of making an Olympic team was a single chance of a lifetime to fulfill a dream."

After a three-year playing career at K-State, the 6-foot-8 native of Omaha, Neb., was the No. 1 overall selection in the 1959 NBA draft by the Cincinnati Royals.

Boozer had averaged a school record 21.9 points in his 77 games as a Wildcat, which included 62 victories. He was a vital cog in Tex Winter's "Purple Machine" that won the Big Seven title in his junior year, 1957-58, and the first-ever Big 8 Championship the next year when the Wildcats went 14-0 and reached No. 1 status in the nation.

Still, there was more for Boozer to accomplish as an amateur player.

"Since I was young, I always dreamed of playing in the Olympics," said Boozer, member of K-State's Hall of Fame, the university's "All Century" team and one of just 10 Wildcats to have his uniform retired. "Some people in the NBA thought I was a fool to wait a year to start my professional career, but for me, it was the right thing to do."

"I knew it was a long shot to make the team, but it was going to be my only opportunity," he said.

You may have never heard of the NIBL. The National Industrial Basketball League was formed in 1947 and later became the National AAU Basketball League.

In his year-in-waiting to try out for the 1960 Olympics, Boozer played for the Peoria Cats in a league that included the Bartlesville Phillips 66ers,

Wichita Vickers, Akron Goodyear Wingfoots, Denver-Chicago Truckers and New York Tuck Tapers, to name a few.

"You worked for your company for eight hours a day, and then you practiced and played basketball for your corporation," said Boozer. "It was very competitive -- a step above college basketball."

Boozer said his Peoria team won the postseason tournament in Denver, and then advanced to an Olympic tournament that included a small college all-star team; a team of university all-stars, including Jerry West, Jerry Lucas and Oscar Robertson; an armed forces all-star unit; and a group from the NIBL.

Just hours after the tournament, Boozer heard his name as one of 12 called to make up the 1960 U.S. Olympic basketball team.

"Now, that was a thrill," he said. "I had made the sacrifice to not turn pro, and without a guarantee that I would make the USA team. So to hear my name called was very rewarding and exciting."

The 12 members of the team were Jay Arnette, Texas; Walt Bellamy, Indiana; Bob Boozer, Peoria Caterpillars and K-State; Terry Dischinger, Purdue; Burdette Haldorson, Bartlesville Phillips 66ers and Colorado; Darrall Imhoff, California; Allen Kelley, Peoria Caterpillars and Kansas; Lester Lane, Oklahoma; Jerry Lucas, Ohio State; Oscar Robertson, Cincinnati; Adrian Smith, U.S. armed forces and Kentucky; and Jerry West, West Virginia. The head coach was Pete Newell; assistant coach was Warren Womble.

This year's Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame class includes eight individuals and two teams: Jerry Buss, Cynthia Cooper, Bob Hurley Sr., Karl Malone, Scottie Pippen, members of the 1960 U.S. men's Olympic basketball team and the 1992 U.S. men's Olympic basketball team, also known as the "Dream Team." The hall's class also includes three legendary players: Dennis Johnson, Gus Johnson and international star Maciel "Ubiratan" Pereira, who are being honored posthumously.

Featuring Oscar Robertson and the two Jerrys -- West and Lucas -- the 1960 U.S. men's Olympic basketball team might have been the first "Dream Team" before the famed 1992 unit with Larry Bird, Magic Johnson and Michael Jordan.

"We were recognized as a strong team. For its time, one certainly to be compared to the 'Dream Teams' of today," said Boozer, now 73 and living in Omaha. "We were a team recognized as one that should win the gold and we did. We definitely think we were the first 'Dream Team.'"

The USA did win gold, going 8-0, averaging 101.9 points and winning games by a 42.4-point average. It was a greater margin of victory than the 1992 gang had on their way to a golden finish.

"It was like a team we had at K-State. We were a family," said Boozer. "We were special. We had some horses, and it was fun to watch the horses run. Like at K-State, we got the ball off the board and we were off to the races."

While it was natural that Robertson, Lucas and West received the headlines, Boozer said it was a team without egos.

"We had a group of starters, but we substituted five-for-five and that second group really got after you," said Boozer, who was one of the reserves and averaged 8.6 point in Olympic competition. "We had teams play with us in the first half, but our strength was the second half when we just wore teams down. We were overpowering."

The USA scored at least 104 points in five of its eight games, which included a 112-81 victory over host Italy in the semifinals before a 90-63 thumping of Brazil for the gold medal.

To this day, Boozer calls his days at K-State the best experience of his life.

"To win the gold medal, to represent your country, to hear the star spangled banner -- that ranks ahead of anything I did professionally, which includes winning the NBA championship when I was with Milwaukee. But that K-State experience -- it was No. 1," he said.

going to Marysville and beyond.

The Hollenberg Pony Express Station is a 60- by 25-foot, six-room, rustic building. Today it is a National Historical Landmark, making it unique among the 190 stations along the trail. Duane Durst said, "It is the only original unaltered station standing right where it was built. There are other stations, but they have been moved or altered, which takes away the historical value."

Now the Kansas State Historical Society maintains the site, which features educational displays and a beautiful mural. This Pony Express station is located in a truly rural setting, because Hanover is a town of 632 people. Now, that's rural.

August 29 will mark the 25th Annual Pony Express Festival at the historic Hollenberg Station. It will include live demonstrations and a short Pony Express re-ride.

More pictures and stories can be found in Kansas Magazine, the beautiful quarterly which showcases our state. Go to [www.kansasmag.com](http://www.kansasmag.com) or [www.travelks.com](http://www.travelks.com).

The rider has transferred the mail, and now he gallops away from the station as a way of celebrating 150 years since the founding of the Pony Express. We commend Duane Durst and all those involved for making a difference by honoring this legacy. It's the type of genuine history which rural Kansas can deliver.

## Kansas Profile - Now That's Rural: Duane Durst - Pony Express

By Ron Wilson, director of the Huck Boyd National Institute for Rural Development at Kansas State University.

The rider gallops up to the station, carrying the mochila full of mail. It's the Pony Express - but it's also 2010. This rider is reenacting this historic delivery service in honor of the 150th anniversary of the Pony Express.

A reenactment ride passed through rural Kansas in 2010, including a stop at the nation's only unaltered Pony Express station still standing at its original site. Special thanks to Kansas Magazine and writer Mark Janssen whose article told this remarkable story. It's today's Kansas Profile.

Duane Durst is director of the Hollenberg Pony Express Station State Historic Site near Hanover, Kansas. The Pony Express was created in 1860 to deliver mail between St. Joseph, Missouri and the west coast.

The route generally followed the wagon ruts of the Oregon and California trails through northeast Kansas.

The destination was Sacramento-1,966 miles away. The mission was delivery-transporting the mail in no more than 10 days through Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada and California territories.

The Pony Express concept came from the Russell, Majors & Waddell freight company, which provided the horses and hired the riders.

Posters seeking riders read: "Wanted-young, skinny, wiry fellows not over 18. Must be expert riders, willing to risk death daily. Orphans preferred. Wages \$25 per week."

When they said they wanted skinny riders, they meant it. Duane Durst pointed out that the consideration was for the horse. He said, "The total weight of rider, saddle and mail could not exceed 150 pounds."

Riders signed contracts promising they would not use profane language, get drunk, gamble, treat the animals cruelly or "do anything incompatible with the conduct of a gentleman." I'd like to see some behavior codes like that today.

Each rider covered 50 to 80 miles per day, riding at an 8 to 12 miles per hour clip. Horses and mochila were changed every 10 to 15 miles.

The riders were allowed two minutes to make that change. "A rider would swing off one horse and swing on another," Durst said. "It would happen that fast." Although the riders were asked to risk death daily, only one of its riders was killed during the exist-



Ron Wilson

tence of the Pony Express.

The cost of sending a letter was \$5 per half ounce, later reduced to \$1 when letters were written on tissue-type paper. More than 30,000 pieces of mail were delivered in the 18-month existence of the Pony Express, including the text of President Lincoln's inaugural address which arrived in seven days and 17 hours-well ahead of the guaranteed 10-day delivery.

The Pony Express captured the imagination of the nation, but it found itself displaced by the telegraph. It ended on October 26, 1861.

In honor of the 150th anniversary of the Pony Express, a reenactment ride was held in June 2010. It passed through northeast Kansas, going to the Hollenberg Pony Express Station before

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# Thoughts From The Prairie

## Lessons in Tolerance

What we learn in the School of Hard Knocks makes the greatest impression and we never forget those lessons. The Hard Knocks graduate school for me came in 'Nam in '68. I was given the honor of commanding a modified Target Acquisition Battalion, referred to as the 8th TAB, with small detachments all over South Vietnam. The day I signed in, the Division Artillery Commander called me to his office and began with, "Miller, I asked personnel for a major with a record of zero tact and not enough sense to know when to quit. Do you fit the bill?" It had finally come to his attention that the commander I was replacing was practicing "Progressive Leadership Tolerance." Standard issue weapons and uniforms were not required and weapons of choice were tolerated. Some had their own personal Jeep and a drug ring operated within the unit.



Dick Miller

The General granted my request for First Sergeant Ronald B. Tolson to be reassigned to 8th TAB. We initiated a routine consisting of reveille at 0500 in full uniform, followed by calisthenics and a two-mile run. We confiscated all unauthorized weapons and Jeeps and reissued their appropriate weapons and unit vehicles. Some of the troops considered the actions intolerant and wrote letters that generated senatorial letters of inquiry and condemnation by editors of the Overseas Weekly. One soldier decided to take matters into his own hands. Two other soldiers observed him attempting to enter my sleeping quarters and subdued him. He had two grenades, one for me and one for Tolson. The one for me had the pin already pulled.

I had the soldier brought to my office, told him I considered him a traitor and had zero tolerance for traitors. I drew my Army issued Model 1911 Colt 45, chambered a round and said, "Soldier, if you try that again the round in this chamber will send you home in a body bag. I also recognize you have had no leadership in this unit, so I am offering you a choice: the opportunity to shape up or the certainty of being shipped out." I do not remember his name, but I shall always remember the light that came on in his eyes. That soldier became one of the best in the unit, helped 8th Tab win two Unit Citations for excellence and came home with ribbons on his chest.

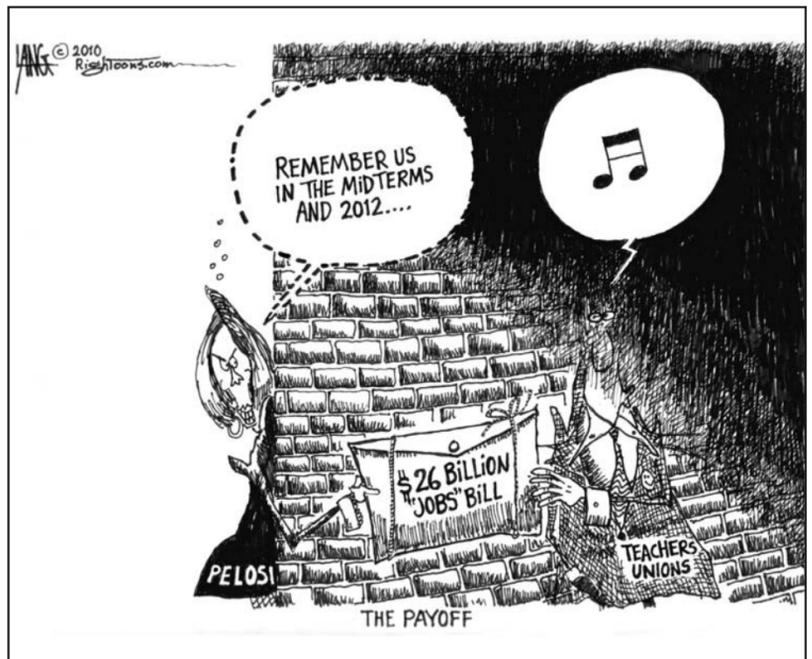
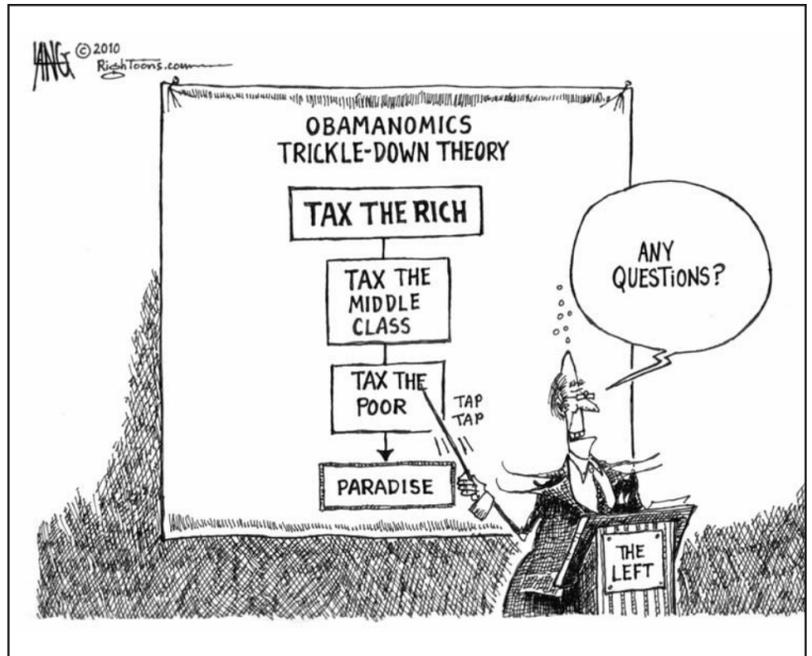
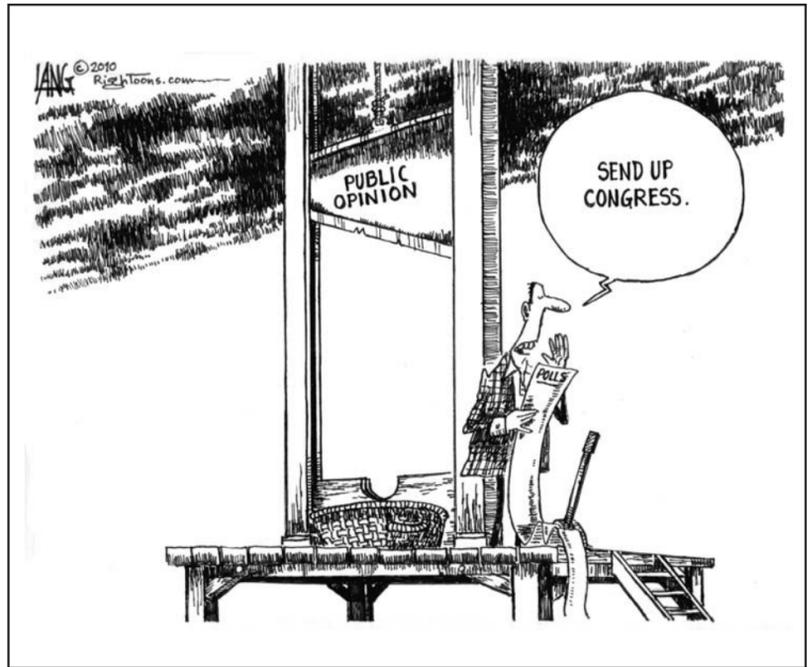
Now, as a private citizen, I have no authority or desire to issue anyone a choice as I did to the soldier in a combat zone and I turned in my Colt 45 when I retired. But so long as there is breath in my chest, I reserve the right to determine when I will be tolerant and about what I will express my intolerance. I'll begin right now with a partial list.

I have no tolerance for those who ignore the will of the people and place an unbearable burden on our children and grandchildren. I have no

tolerance for legislators elected to be guardians of our laws who violate those very laws and slap each other's wrist as just punishment. I have no tolerance for activists who will not take responsibility for their lifestyle and use the legal system to shift that responsibility to others in society. I have no tolerance for a national education system that is the conduit through which secular humanists propagate their socialist ideology that is eradicating the foundation of America.

I have no tolerance of an administration that not only ignores the Constitution, but also has amassed a staff of hundreds that are "fire hosing" legislation to destroy it. Thomas Sowell wrote in Dismantling America dated 8/17/10, "Not since the Norman conquerors of England published their laws in French... has there been such contempt for the people's right to know what laws were being imposed on them." Jim Daly wrote in an article, Signs of the Times, dated August 2010, "Tolerance is a buzzword that carries significant weight in our national conversation right now. And while Jesus calls us to love our neighbors, too often today tolerance is used to stifle free speech, while pushing a secular agenda." While "Speaking the truth in love," it's time to Stand Up, Speak Up and Vote. If we do not, tolerance will become unilateral, and as Brad Dacus declared, "One-way tolerance is not tolerance at all. It's tyranny."

Paul Harvey would say, "Now the rest of the story." I'll let you in on a little secret. My intolerant offer of choice to the soldier in Vietnam came from compassion for a young man led astray for whom I was now responsible.



# Ensure That Congress Follows The Constitution

## Solutions for America

The Heritage Foundation

### THE ISSUE:

To protect individual liberty, the Framers of the Constitution carefully enumerated the powers to be vested in the national government, rejecting any broader approach as dangerous. This great limitation has been whittled away to almost nothing. Today, Congress routinely legislates without regard to the constitutional limits on its powers, and only rarely do the courts act to enforce these limits. Indeed, Congress does not just ignore the constitutional limitations on its powers. Members have repeatedly failed to read the bills upon which they were voting, and some have even declared that they have to pass gargantuan bills first so that they can find out what is in them. None of this inspires confidence in Congress as an institution or in its Members, who take an oath to support the Constitution.

### THE FACTS:

\* Congress Mocks Constitutional Limits on Its Powers. When House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) was asked what provision of the Constitution authorized Congress to require all Americans to buy health insurance, she responded, "Are you serious? Are you serious?" Her press spokesman followed up by saying, "You can put this on the record. That is not a serious question."

\* Congress Did Not Have Authority to Impose an Individual Health Insurance Mandate. Congress has never before attempted to require all Americans to buy any particular good or service from a private market, and that is for a very good reason: Congress lacks the constitutional power to do so. The individual insurance mandate exceeds any authority recognized by the Supreme Court, but much more important, it is clearly contrary to the actual, enumerated powers conferred on Congress in the text of the Constitution.

\* Congress Rarely Gives Reasoned Consideration to the Legislation It Passes. Speaker Pelosi also explained, "But we need to pass the [health care] bill so that you can find out what is in it, away from the fog of controversy." What we have learned since its enactment has not been reassuring. For his part, Representative John Conyers (D-MI) responded to suggestions that he read the health care bill before voting on it by saying, "What good is reading the bill if it's a thousand pages and you don't have two days and two lawyers to find out what it means after you read the bill?"

\* Congress Does Not Provide Its Members with the Opportunity to Give Reasoned Consideration to the Legislation upon Which It Votes. After Congress voted to post the text of the 2009 stimulus bill on the Internet for 48 hours before voting on it, the current leadership did not release the

amended version of the bill that emerged from conference until 11:00 pm—only 10 late-night hours before the House was scheduled to take up the bill for consideration.

\* Congress Does Not Have Adequate Rules and Procedures for Consideration or Debate on the Constitutionality of Its Legislation. There is no requirement that bills even mention the constitutional powers that authorize them, and there is no adequate mechanism for Members of Congress who have constitutional concerns about particular pieces of legislation to raise their concerns and have them considered by other Members.

### THE SOLUTIONS:

\* Provide Proper Notice of Bill Texts to Members of Congress and the Public. Each House of Congress should adopt a rule requiring, absent special circumstances, the posting of the text of all bills on an Internet site not less than two days before floor debate begins on such bills. Members should be given a point of order to challenge departures from the rule that would require at least a bare majority vote.

\* Don't Use Improper Means to Enact Major Laws. The "reconciliation" process that is reserved for budget bills should not have been used in the Senate for passage of a health care reform that restructured a major portion of the economy and government. Congress should prevent such abuses, especially with respect to all major legislation.

\* Adopt Adequate Procedures to Consider the Constitutionality of Pending Bills. Each house of Congress (or both houses in a joint resolution or law) should adopt rules and procedures along the lines of those set forth in the Enumerated Powers Act, which has been introduced by Representative John Shadegg (R-AZ) and Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK) and would require that all legislation in Congress contain a concise explanation of the constitutional authority empowering Congress to act on it. Under such rules, failure to comply would subject the bill to a point of order, a procedural device that delays consideration of the measure until the problem is corrected or the objection is overruled. The rules should also allow debate, pursuant to a point of order, if Members of Congress believe that the statement of constitutional authority is erroneous.

\* Repeal Unconstitutional Provisions. Congress should promptly repeal any unconstitutional legislation enacted by the previous Congress. A good place to begin is with the mandate requiring all Americans to maintain or buy private health insurance under the new health care law, which, as Randy Barnett, Nathaniel Stewart, and Todd Gaziano have shown, is unconstitutional. Other provisions of the improperly considered legislation should also be reviewed and repealed.

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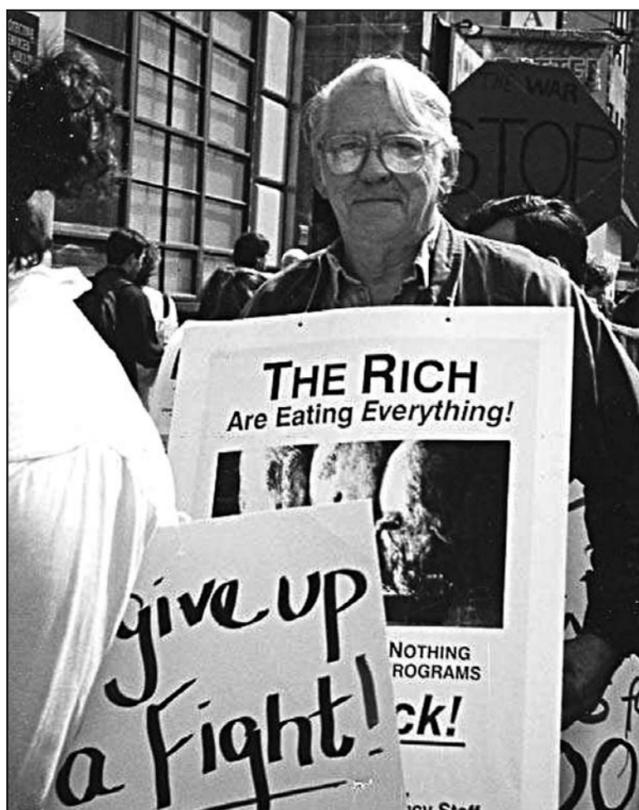
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"Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."  
- Thomas Jefferson, 1787

# Fight The Redistribution Of Your Wealth By Knowing Your Constitutional Rights



Richard Cloward

## The Cloward-Piven Strategy

from DISCOVERTHENETWORKS.ORG  
A GUIDE TO THE POLITICAL LEFT

Mr. Cloward (December 25, 1926 - August 20, 2001) was a professor of social work, and Mrs Piven born in Calgary, Alberta, Canada in 1932, is a distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology at The Graduate Center, City University of New York. May 2, 1966

**THE WEIGHT OF THE POOR**  
**A STRATEGY TO END POVERTY**  
**RICHARD A. CLOWARD and**  
**FRANCES FOX PIVEN**

Part II

Even if one allows for the possibility that family-income figures are grossly underestimated by the census, the financial implications of the proposed strategy are still very great. In 1965, the monthly average of persons receiving cash assistance in New York was 490,000, at a total cost of \$440 million; the rolls have now risen above 500,000, so that costs will exceed \$500 million in 1966. An increase in the rolls of a mere 20 per cent would cost an already overburdened municipality some \$100 million.

Special grants: Public assistance recipients in New York are also entitled to receive "nonrecurring" grants for clothing, household equipment and furniture-including washing machines, refrigerators, beds and bedding, tables and chairs. It hardly needs to be noted that most impoverished families have grossly inadequate clothing and household furnishings. The Greenleigh study, for example, found that 52 per cent of the families on public assistance lacked anything approaching adequate furniture. This condition results because almost nothing is spent on special grants in New York. In October, 1965, a typical month, the Department of Welfare spent only \$2.50 per recipient for heavy clothing and \$1.30 for household furnishings. Taken together, grants of this kind amounted in 1965 to a mere \$40 per person, or a total of \$20 million for the entire year. Considering the real needs of families, the successful demand for full entitlements could multiply these expenditures tenfold or more and that would involve the disbursement of many millions of dollars indeed.

One must be cautious in making generalizations about the prospects for this strategy in any jurisdiction unless the structure of welfare practices has been examined in some detail. We can, however, cite other studies conducted in other places to show that New York practices are not atypical. In Detroit, for example, Greenleigh Associates studied a large sample of households in a low-income district in 1965. Twenty per cent were already receiving assistance, but 35 per cent more were judged to need it. Although the authors made no strict determination of the eligibility of these families under the laws of Michigan, they believed that "larger numbers of persons were eligible than receiving." A good many of these families did not know that public assistance was available; others thought they would be deemed ineligible; not a few were ashamed or afraid to ask.

Similar deprivations have been shown in nation-wide studies. In 1963, the federal government carried out a survey based on a national sample of 5,500 families whose benefits under Aid to Dependent Children had been terminated. Thirty-four per cent of these cases were officially in need of income at the point of closing: this was true of 30 per cent of the white and 44 per cent of the Negro cases. The chief basis for termination given in local

that it is a civic education drive, will lend it legitimacy.

But information alone will not suffice. Organizers will have to become advocates in order to deal effectively with improper rejections and terminations. The advocate's task is to appraise the circumstances of each case, to argue its merits before welfare, to threaten legal action if satisfaction is not given. In some cases, it will be necessary to contest decisions by requesting a "fair hearing" before the appropriate state supervisory agency; it may occasionally be necessary to sue for redress in the courts. Hearings and court actions will require lawyers, many of whom, in cities like New York, can be recruited on a voluntary basis, especially under the banner of a movement to end poverty by a strategy of asserting legal rights. However, most cases will not require an expert knowledge of law, but only of welfare regulations; the rules can be learned by laymen, including welfare recipients themselves (who can help to man "information and advocacy" centers). To aid workers in these centers, handbooks should be prepared describing welfare rights and the tactics to employ in claiming them.

Advocacy must be supplemented by organized demonstrations to create a climate of militancy that will overcome the invidious and immobilizing attitudes which many potential recipients hold toward being "on welfare." In such a climate, many more poor people are likely to become their own advocates and will not need to rely on aid from organizers.

As the crisis develops, it will be important to use the mass media to inform the broader liberal community about the inefficiencies and injustices of welfare. For example, the system will not be able to process many new applicants because of cumbersome and often unconstitutional investigatory procedures (which cost 20c for every dollar disbursed). As delays mount, so should the public demand that a simplified affidavit supplant these procedures, so that the poor may certify to their condition. If the system reacts by making the proof of eligibility more difficult, the demand should be made that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare dispatch "eligibility registrars" to enforce federal statutes governing local programs. And throughout the crisis, the mass media should be used to advance arguments for a new federal income distribution program.\*

Although new resources in organizers and funds would have to be developed to mount this campaign, a variety of conventional agencies in the large cities could also be drawn upon for help. The idea of "welfare rights" has begun to attract attention in many liberal circles. A number of organizations, partly under the aegis of the "war against poverty," are developing information and advocacy services for low-income people [see "Poverty, Injustice and the Welfare State" by Richard A. Cloward and Richard M. Elman, The Nation, issues of February 28 and March 7]. It is not likely that these organizations will directly participate in the present strategy, for obvious political reasons. But whether they participate or not, they constitute a growing network of resources to which people can be referred for help in

\*In public statements, it would be important to distinguish between the income distributing function of public welfare, which should be replaced by new federal measures, and many other welfare functions, such as foster care

**What Is To Come?**  
**The Cloward-Piven strategy never achieved its goal of system breakdown and a Marxist utopia. But it provided a blueprint for some of the Left's most destructive campaigns of the next three decades. It will likely haunt America for years to come since George Soros' Shadow Party has now adopted the strategy, honing it into a far more efficient weapon than any of its Sixties-era promoters could have foreseen.**  
Cloward-Piven.com

and adoption services for children, which are not at issue in this strategy

establishing and maintaining entitlements. In the final analysis, it does not matter who helps people to get on the rolls or to get additional entitlements, so long as the job is done.

Since this plan deals with problems of great immediacy in the lives of the poor, it should motivate some of them to involve themselves in regular organizational activities. Welfare recipients, chiefly ADC mothers, are already forming federations, committees and councils in cities across the nation; in Boston, New York, Newark, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, to mention a few. Such groups typically focus on obtaining full entitlements for existing recipients rather than on recruiting new recipients, and they do not yet comprise a national movement. But their very existence attests to a growing readiness among ghetto residents to act against public welfare.

To generate an expressly political movement, cadres of aggressive organizers would have to come from the civil rights movement and the churches, from militant low-income organizations like those formed by the Industrial Areas Foundation (that is, by Saul Alinsky), and from other groups on the Left. These activists should be quick to see the difference between programs to redress individual grievances and a large-scale social-action campaign for national policy reform.

Movements that depend on involving masses of poor people have generally failed in America. Why would the proposed strategy to engage the poor succeed?

First, this plan promises immediate economic benefits. This is a point of some importance because, whereas America's poor have not been moved in any number by radical political ideologies, they have sometimes been moved by their economic interests. Since radical movements in America have rarely been able to provide visible economic incentives, they have usually failed to secure mass participation of any kind. The conservative "business unionism" of organized labor is explained by this fact, for membership enlarged only as unionism paid off in material benefits. Union leaders have understood that their strength derives almost entirely from their capacity to provide economic rewards to members. Although leaders have increasingly acted in political spheres, their influence has been directed chiefly to matters of governmental policy affecting the well-being of organized workers. The same point is made by the experience of rent strikes in Northern cities. Their organizers were often motivated by radical ideologies, but tenants have been attracted by the promise that housing improvements would quickly be made if they with-

held their rent. Second, for this strategy to succeed, one need not ask more of most of the poor than that they claim lawful benefits. Thus the plan has the extraordinary capability of yielding mass influence without mass participation, at least as the term "participation" is ordinarily understood. Mass influence in this case stems from the consumption of benefits and does not require that large groups of people be involved in regular organizational roles.

Moreover, this kind of mass influence is cumulative because benefits are continuous. Once eligibility for basic food and rent grants is established, the drain on local resources persists indefinitely. Other movements have failed precisely because they could not produce continuous and cumulative influence. In the Northern rent strikes, for example, tenant participation depended largely on immediate grievances; as soon as landlords made the most minimal repairs, participation fell away and with it the impact of the movement. Efforts to revive tenant participation by organizing demonstrations around broader housing issues (e.g., the expansion of public housing) did not succeed because the incentives were not immediate.

Third, the prospects for mass influence are enhanced because this plan provides a practical basis for coalition between poor whites and poor Negroes. Advocates of low-income movements have not been able to suggest how poor whites and poor Negroes can be united in an expressly lower-class movement. Despite pleas of some Negro leaders for joint action on programs requiring integration, poor whites have steadfastly resisted making common cause with poor Negroes. By contrast, the benefits of the present plan are as great for whites as for Negroes. In the big cities, at least, it does not seem likely that poor whites, whatever their prejudices against either Negroes or public welfare, will refuse to participate when Negroes aggressively claim benefits that are unlawfully denied to them as well. One salutary consequence of public information campaigns to acquaint Negroes with their rights is that many whites will be made aware of theirs. Even if whites prefer to work through their own organizations and leaders, the consequences will be equivalent to joining with Negroes. For if the object is to focus attention on the need for new economic measures by producing a crisis over the dole, anyone who insists upon extracting maximum benefits from public welfare is in effect part of a coalition and is contributing to the cause.

The ultimate aim of this strategy is a new program for direct income distribution. What reason is there to expect that the federal government will enact such legislation in response to a crisis in the welfare system?

We ordinarily think of major legislation as taking form only through established electoral processes. We tend to overlook the force of crisis in precipitating legislative reform, partly because we lack a theoretical framework by which to understand the impact of major disruptions.

By crisis, we mean a publicly visible disruption in some institutional sphere. Crisis can occur spontaneously (e.g., riots) or as the intended result of tactics of demonstration and protest which either generate institutional disruption or bring unrecognized disruption to public attention. Public trouble is a political liability, it calls for action by political leaders to stabilize the situation. Because crisis usually creates or exposes conflict, it threatens to produce cleavages in a political consensus which politicians will ordinarily act to

**The Cloward-Piven Strategy will Continue**  
See page 6

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# The Cloward-Piven Strategy

from DISCOVERTHENETWORKS.ORG from page 5

avert. Although crisis impels political action, it does not itself determine the selection of specific solutions. Political leaders will try to respond with proposals which work to their advantage in the electoral process. Unless group cleavages form around issues and demands, the politician has great latitude and tends to proffer only the minimum action required to quell disturbances without risking existing electoral support. Spontaneous disruptions, such as riots, rarely produce leaders who articulate demands; thus no terms are imposed, and political leaders are permitted to respond in ways that merely restore a semblance of stability without offending other groups in a coalition.

When, however, a crisis is defined by its participants—or by other activated groups—as a matter of clear issues and preferred solutions, terms are imposed on the politicians' bid for their support. Whether political leaders then design solutions to reflect these terms depends on a twofold calculation: first, the impact of the crisis and the issues it raises on existing alignments and, second, the gains or losses in support to be expected as a result of a proposed resolution.

As to the impact on existing alignments, issues exposed by a crisis may activate new groups, thus altering the balance of support and opposition on the issues; or it may polarize group sentiments, altering the terms which must be offered to insure the support of given constituent groups. In framing resolutions, politicians are more responsive to group shifts and are more likely to accommodate to the terms imposed when electoral coalitions threatened by crisis are already uncertain or weakening. In other words, the politician responds to group demands, not only by calculating the magnitude of electoral gains and losses, but by assessing the impact of the resolution on the stability of existing or potential coalitions. Political leaders are especially responsive to group shifts when the terms of settlement can be framed so as to shore up an existing coalition, or as a basis for the development of new and more stable alignments, without jeopardizing existing support. Then, indeed, the calculation of net gain is most secure.

The legislative reforms of the depression years, for example, were impelled not so much by organized interests exercised through regular electoral processes as by widespread economic crisis. That crisis precipitated the disruption of the regionally based coalitions underlying the old national parties. During the realignments of 1932, a new Democratic coalition was formed, based heavily on urban working-class groups. Once in power, the national Democratic leadership proposed and implemented the economic reforms of the New Deal. Although these measures were a response to the imperative of economic crisis, the types of measures enacted were designed to secure and stabilize the new Democratic coalition.

The civil rights movement, to take a recent case, also reveals the relationship of crisis and electoral conditions in producing legislative reform. The crisis in the South took place in the context of a weakening North-South Democratic coalition. The strains in that coalition were first evident in the Dixiecrat desertion of 1948, and con-

tinued through the Eisenhower years as the Republicans gained ground in the Southern states. Democratic party leaders at first tried to hold the dissident South by warding off the demands of enlarging Negro constituencies in Northern cities. Thus for two decades the national Democratic Party campaigned on strongly worded civil rights planks but enacted only token measures. The civil rights movement forced the Democrats' hand: a crumbling Southern partnership was forfeited, and major civil rights legislation was put forward, designed to insure the support of Northern Negroes and liberal elements in the Democratic coalition. That coalition emerged strong from the 1964 election, easily able to overcome the loss of Southern states to Goldwater. At the same time, the enacted legislation, particularly the Voting Rights Act, laid the ground for a new Southern Democratic coalition of moderate whites and the hitherto untapped reservoir of Southern Negro voters.

The electoral context which made crisis effective in the South is also to be found in the big cities of the nation today. Deep tensions have developed among groups comprising the political coalitions of the large cities—the historic stronghold of the Democratic Party. As a consequence, urban politicians no longer turn in the vote to national Democratic candidates with unflinching regularity. The marked defections revealed in the elections of the 1950s and which continued until the Johnson landslide of 1964 are a matter of great concern to the national party. Precisely because of this concern, a strategy to exacerbate still further the strains in the urban coalition can be expected to evoke a response from national leaders.

The weakening of the urban coalition is a result of many basic changes in the relationship of local party leadership to its constituents. First, the political machine, the distinctive and traditional mechanism for forging alliances among competing groups in the city, is now virtually defunct in most cities. Successive waves of municipal reform have deprived political leaders of control over the public resources—jobs, contracts, services and favors—which machine politicians formerly dispensed to voters in return for electoral support. Conflicts among elements in the urban Democratic coalition, once held together politically because each secured a share of these benefits, cannot now be so readily contained. And as the means of placating competing groups have diminished, tensions along ethnic and class lines have multiplied. These tensions are being intensified by the encroachments of an enlarging ghetto population on jobs, schools and residential areas. Big-city mayors are thus caught between antagonistic working-class ethnic groups, the remaining middle class, and the rapidly enlarging minority poor.

Second, there are discontinuities in the relationship between the urban party apparatus and its ghetto constituents which have so far remained unexposed but which a welfare crisis would force into view. The ghetto vote has been growing rapidly and has so far returned overwhelming Democratic majorities. Nevertheless, this voting bloc is not fully integrated in the party apparatus, either through

the representation of its leaders or the accommodation of its interests.

While the urban political apparatus includes members of new minority groups, these groups are by no means represented according to their increasing proportions in the population. More important, elected representation alone is not an adequate mechanism for the expression of group interests. Influence in urban politics is won not only at the polls but through the sustained activity of organized interests—such as labor unions, homeowner associations and business groups. These groups keep watch over the complex operations of municipal agencies, recognizing issues and regularly asserting their point of view through meetings with public officials, appearances at public hearings and the like, and by exploiting a whole array of channels of influence on government. Minority constituencies—at least the large proportion of them that are poor—are not regular participants in the various institutional spheres where organized interest groups typically develop. Thus the interests of the mass of minority poor are not protected by associations which make their own or other political leaders responsive by continuously calling them to account. Urban party organizations have become, in consequence, more an avenue for the personal advancement of minority political leaders than a channel for the expression of minority-group interests. And the big-city mayors, struggling to preserve an uneasy urban consensus, have thus been granted the slack to evade the conflict-generating interests of the ghetto. A crisis in public welfare would expose the tensions latent in this attenuated relationship between the ghetto vote and the urban party leadership, for it would thrust forward ghetto demands and back them with the threat of defections by voters who have so far remained both loyal and quiescent.

In the face of such a crisis, urban political leaders may well be paralyzed by a party apparatus which ties them to older constituent groups, even while the ranks of these groups are diminishing. The national Democratic leadership, however, is alert to the importance of the urban Negro vote, especially in national contests where the loyalty of other urban groups is weakening. Indeed, many of the legislative reforms of the Great Society can be understood as efforts, however feeble, to reinforce the allegiance of growing ghetto constituencies to the national Democratic Administration. In the thirties, Democrats began to put forward measures to circumvent the states in order to reach the big-city elements in the New Deal coalition; now it is becoming expedient to put forward measures to circumvent the weakened big-city mayors in order to reach the new minority poor.

Recent federal reforms have been impelled in part by widespread unrest in the ghetto, and instances of more aggressive Negro demands. But despite these signs that the ghetto vote may become less reliable in the future, there has been as yet no serious threat of massive defection. The national party has therefore not put much pressure on its urban branches to accommodate the minority poor. The resulting reforms have consequently been quite modest (e.g., the war against

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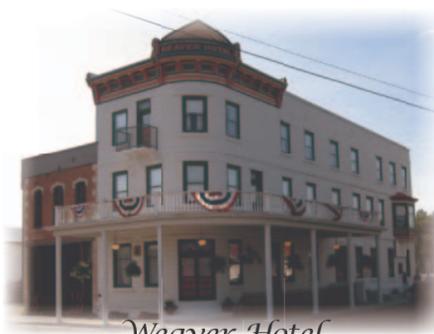
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# The Cloward-Piven Strategy

from DISCOVERTHENETWORKS.ORG from page 6

poverty, with its emphasis on the "involvement of the poor," is an effort to make the urban party apparatus somewhat more accommodating).

A welfare crisis would, of course, produce dramatic local political crisis, disrupting and exposing rifts among urban groups. Conservative Republicans are always ready to declaim the evils of public welfare, and they would probably be the first to raise a hue and cry. But deeper and politically more telling conflicts would take place within the Democratic coalition. Whites--both working-class ethnic groups and many in the middle class--would be aroused against the ghetto poor, while liberal groups, which until recently have been comforted by the notion that the poor are few and, in any event, receiving the beneficent assistance of public welfare, would probably support the movement. Group conflict, spelling political crisis for the local party apparatus, would thus become acute as welfare rolls mounted and the strains

on local budgets became more severe. In New York City, where the Mayor is now facing desperate revenue shortages, welfare expenditures are already second only to those for public education.

It should also be noted that welfare costs are generally shared by local, state and federal governments, so that the crisis in the cities would intensify the struggle over revenues that is chronic in relations between cities and states. If the past is any predictor of the future, cities will fail to procure relief from this crisis by persuading states to increase their proportionate share of urban welfare costs, for state legislatures have been notoriously unsympathetic to the revenue needs of the city (especially where public welfare and minority groups are concerned).

If this strategy for crisis would intensify group cleavages, a federal income solution would not further exacerbate them. The demands put forward during recent civil rights

drives in the Northern cities aroused the opposition of huge majorities. Indeed, such fierce resistance was evoked (e.g., school boycotts followed by counter-boycotts), that accessions by political leaders would have provoked greater political turmoil than the protests themselves, for profound class and ethnic interests are at stake in the employment, educational and residential institutions of our society. By contrast, legislative measures to provide direct income to the poor would permit national Democratic leaders to cultivate ghetto constituencies without unduly antagonizing other urban groups, as is the case when the battle lines are drawn over schools, housing or jobs. Furthermore, a federal income program would not only redeem local governments from the immediate crisis but would permanently relieve them of the financially and politically onerous burdens of public welfare\*--a function which generates support from

\*It should also be noted that the federal government, unlike local jurisdictions, has taxing powers which yield substantially increased revenues as an automatic by-product of increases in national income.

none and hostility from many, not least of all welfare recipients. We suggest, in short, that if pervasive institutional reforms are not yet possible, requiring as they do expanded Negro political power and the development of new political alliances, crisis tactics can nevertheless be employed to secure particular reforms in the short run by exploiting weaknesses in current political alignments. Because the urban coalition stands weakened by group conflict today, disruption and threats of disaffection will count powerfully, provided that national leaders can respond with solutions which retain the support of ghetto constituencies while avoiding new group antagonisms and bolstering the urban party apparatus. These are the conditions, then, for an effective crisis strategy in the cities to secure an end to poverty.

No strategy, however confident its advocates may be, is foolproof. But if unforeseen contingencies thwart this

plan to bring about new federal legislation in the field of poverty, it should also be noted that there would be gains even in defeat. For one thing, the plight of many poor people would be somewhat eased in the course of an assault upon public welfare. Existing recipients would come to know their rights and how to defend them, thus acquiring dignity where none now exists; and millions of dollars in withheld welfare benefits would become available to potential recipients now--not several generations from now. Such an attack should also be welcome to those currently concerned with programs designed to equip the young to rise out of poverty (e.g., Head Start), for surely children learn more readily when the oppressive burden of financial insecurity is lifted from the shoulders of their parents. And those seeking new ways to engage the Negro politically should remember that public resources have always been the fuel for low-income urban political organization. If organizers can deliver millions of dollars in cash benefits to the ghetto masses, it seems reasonable to expect that the masses will deliver their loyalties to their benefactors. At least, they have always done so in the past.

The END

# Gail Shroyer Chair Of New K-State Department Of Education

An award-winning professor who specializes in improving teacher preparation will lead a newly merged department in Kansas State University's College of Education.

M. Gail Shroyer has been appointed chair of the college's new department of curriculum and instruction, which combines the former departments of elementary education and secondary education.

The new department enrolls 1,500 undergraduate students preparing to become teachers. It also has more than 750 graduate students working toward master's and doctoral degrees or teaching endorsements, with focal areas in elementary/middle or middle/secondary curriculum and instruction; reading/language arts; reading specialist; educational computing,

design and online learning; digital teaching and learning; English as a second language; learning skills/school improvement; and community/junior colleges.

"Gail Shroyer has been dedicated to quality teacher preparation through effective teaching, scholarly activity and service to the profession," said Michael Holen, dean of the College of Education. "During her K-State career she has acquired more than \$20 million in nationally competitive grants focused on the simultaneous renewal and improvement of schooling and teacher preparation."

"Gail's leadership will help focus additional national attention on the high-quality teacher education programs at Kansas State University," Holen said.

The bachelor's degree program in elementary education, which is offered through the new department of curriculum and instruction, is among the college's programs earning national recognition. It earned the 2010 Distinguished Program in Teacher Education Award from the Association of Teacher Education.

In addition, Shroyer is one of the founders and ongoing leaders of the nationally recognized clinical instruction and professional development school models developed at K-State.

"Dr. Shroyer is the perfect person at the right time to lead our teacher preparation programs as the college contributes to the recognition of K-State as a top 50

public research university," Holen said.

Shroyer joined K-State in 1988 and was promoted to professor in 2003. She earned the college's Faculty Excellence in Research/Creative Activities Award in 2009 and its Faculty Excellence in Service Award in 2007. She has a bachelor's in biology from the University of California at Santa Cruz and a master's and a doctorate in curriculum and instruction from K-State.

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# Remember The Jay Treaty

By Marion Smith  
The Heritage Foundation

Abstract: Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and the Obama Administration have touted the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) as a beneficial and necessary negotiation, and urged for its immediate ratification. However, the negotiating record of New START—which contains critical information—has not been released to the U.S. Senate. Because of the importance of strategic nuclear arms and due to the ambiguity of this treaty's implications, the lack of the negotiating record prevents an informed debate and deliberation in the Senate, obstructing the Senate's constitutionally mandated role to provide "advice and consent" on all U.S. treaties. Senators ought, therefore, to demand access to all essential information in order to effectively discharge their duties as enumerated by the Constitution.

The United States Senate has a constitutional responsibility to provide "advice and consent" on the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), but the lack of needed information regarding the treaty's negotiating record is obstructing the Senate's task. The Senate has historically been privileged with such information; United States Senators must reassert their constitutionally mandated role to deliberate the merits of proposed treaties by demanding that the Obama Administration provide access to the negotiating record. To do any less is to undermine the Senate's constitutional role in the conduct of American foreign policy.

There are well-founded concerns over the provisions in the New START Treaty and their implications for U.S. security. Some Senators were surprised by reference to defensive anti-missile weapons in the treaty, since New START is supposed to address only offensive nuclear weapons. The implications of this treaty could affect the ability of the U.S. to deploy defensive missile systems and points to larger security issues that also involve potential threats emanating from Iran and North Korea. In an effort to better understand the provisions of this bilateral agreement, six Republican Senators formally requested the negotiating record of the New START Treaty from the Obama Administration on May 6, 2010.

At present, however, the Obama Administration and the Democrat Members of the Foreign Relations Committee have withheld access to this vital information. This denial is tantamount to refusing the Senate an honest debate and undermines the Senate's role in providing advice and consent. For many on the Left, however, the lack of debate is not a problem since the virtues of arms control are assumed and any debate is viewed as divisive partisanship. But Senators and the American people should not accept this misunderstanding of the Senate's function. Policy arguments are not disruptive to the legislative process; informed debate is essential to deliberation.

Since it first convened in 1789, the United States Senate has fulfilled its constitutionally mandated role as a deliberative body, possessing the power of "advice and consent" on all U.S. treaties which, if approved by two-thirds majority, become "the supreme law of land." Yet, the New START Treaty is not America's first controversial treaty or the first time that access to a treaty's negotiating record played a vital role in the Senate's deliberation.

## Remember the Jay Treaty

The Jay Treaty of 1794 was hotly debated and caused deep divisions in American politics. It involved several territorial disputes between the U.S. and Great Britain, which had remained unresolved since America won its independence. The treaty also had tremendous implications for America's relations with France—America's military ally—since France was then at war with Britain. The ratification of the Jay Treaty was an early test of separation of powers and of the Senate's constitutionally mandated role in U.S. foreign policy.

The negotiations over Jay's Treaty were conducted in the midst of rising tensions between the United States and Great Britain. British ships had

been violating America's neutrality by capturing U.S. ships of commerce. These incidents understandably reignited anti-British sentiment in Congress and among the American public. Representative James Madison led an effort to restrict British trade, but others—including Alexander Hamilton—realized that a break in trade would be disastrous for American prosperity. In order to prevent further conflict, President George Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to England to negotiate a diplomatic solution. Jay returned with a "Treaty of Amity Commerce and Navigation, between His Britannic Majesty; and the United States of America," which offered a peaceful solution to the crisis and encouraged commercial interaction between the U.S. and England.

At the earliest opportunity, Washington delivered to the Senate the "treaty, and other documents connected with it." Washington requested that the Senators, "in their wisdom decide whether they will advise and consent that the said treaty be made between the United States and His Britannic Majesty." Although Washington himself had submitted the treaty for approval, ratification was not assumed—the Senators still had a decisive role to play. The Founding Fathers understood separation of powers to be a central aspect of ensuring a sensible and accountable process of making laws and conducting foreign policy.

Years before Jay's Treaty, while expounding on the treaty powers of the Senate in The Federalist Papers, John Jay expressed his belief that Senators' "virtue" and "integrity" would enable their soundest judgment on matters of high national importance: "We have reason to be persuaded that the treaties they make will be as advantageous as, all circumstances considered, could be made." Although the Constitution grants the President the power to negotiate treaties and possess privileged diplomatic information, Jay also acknowledged that sometimes "useful intelligence" pertaining to a treaty under consideration could be vital to the Senate's function. In keeping with this understanding, Washington had submitted to the Senate "all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain" when Jay's Treaty was "communicated for their consideration and advice." This privileged information provided the facts for the congressional debate that preceded a vote.

After a heated debate, the Senate approved Jay's Treaty by a vote of 20 to 10—one less vote in favor and the treaty would have failed. The Senate, however, rejected Article 12 of the treaty, which restricted American ships in the West Indies from carrying certain commodities. As a result of Jay's Treaty, the United States did have to make a few concessions to Britain and the treaty was disruptive to U.S.-French relations. But the U.S. achieved its most important security concerns—avoiding certain war with Britain at a time when America was unprepared militarily and protecting its trade.

Even after Jay's Treaty was ratified, the public debate continued, prompting a defense not only of the Jay Treaty but of the constitutional checks and balances of the American government. "I have weighed with attention every argument," Washington wrote to a critic of the Jay Treaty in 1795:

But the Constitution is the guide, which I never can abandon. It has assigned to the President the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was doubtless supposed, that these two branches of government would combine, without passion, and with the best means of information, those facts and principles, upon which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute for their own conviction the opinions of others, or seek truth through any channel but that of a temperate and well informed investigation.

The checks and balances of the U.S. government are not meant to make government impractical, but are intended to ensure that only the best policies become the supreme law of the land. When it comes to making treaties, the Senate shares the burden

of guaranteeing that America's interests and political principles are respected in U.S. foreign policy.

In the decades following the Jay Treaty, lions of the American Senate such as John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, John Randolph, Henry Clay, William Borah, and Henry Cabot Lodge, among others, rose to passionately debate the important treaties of their day. They knew that the success of the American experiment in self-government depended in part on their fulfilling the role of U.S. Senator.

## Advice and Consent

Regrettably, the Senate has lost some of its luster. Senators now shrink from full on debate and have diminished the importance of argumentation. Yet the Senate is not a rubber stamp for the President's diplomatic initiatives—a fact George Washington discovered with the Jay Treaty. The Obama Administration should not be surprised that some Senators are attempting to do their job by offering "advice and consent" on the New START Treaty.

The Senators who requested the negotiating record are attempting to carry out a "well informed investigation" in order to fulfill the Senate's role as established by the Constitution, explained in The Federalist Papers, and exemplified early in the Senate's history. The time required for proper advice and consent will vary from treaty to treaty, but in this case it is clear that a fuller deliberation is required. Due to ambiguities in the text of the New START Treaty and conflicting accounts of its security implications, the treaty's negotiating record appears to fulfill George Washington's and John Jay's understanding of "those facts" and "useful intelligence" necessary to the Senate's deliberation.

In order to reach the two-thirds majority necessary for Senate ratification, eight Republican Senators will have to vote in favor of the treaty. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has postponed a vote on the treaty until September, in an effort to gain more support, which also provides time for the Senate to examine documents relat-

ed to the treaty. The Obama Administration should stop obstructing the Senate and provide all pertinent information. Senators should demand that they have access to the negotiating record before they are expected to vote.

Of course, there is every possibility that after a full, informed debate the Senate will actually reject the New START Treaty. Former Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton has pointed out that if the Senate rejects the treaty, it is not the end of negotiations with Russia. Indeed, if the submitted text of the treaty is rejected, it merely requires that the negotiators "return to the bargaining table" with instructions

to arrive at a treaty that is more compatible with U.S. interests. "That is, after all, what the 'advice and consent' portion of the Senate's 'advice and consent' power actually means."

The American system of government depends on Senators discharging their duties, as established by the Constitution and entrusted to them by the American people. In this case, access to the negotiating record is vital. The Senate must not abdicate its critical responsibility on this important treaty.

—Marion Smith is a consultant in the B. Kenneth Simon Center for American Studies at The Heritage Foundation.

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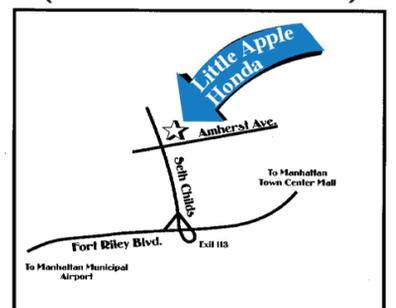
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