



*Crossroads: Harrison A. Williams, Jr.  
and Great Society Liberalism,  
1959–1981*

An Exhibition

January 27 to August 1, 2009

Special Collections and University Archives

**RUTGERS**  
University Libraries

**Cover Photograph:**

Harrison A. Williams, Jr. with President Lyndon B. Johnson, June 1964. The photograph is from the Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries. Although the print held in the collection is not credited, the photographer was likely Cecil W. Stoughton, the chief photographer for the Kennedy and, until 1965, Johnson administrations. The occasion was the transfer of 271 acres of land at Sandy Hook from the federal government to New Jersey. See Gallery '50, items 8a and 8b.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This exhibition is an endpoint and, I trust, a beginning. A tremendous amount of intense work focused on this exhibition over the past few weeks and months, ending in its public presentation. More broadly, the exhibition marks the end of a three-year project to process the papers of Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. It is from that collection that virtually all the exhibition items come. The processing of the Williams collection and the mounting of an exhibition based on that collection are the culmination of the hopes of many people, stretching back many years. Yet, this exhibition is also a beginning, as both project supporters and archivists trust that the exhibition is merely the first of many initiatives and research inquiries able to draw productively on the Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Papers.

It has been my honor and privilege to be the Williams project manager and the exhibition curator. And, it is my pleasure to recognize those many, many people who, over decades, made the accomplishment of the project and this exhibition possible.

**Soo Lee** has been my colleague on the Williams project since day one. Researchers will benefit from Soo's handiwork when they view the collection's online finding aid, when they work with the processed material in most of the collection, when they are seeking out photographs, and in many other ways. Soo and I have partnered throughout the project on appraisal, priority-setting, processing approaches, and on and on. With her familiarity with the collection's photograph series, Soo helped with selecting those items for the exhibition. I have expressed well-deserved thanks to Soo often during the project, but it cannot be said enough: Thanks, Soo! (high five!)

No Williams project or exhibition would have been possible without the support and generosity of many people from outside of Rutgers, including **Harrison Williams** himself who chose to place his papers at Rutgers over twenty-five years ago and **Jeanette Williams** who formally donated the collection in 2005. My most profound thanks go to Jeanette for trusting me throughout the project with her husband's papers. I cannot begin to express the depth of appreciation I have for Jeanette's complete support of my work as an archivist and for the goal of making this collection available to researchers.

Our student volunteers would be surprised to hear this, but archival work does not come free, especially for a collection originally totaling over 2,000 cubic feet and taking three years to process. Well over one hundred family, friends, former staff members and colleagues, and others contributed generously to the project. Special thanks go to former Congressman and Ambassador **William Hughes** and Williams' aide and friend **John Molinari** for their critical role in the fundraising effort. Within Rutgers, as the Williams project moved through its third year, University Librarian **Marianne Gaunt** and Associate University Librarian **Bob Sewell** made completion of the project and this exhibition a priority of the Libraries, and allocated the necessary funding to it.

**Ron Becker**, Head of Special Collections and University Archives, has been a terrific advocate for over two decades of the importance of the Williams papers. I appreciate the tremendous confidence and support he has shown in me and in my management of the project. I also appreciate Ron's support in finding pockets of funding at critical points during the processing. Similarly, I thank **Tom Frusciano**, **Al King**, and **Fernanda Perrone**, all of whom comprised the search committee for the Williams archivist position, for choosing me, having confidence that I could deliver, and then letting me go at it.

Several students worked with me, processing parts of the collection or advancing the project in other important ways. **John Zarrillo**, a former Rutgers School of Communication, Information and Library Studies graduate student, worked on the project part-time for eighteen months and processed several important series. In addition to John, archives class students included **Kim Adams**, **Diane Kinney**, and **Julia Strohmeyer**. Public history interns included **Kristin Gahona**, **Deb Goldsamt**, and **Anthony Manganaro**. Volunteers included **John Arthur**, **Jordan Bross**, **Brendan Heath**, and **Adam Sherry**.

Several of the Rutgers Libraries professionals lent their expertise to the processing project. **Al King** offered suggestions on arrangement, processing approaches, and descriptive techniques. **Melissa De Fino** provided guidance on cataloging and use of authority terms. **Dave Kuzma** provided insight into the implications of processing approaches for reference desk and patron support. **Caryn Radick** offered invaluable advice and technical assistance for encoding the finding aid in EAD. **Erika Gorder's** suggestions concerning the audiovisual formats in the collection led to the digitization of some material, including the two pieces used in the exhibition. **Isaiah Beard** prepared the digital audiovisual files used in the exhibit.

The size of the Williams project required ongoing logistical support. The project was conducted in the Libraries Annex building, which is managed by **Dean Meister** and **Liza Kostic** of Access Services. My thanks to Dean and Lisa for their support and patience with my frequent trespasses. Dean's resourcefulness and generous collegiality over the past three years were important contributions to the project's completion. **John Mulez**, **Nancy Martin**, and the shipping crew of **Henry Charles**, **Ken Pickering**, and **Jim Robinson** kept a steady flow of supplies to the Annex. **Charles Weniger** of the Copy Center was incredibly gracious and efficient in responding to my frequent calls for copy cards for Thermofax and other preservation photocopying.

Turning to acknowledgements principally for the exhibition, in the Preservation Lab, **Tim Corlis** did a masterful job of flattening, backing, mounting, encapsulating, and otherwise converting three boxes of objects and my vague notions about display cases into attractive settings. Every item, and the exhibition as a whole, was elevated thanks to Tim's creativity and craftsmanship. My thanks also to those working with Tim in preparing the materials for display: **Kim Adams**, **Sharon Grau**, and **Erin Uhl**.

Exhibitions Coordinator **Fernanda Perrone** earned hardship pay assisting this novice curator. My thanks to Fernanda for her insights, guidance, candor, and encouragement throughout the development of the exhibition. Fernanda has helped me to see in a new way. And that does not even begin to acknowledge all the editing, logistical coordination, and innumerable other essentials that Fernanda took care of to make this exhibition happen. My thanks also to those working with Fernanda: **Samantha Reynolds** prepared the exhibition's caption blocks and also captioned the photographs used in the digital frame in Gallery '50. **Valerie Addonizio** designed the exhibition poster. **Harry Glazer** and **Ken Kuehl** prepared the publicity materials.

In reflecting on the people that contributed to any success I have had with the Williams project and the mounting of the *Crossroads* exhibition, I would like to add three personal acknowledgements.

About ten years ago, I contacted Peter Wosh, Director of New York University's archival management program, about the possibility of joining his program in preparation for a possible second career. Peter offered me unqualified encouragement to go for it, and I did. In 2005, after completing those studies, I again looked to Peter for guidance on how I might actually go about changing career hats. During that conversation, Peter told me of a job position announced

at Rutgers—the Williams project. He offered me unqualified encouragement to go for it, and I did. I have never looked back. Thank you, Peter.

Education and training was central to so much of Williams' legislative program, and to the foundation of the Great Society itself, I found myself often reflecting about the sources of my own education as I prepared the exhibition. From my earliest remembrances, I knew I was going to college, not because I ever knew what that was, but because my parents said I would go there. Indeed, I became the first person in my family to go to college. And that has made all the difference. Thank you, Mom and Dad.

For the past three years, my wife, Alice, has lived with my preoccupation with someone named Harrison Williams. He has turned up in some unexpected places. For example, as we drive past the Gateway National Recreation Area sign on the Parkway on the way to the beach, my conversation might suddenly drift along the lines of "Hey, Hon, did you know that Williams . . ." Nevertheless, all along the way, from my serial all-nighters while studying at NYU and working full-time, to jumping careers, to my focus on 2,000 cubic feet of a senator's papers, Alice has been not just supportive. She has been, as always, my soul mate. Thanks, Hon.

Larry Weimer  
Exhibition Curator  
January 2009

## **HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Harrison Arlington Williams, Jr. (1919-2001) represented New Jersey in the U.S. Senate from 1959 until 1982. He also served in the House of Representatives as Congressman from New Jersey's Sixth Congressional District (Union County) from 1953 through 1956. Known since infancy by the nickname "Pete," Williams was a member of the Democratic Party during a period when Democrats held a majority in the Senate. Consequently, until a Republican majority took office in 1981 toward the end of his career, Williams held the chairmanships of a number of committees and subcommittees over the years. Further, Williams played important roles as a leader within the Democratic Party, notably as a member of the Democratic Senate Steering Committee, the group responsible for committee assignments.

Williams was born in Plainfield, N.J., on 10 December 1919, son of Harrison A. Williams, Sr. and Isabel Lamson Williams. He attended the Plainfield public schools, then studied economics and political science at Oberlin College, graduating in 1941. After a short stint as a reporter with the *Washington Post* and beginning graduate work at Georgetown University Foreign Service School, Williams, a Naval reservist, was called to active duty when the U.S. entered WWII. He served on a minesweeper for a year and as a Navy pilot for three years. After his discharge, Williams worked in an Ohio steel mill for a year before attending Columbia University Law School, from which he graduated in 1948. Williams practiced law in New Hampshire for one year before returning to New Jersey to join the firm of Cox and Walburg in Newark and, in the early 1950s, the Elizabeth firm that became Pollis and Williams. Williams married Nancy McGlone of Plainfield in 1948. After living for a time in Plainfield, they moved to Westfield in 1955. The Williamses had five children: Nancy, Peter, Wendy, Jonathan, and Nina.

Williams began his political career with unsuccessful runs for the New Jersey Assembly in 1951 and for Plainfield city councilman in 1952. His first victory came against George F. Hetfield in a special election held on 3 November 1953 to fill the Sixth Congressional District vacancy that opened when Clifford Case resigned his seat in the House of Representatives. Williams was re-elected to the House in 1954, defeating Fred Shepard, but lost in 1956 to Florence P. Dwyer. Remaining active in politics, Williams played a leading role in Robert Meyner's 1957 successful gubernatorial bid, earning Meyner's support for Williams's

successful 1958 Senate campaign. Williams would win four consecutive Senate races—unprecedented for a Democrat in New Jersey—defeating Robert W. Kean (1958), Bernard M. Shanley (1964), Nelson Gross (1970), and David F. Norcross (1976).

In his short House tenure, Williams was involved principally with oversight of American overseas diplomatic operations. He served on the Committee of Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs and on the Committee on Government Operations' Subcommittee on International Operations.

Throughout his Senate career, Williams was a member of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources. (This was the name of the Committee beginning in 1978. The Committee was called the Committee on Human Resources in 1977 and, prior to 1977, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.) One of Williams' first achievements as a Senator was gaining the approval in 1959 of then-Chairman Lister Hill to create a Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, which Williams chaired until 1968. Williams was successful at publicizing the poor living and working conditions of agricultural laborers and their families, leading to legislative advances, especially for the improvement of migrant health (1962) and education (1964). Williams' concern with working conditions led to at least two other major legislative initiatives in the 1960s: the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 and the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (OSHA). Connecting his interest in labor with his longtime advocacy of civil rights, Williams sponsored the Equal Employment Opportunity Act Amendments of 1972, which provided the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with the enforcement powers to pursue discrimination cases.

Ascending to the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources for the entire decade of the 1970s, Williams continued at the forefront of legislative reforms in the areas of occupational safety, pension protection, access to education, equal employment opportunity, women's rights, health initiatives, minimum wage, and much more. The Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA), the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, the Federal Mine Safety and Health Amendments Act of 1977, and the Home Energy Assistance Act (1980) are just a few of the significant pieces of legislation sponsored by Chairman Williams and reported by his committee. Himself a victim of alcoholism, as he informed the public in 1970, Williams was also a supporter of legislation aimed at the prevention and treatment of drug and alcohol abuse; his initiative created the Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics in 1971 to focus on the issue.

Williams also spent his entire Senate career on the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (known as the Committee on Banking and Currency before 1971). As chairman of the Securities Subcommittee throughout the 1960s and most of the 1970s, Williams sought to increase the regulatory oversight of the Securities and Exchange Commission, to improve disclosure in securities offerings and in corporate takeover attempts, to enforce equitable lending practices, and to implement other market reforms. The reporting requirements of the so-called Williams Act of 1968 remain important features of equity market regulation. As a member of the Select Committee on Small Business for over a decade, Williams sought ways to strengthen the effectiveness of the Small Business Administration, and much of his constituent project work centered on connecting small firms with SBA opportunities. Williams' appreciation of commercial interests—including those of New Jersey's agricultural, pharmaceutical, and other industries—often involved him in matters of royalty and patent protection, import/export restrictions, and other matters of importance to business.

Additionally, Williams' place on the Banking Committee and his interest in housing was part of a broader vision of a Federal role in managing the natural and built environment of the U.S., particularly with respect to urban centers and their greater metropolitan areas. Mass transportation was an essential part of Williams' vision. Beginning with his Mass Transportation Act of 1961 and continuing throughout his career, Williams sponsored legislation aimed at reducing traffic congestion and air pollution, while increasing the availability and efficiency of commuting options. Similarly, Williams sought to protect open space (or at least find a well-planned balance between conservation and development) within these metropolitan areas, leading him to pursue conservation initiatives at Sandy Hook, the Delaware Water Gap, the Great Swamp, and other New Jersey areas. Williams' legislation designating the Pinelands a "national reserve" was an innovative approach to finding a means of achieving this conservation/development balance where competing interests were at stake. Williams' legislative efforts to regulate ocean dumping, to eliminate inhumane animal trapping, to preserve endangered species, and to identify alternative energy sources, linked into his efforts to create a sustainable economy and a pleasurable, socially-responsible way of life.

Williams' overall efforts on the housing front dovetailed with his participation on the Special Committee on Aging. Here, Williams was principally concerned with housing and health care for senior citizens. Additionally, Williams was

concerned about the extent to which the elderly were often victims of fraud. For example, he pressed for legislation over several Congresses to regulate the disclosures required for interstate land sales, culminating in the passage of such a law in 1968.

Despite the domestic orientation of Williams' committee assignments, foreign affairs—including the Vietnam War and the Cold War—were issues in which he retained an interest. In the 1950s, Williams was an ardent anti-Communist. Nevertheless, while he recognized the importance of military defense, he perceived the United State's confrontation with the Soviet Union as principally one of ideology, which could be won by building allies through diplomacy, cultural engagement, and economic development. As a Congressman, his committee assignments involved him in foreign operations administration, and through this work Williams pressed for enhancements in foreign aid, trade activities, and support for Foreign Service personnel. By the 1960s, Williams' view of the Cold War translated into his initial support for the Vietnam War, though he eventually came to oppose it, supporting or sponsoring various legislative efforts pressing for a resolution. Williams was also a strong supporter of Israel, at least in part because of his perception of that country as a democratic ally and bulwark against Communist influence in the Middle East. Williams' sponsored legislation included efforts to break the Arab embargo on companies doing business with Israel.

With an appreciation for intellectual activity as a national resource, Williams pursued funding for a wide range of initiatives in the sciences, arts, and humanities. He lent his name to a number of institutions; at various times he was, for example, a director for the New York Lyric Ensemble, a member of the Steering Committee of the National Academy of Sciences, and a trustee of the John F. Kennedy Performing Arts Center. Perhaps most notably in this connection was Williams' sponsorship of legislation in the early 1960s forming a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission with the objective of creating an appropriate memorial to the former President. Williams' involvement as a leader of the Commission led to the founding of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 1971.

Williams' career began to close in February 1980 when the press reported that he was a target of a FBI undercover operation, known as Abscam. The Abscam operation had snared several businessmen and politicians, but Williams was the most prominent and highest-ranking official involved. In October 1980, a nine-count indictment against Williams was announced which included bribery,

receipt of an unlawful gratuity, conflict of interest, and conspiracy to defraud the United States, among other charges. Williams' trial started on March 30, 1981 and, on May 9, Williams was found guilty on all counts. The Senate Committee on Ethics then opened its own hearings into the matter, which led to a recommendation in September 1981 that Williams be expelled from the Senate. As the Senate neared the end of its deliberations on this recommendation, Williams resigned in March 1982. Though continuing to pursue various avenues for fighting the charges in court, Williams was sentenced, and he entered the penitentiary at Allenwood, Pa. in January 1984. Throughout the ordeal, Williams argued that he was innocent and that the FBI had abused its power. Williams' contentions were important ones that resulted in fierce debate in the news media and in Congress where hearings were held on the FBI's investigative tactics.

After his release from prison in 1986, Williams returned home to retirement in Bedminster, N.J., where he had lived since 1974 with his second wife, Jeanette. Williams died of heart disease on November 17, 2001.

*The above biographical sketch is a version of that written by the Williams project team for the online Inventory to the Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Papers. The sketch for the Inventory was based in part on a longer piece written for the Williams project by public history intern Anthony Manganaro. The Inventory and Manganaro's work can be found at [www2.scc.rutgers.edu/ead/manuscripts/williams01f.html](http://www2.scc.rutgers.edu/ead/manuscripts/williams01f.html).*



*Crossroads:*  
*Harrison A. Williams, Jr. and Great Society Liberalism, 1959–1981*

INTRODUCTION

In his 1968 book *Crossroads U.S.A.*, U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-NJ) argued for a vision of America that encompassed social justice, expanded educational and economic opportunity, environmentalism, and urban improvement as national goals. As pursued by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and their congressional allies, including Williams, this liberal vision has been referred to as the Great Society, a term taken from a 1964 speech by President Johnson.

A distinctive feature of this liberal ideology was confidence that the federal government—with its nationwide reach, perspective and resources—could work in partnership with community groups, business and professional interests, state and local governments, and others to devise and implement the programs that would build the Great Society. Throughout his Senate career, spanning the twenty-three years from 1959 to 1982, Williams was an important proponent of Great Society liberalism, and his committee leadership roles positioned him to advance legislation in accordance with the vision he advocated in *Crossroads*.

By 1968, Johnson and the Great Society label were disappearing from the national scene, battered by international troubles, especially the Vietnam War, and domestic unrest. Nevertheless, the Great Society agenda, if not in that name, continued to progress through the 1970s. Its influence persists, even with the emergence of a predominantly conservative ideology marked by the inauguration of the Reagan presidency and Republican majority leadership of the Senate in 1981.

This exhibition considers the goals of the Great Society as exemplified by the Senate career of Harrison Williams and, from another angle, it places Williams' legislative efforts in the context of the liberal vision held by many Americans in the 1960s and 1970s.



### **Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (1919–2001)**

Born Plainfield, N.J. As an infant, was given lifelong nickname “Pete” by his grandfather

Served four years in Navy during World War II on minesweeper and as aviation pilot

Graduated Oberlin College (1941) and Columbia University Law School (1948)

Represented Sixth District (Union County) in House of Representatives, 1953-1956.

House committee assignments included a focus on foreign affairs and U.S. international operations

Represented New Jersey in U.S. Senate, 1959-1982

Key Senate leadership assignments:

Chair, Special Committee on Aging (1967-1970)

Chair, Committee on Labor and Human Resources (1971-1980)

(This committee had other names prior to 1978)

Chair, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor (1959-1968)

Chair, Subcommittee on Securities (1959-1978)

Chair, Subcommittee on Housing for Elderly (1971-1976)

Principal committee assignments:

Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (1959-1982)

Committee on Labor and Human Resources (1959-1982)

Select Committee on Small Business (1959-1972)

Special Committee on Aging (1961-1976)

Committee on Rules and Administration (1973-1982)

Joint Committee on Defense Production (1967-1976)

Joint Committee on the Library (1973-1982)

Democratic Steering Committee (1961-1982)



## SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES GALLERY

### EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

The photographs, documents, and artifacts on display in this gallery place Harrison Williams' legislative career in a thematic and national context. The exhibition continues in Gallery '50 where the items on display emphasize the New Jersey context of Williams' legislative activities.

All items in the exhibition, unless otherwise noted, are from the Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries. Credit for photographs is noted in the checklist when known.

#### **Case 1: Introduction**

1a. *Crossroads U.S.A.* by Harrison A. Williams, Jr., 1968. Lent by Larry Weimer.

1b. Campaign pins.

1c. Senate membership memento, 7 January 1959.

Williams won his first Senate seat in 1958, defeating Robert W. Kean. He was re-elected in his next three campaigns, defeating Bernard M. Shanley (1964), Nelson Gross (1970), and David F. Norcross (1976). Williams' string of four consecutive Senate race victories was unprecedented for a Democrat in New Jersey.

1d. Photograph, Williams gesturing at hearing in a photograph used in publicity material, ca. 1976.

1e. House of Representatives campaign poster, 1954?

Williams began his political career with unsuccessful runs for the New Jersey Assembly in 1951 and for Plainfield city councilman in 1952. His first victory came against George F. Hetfield in a special election held on 3 November 1953 to fill the Sixth Congressional District vacancy that opened when Clifford Case resigned his seat in the House of Representatives. Williams was re-elected to the

House in 1954, defeating Fred Shepard, but lost in 1956 to Florence P. Dwyer. Remaining active in politics, Williams played a leading role in Robert Meyner's successful 1957 gubernatorial bid, earning Meyner's support for Williams' successful 1958 Senate campaign.

1f. "Harrison A. Williams, Jr., Chairman" nameplate.

### **Case 2: Migratory Labor**

Williams was concerned with migratory agricultural labor throughout his Senate years. One of his earliest initiatives was the recommendation for, and then chairmanship of, a new subcommittee that conducted field visits and hearings, and reported bills on the subject. Williams' efforts on behalf of migrant farm workers—spanning healthcare, education, working conditions, minimum wages, housing, and more—are a microcosm of his legislative career.

2a. Photograph, farm worker harvesting potatoes.  
A notation on the back of the print reads "child labor."

2b. Williams to Senator Lister Hill, 24 June 1959.

Hill was the chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. In this memorandum, Williams discusses the status of migrant workers in the U.S., and recommends the creation of a subcommittee to conduct investigations and propose legislation. Hill accepted the recommendation and Williams became chairman of the new subcommittee.

2c. Photograph, Williams (far left) visit to Florida migratory labor site, 1960.  
Williams led the members and staff of his Subcommittee on Migratory Labor on several field visits. This 1960 visit to the Homestead area of Florida was his first to a southern state. Williams' report on the visit in his newsletter to constituents is representative in his concern for both the immediate human conditions and their long-term implications for the nation, as well as his confidence in the ability of government at all levels to partner with private interests to resolve the issues.

Williams reported that, "We visited camps where entire families live in 12x12 foot rooms, and yet these quarters were among the best we have seen anywhere.

Educators told us that most migrant children are years behind in their schooling because of their travels from one state to another. Away from the big worker camps, off the back roads, we saw filth and decay. . . . All in all, the visit reinforced the impression received in other states—that there is a national interest to be served by eliminating the waste of human resources which occurs so often in the migrant stream. The neglected migrant child of 1960 will be the inadequate citizen 20 years hence unless federal, state and local governments work effectively with private citizens to deal with the problems now.”

2d. Photograph, migratory labor transportation.

2e. Migratory Labor Subcommittee Report, 19 February 1969.

In 1969, at the start of the 91<sup>st</sup> Congress, Williams accepted the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Labor, a step toward becoming chair of the full committee in 1971 when the position opened with the primary election loss of then-chairman Ralph Yarborough. Williams remained a member of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor when Walter F. Mondale became chairman.

2f. Photograph, Williams and Dolores Huerta of United Farm Workers Organizing Committee at hearings, April 1969.

Huerta was the co-founder, with Cesar Chavez, of the organization that became the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). At the time of this photograph, Huerta was the East Coast coordinator of the national table grape boycott, an effort aimed at forcing California growers to negotiate with the UFW.

2g. Cesar E. Chavez to Williams, 24 September 1979.

In 1973, the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor was combined with another to form the Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor for the rest of the 1970s. Despite the organizational changes, through the 1970s Williams continued to direct attention to improving the conditions of migratory laborers, work that continued to face resistance in and out of Congress, as Chavez observes.

2h. The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor (NCALL), Elizabeth Herring Award to Williams, 10 July 1964.

NCALL, formed in 1950, was comprised of various organizations concerned with the working and living conditions of migratory labor. The award was named after its Executive Secretary.

2i. Commemorative stamps produced by United Farm Workers (UFW), 1970. After five years, the UFW's table grape boycott came to a successful conclusion in 1970 with the negotiation of a collective bargaining agreement. Cesar Chavez and Pete G. Velasco of the UFW transmitted these stamps, commemorating the unionization effort, to Williams on 14 October 1970.

2j. Photograph, Mexican farm workers, California.

2k. Photograph, farm worker housing, Colorado.

2L. S. 2498, Williams' first bill concerning migratory labor, 6 August 1959. As a first step in improving working conditions by preventing abusive work practices, Williams sought the registration of labor contractors. Future bills would seek to address health care, education, and other matters. Williams' first success on this front was the Migrant Health Act of 1962.

2m. Photograph, farm worker housing, near Washington, D.C.

2n. Film. No credit is available for the original film. Digitization credit: Color-Correction performed by VidiPax, LLC. This fourteen-minute film includes images from a visit to Dade County, Florida in 1967 by Senators Harrison Williams and Edward Kennedy of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. (The film has no soundtrack.) Subcommittee staff also participated in the trip. From time to time, the camera glimpses a man with a pipe, wearing a beret-like hat; that is Frederick R. Blackwell, counsel to the subcommittee. The senators visited the Perrine Neighborhood Center, a field where crops were being harvested, and a farm worker housing center. The trip was one of many visits conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by Williams.

2o. Photograph, El Teatro Campesino, Old Senate Office Building, 26 July 1967. El Teatro Campesino was part of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. They performed skits and played music primarily for other farm workers to educate them about labor and union organizing. Coinciding with

their local appearance at Howard University, Williams, in his capacity as subcommittee chairman, invited the group to perform in the courtyard of the Old (now Russell) Senate Office Building. Standing behind Williams are committee chairman Ralph Yarborough and fellow subcommittee member Edward M. Kennedy (second and third from left, respectively).

### **Case 3: Social Justice**

The opening of American society to include more of its citizens as full participants in its democracy and to respect all individuals' unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is perhaps the signature legacy of the 1960s and 1970s. On the legislative front, the battle for civil rights for African-Americans culminated with landmark acts in 1964 and 1965. Other forms of legal discrimination—including, but surely not limited to those of age, sex, and disability—were exposed, confronted, and became the subject of legislative action by Williams and others.

3a. Williams with Samuel A. Williams of the New Jersey NAACP at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Lincoln Memorial, 28 August 1963. Photograph by Irving Overby, Orange.

The inscription from Samuel Williams of East Orange to Williams reads: "Just a reminder of a great day. August 28, 1963." Samuel Williams was Secretary of the Board of Directors of the company that published *The Crisis* for the NAACP.

3b, 3c. Democratic National Committee publications highlighting Kennedy administration support for African-American civil rights, 1962-1963.

3d. S. 1731, 19 June 1963.

A package of two civil rights bills, S. 1731 and S. 1732, were introduced in the Senate. As negotiations advanced over the next year, the House version, H.R. 7152, became the vehicle for advancing the legislation, leading to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

3e. Partial schedule of floor managers for the Senate debate on H.R. 7152, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

3f. Photograph, Williams at the signing of the Voting Rights Act, 6 August 1965.

3g. S.J. Res. 7, the proposed constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to eighteen, 25 January 1971.

Support for lowering the voting age nationally from twenty-one to eighteen had existed to some extent for many years. But its urgency increased with the student activism of the 1960s, especially in the face of the glaring injustice of eighteen-year olds having no vote despite being subject to the military draft and possible death on the battlefields of Vietnam. Attempts to lower the voting age through federal legislation in 1970 were overturned in part by the Supreme Court, leading to a patchwork of age-eligibility laws. Accordingly, a constitutional amendment was proposed, and the states promptly ratified it within seven months.

3h. Photograph, Martha Gilbert and daughter. Records of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine & Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO (IUE), Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries. Denied disability benefits for pregnancy care under their employer's health plan, Martha Gilbert and others took their case to court, arguing that denying such benefits was a form of sex discrimination. Eventually, the Supreme Court ruled against the women. Williams took up the cause in his committee, leading to a 1978 law that expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of pregnancy or childbirth.

3i. Photograph, committee hearing conducted by Williams on workplace issues confronted by women, 1 February 1979.

Pictured left to right at the table: Bella Abzug, Presiding Officer of the National Women's Conference; Dr. Jill Conway, President of Smith College; John Mack Carter, Editor-in-Chief of *Good Housekeeping* magazine; and Marlo Thomas, actress.

3j. S. 867, bill prohibiting sex discrimination when extending credit, 15 February 1973.

3k. Williams speaking at Disabled in Action rally, Washington, D.C., 5 May 1972. Photograph by Wide World Photos.

Disabled in Action was founded in New York in 1970 to advocate for the rights of the disabled. In his remarks to the group, Williams noted that, “no law makes it a crime to discriminate against a person because of a physical or mental disability. Perhaps we need that kind of law, because that kind of discrimination is very real.” His references that day to the disabled’s lack of access to public transportation and public education anticipated corrective legislation he advanced in the 1970s.

3L. Photograph, Lincoln Memorial.

#### **Case 4: Education**

Equality of economic opportunity was essential for full inclusion in a Great Society that valued individual initiative and achievement. Education was the critical ingredient in leveling this economic playing field. Further, education was the means by which each individual, and the nation collectively, could adapt and achieve their highest capability in a technologically complex and changing world. Legislation sponsored by Williams was aimed at supporting innovative educational possibilities—such as two-year community colleges—and at expanding access to education in terms of both numbers of students and the demographic groups served.

4a. S. 6, bill expanding access to public education by students with disabilities, 4 January 1973.

Although this particular bill failed to pass, Williams persisted by re-introducing it in the following Congress, leading to its successful passage and signing by President Ford (item 4b).

4b. Pen used by President Gerald Ford to sign the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, 2 December 1975.

4c. *Junior College Journal*, September 1969.

In his article “To Close the Opportunity Gap,” Williams argued for increased federal support for the nontraditional, postsecondary opportunities found in community colleges, then still in their early, formative years.

4d. Program for Senate workshop on increasing the number of African-American college students, 21 May 1968.

4e. Upward Bound program booklet, publication of the Office of Economic Opportunity, ca. 1968. Remedial college preparation for low-income high school students.

4f. 1975 Fall Program of Evening Courses at Montville High School, Montville Township.

Williams saw the need for a variety of forms of education to ensure that Americans could be lifelong learners, both for personal self-fulfillment and, perhaps more importantly, to retrain themselves to maintain their income-earning ability over time as technology impacted job requirements. Assistance to community adult education programs was one such nontraditional education alternative.

4g. Vondal S. Gravlee to Williams, 17 October 1979. National Association of Home Builders, Hands That Work award.

In addition to recognizing Williams for his ongoing support for the Job Corps vocational training program, Gravlee's letter acknowledges the successes of a program that was often criticized for ineffectiveness.

4h. *The Corpsman*, 15 October 1968, featuring articles on the Job Corps police training programs at Camp Kilmer, N.J.

4i. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) memento.

The inscription from President Johnson to Williams reads: "With appreciation for your commitment to education." The ESEA was the federal government's first significant initiative in providing funding to local schools. The legislation required reauthorization every five years, providing built-in opportunities for debate at the federal level about the nation's educational system. The last reauthorization may sound familiar: the No Child Left Behind Act.

4j. Report on H.R.12, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, expanding access to medical training, 1963.

4k. Library of Congress. Photograph credit: Washington Convention and Visitors Bureau.

### **Case 5: Labor**

With education positioning more Americans to be sophisticated participants in the nation's economy, it was essential that workplace practices be modified to support the Great Society's social goals. Williams sponsored legislation throughout his career aimed at ensuring justice for Americans in employment matters. Traditional practices of employment discrimination based on age, sex, race, and other factors were outlawed. Exploitative or abusive workplace practices were at least mitigated through legislation establishing minimum wages, occupational safety and health standards, and private pension protections. In response to cyclical economic downturns, government spending on projects and public employment were viewed as correctives and as productive alternatives to direct welfare payments.

5a. Hardhat meeting safety regulations, Meadowlands Sports Complex construction site, 1976.

5b. Pen used by President Richard M. Nixon to sign the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), 29 December 1970.

In 1969-1970, three major workplace safety bills introduced by Williams and approved by his Subcommittee on Labor were enacted, including OSHA, the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, and the Federal Construction Safety Act.

5c. Photograph, Subcommittee on Labor field visit to Mathie's coal mine, Finleyville, Pennsylvania, March 1969.

5d. Replacement cartridge for permissible respirator for self-rescue, product of Mine Safety Appliances Company, Pittsburgh, Pa., ca. 1968.

5e. *The Failure of Refuse Dams on Middle Fork, Buffalo Creek, Part I of II. An Engineering Survey of Representative Coal Mine Refuse Piles as Related to the Buffalo Creek, West Virginia, Disaster.* U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Labor, May 1972.

Though mine safety legislation was passed in 1969, mine disasters continued to occur, including those at Sunshine Silver Mine in Idaho where ninety-one men were killed in an underground fire and Scotia mine in Kentucky where twenty-six died in an explosion. In 1972, 125 residents were killed in a flood at Buffalo Creek, West Virginia when a dam built of mine refuse collapsed. Investigations of the various tragedies indicated that strengthened enforcement of the laws was needed, leading to the 1977 passage of Williams' Federal Mine Safety and Health Amendments Act. This act was the last significant mine safety legislation for 30 years, until the law was amended in 2006 in response to the Sago Mine and other disasters of that year.

5f. Sample from Buffalo Creek disaster site, 26 February 1972.

5g. *What Is It Really Like To Be Poor? It's Like This . . .*, reprints of articles from the *Los Angeles Times* considering the dimensions of poverty, 1968.

5h. S. 1861, one of Williams' minimum wage bills, 13 May 1971.

5i. Neighborhood Youth Corps booklet, published by the National Farmers Union, July 1967.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps sought to provide work programs for rural youth needing financial assistance while in school.

5j. S. 2515, Williams' bill, as reported by his committee, strengthening the civil rights enforcement capability of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 28 October 1971.

5k. Editorial cartoon by Bill Canfield celebrating the passage of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), September 1974.

5L Editorial cartoon recognizing Williams' support for, and the attraction of, public employment as an alternative to welfare payments, 1970s.

## **Case 6: Business Regulation**

Seeking the middle ground between the radical left's condemnation of capitalism and the conservative right's unqualified celebration of it, liberalism embraced the fundamental place of private enterprise in America, while attempting through regulation to prevent abuses. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Securities and as a member of committees responsible for banking and small business, Williams participated in this balancing act at the very heart of American capitalism. His regulatory legislation sought to create confidence on the part of all participants—consumers, producers, investors, entrepreneurs, and intermediaries—in the integrity and stability of the marketplace. Full disclosure of information essential to informed choices, avoidance of conflicts of interest, transparent transaction terms and executions, and government agency oversight were among the regulatory tools favored by Williams to eliminate predatory practices and fraud while retaining competition, profit incentives, and risk-taking.

6a. William S. Simpson to Williams, 29 July 1968.

Simpson, President of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., expressed support for the "Williams Act," the equity ownership disclosure bill that remains an important part of securities market regulation. Williams' bill was advanced in response to an increase in corporate takeover attempts. His bill did not attempt to prevent takeovers, but required disclosures, minimum offering periods, and other measures aimed at ensuring that market participants could respond to takeover efforts in an informed and orderly fashion.

6b. Business Opportunity Conference, May 1976. Photograph by Federal Aviation Administration.

Williams and other members of the New Jersey congressional delegation worked to connect businesses with government services and contract possibilities at periodic Business Opportunity Conferences. This one was held at the National Aviation Facilities Experimental Center in Atlantic City.

6c. Photograph, Jackie Robinson with Williams at hearings on the impact of franchising on small business, 20 January 1970.

Business franchising became a common, and growing, feature of the marketplace in the 1960s. With relatively little capital, an individual could open their own business, a particularly attractive option for minority businessmen and women

with little access to capital. Nevertheless, with new business growth came reports of deceptive and fraudulent abuses, including the use of celebrity names like New York Jets quarterback Joe Namath, talk show host Johnny Carson, and others to lure prospective franchisees into poor business decisions. One such celebrity that lent his name to a franchise operation was former baseball player Jackie Robinson, who testified at hearings conducted by Williams on possible regulation. Williams' legislative proposals for Federal Trade Commission (FTC) regulatory action were not enacted, but eventually the FTC acted on its own initiative.

6d. Report of hearings before the Subcommittee on Securities on S. 275, Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act of 1967, 28 February/1 March 1967.

Misrepresentations in the sale of land, often involving the defrauding of senior citizens believing they were buying retirement homes in pleasant developments, led to the passage of Williams' bill establishing federal registration and disclosure requirements for large subdivisions.

6e. Williams' press release 72-22 announcing financial industry regulatory proposals, 8 February 1972.

Fundamental changes impacting Wall Street financial firms in the 1970s, including the elimination of fixed commissions, were advocated by Williams and were the subject of hearings, studies, and legislation from his Subcommittee on Securities.

### **Case 7: Metropolitan Affairs**

Given that the majority of Americans lived within a metropolitan area--i.e., an urban core and suburban fringes--Williams viewed these urban settings as potentially "the true hallmark of our civilization." Nevertheless, the deterioration of the inner cities and the sprawling waste of the suburbs were apparent. Seeking to revitalize these areas as centers of community, work, recreation, and culture, Williams encouraged long-term sustainable plans over short-term piecemeal projects. Balancing development with preservation of open space, expanding rapid mass transit capabilities, and supporting clean and renewable energy sources were among the legislative initiatives Williams pursued to enhance the human environment.

7a. Water pollution: Fish killed in farm pond by insecticides, Wake County, N.C., 1961. Photograph by North Carolina Wildlife Commission.

7b. Air pollution: Chicago smog, ca. 1963. Photograph by *Chicago Tribune*.

7c. SUNPAK Solar Collector brochure, Owens-Illinois, Inc., ca. 1978. Alternative energy sources were sought, especially solar energy.

7d. Photograph, open space: President Johnson signing the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area bill, 1 September 1965.

The Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area as envisioned at the 1965 signing is a good example of the type of balance Williams tried to achieve between development and conservation of open space in metropolitan areas. It is also a good example of the difficulty in striking such a balance. In the 1965 vision, the Delaware Water Gap area would include both the recreation area and a major power generation project, known as the Tocks Island Dam, which would have destroyed the natural and cultural environment just outside the park's border. Eventually, protests against the dam project prevailed and, after being moribund for years, the dam was formally deauthorized in 1992.

7e. "Whither Transit: Chaos or Conquest?" an address delivered by Williams at the 80<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the American Transit Association in Dallas, Texas, in which he advocated for federal support of urban mass transit, 17 October 1961.

7f. Photograph, Williams and Vice President Hubert Humphrey at President Johnson's signing of Williams' Urban Mass Transportation Act, 9 July 1964.

7g. Photograph, Williams on Metroliner, March 1969.

7h. New Jersey Governor Brendan Byrne delivering remarks at the signing of the Northeast Corridor Appropriations bill, 30 May 1980. Photograph by the White House.

Among other things, Senate bill 2253 provided \$750 million to improve the Northeast Corridor lines to allow for high-speed transit from Boston to Washington.

## **Case 8: Humane Treatment of Animals**

Williams' compassion and concern for environmental conservation brought him to leadership roles in promoting legislation protecting wildlife, including the Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972) and the Endangered Species Act (1973). Williams also sought, not always successfully, federal legislation banning dogfighting, steel jaw traps, and other forms of cruelty to animals.

8a. *Facts about Furs* by F. Jean Vinter. Published by the Animal Welfare Institute, 1973.

Photographs of animals caught in steel jaw traps.

8b. *The Right to Exist: A Report on Endangered Wildlife*. U.S. Department of the Interior booklet, 1973.

8c. Kelly Corrigan to Williams, 29 April 1975, constituent support for wildlife protections.

## **Case 9: Health**

Health problems can be devastating to individuals and the nation in terms of financial cost, lost productivity, personal tragedy, and social disruption. In the absence of comprehensive national health insurance, Williams and others sought alternatives that expanded access to medical care, such as Medicare and Medicaid (1965), and the 1973 legislation encouraging the development of health maintenance organizations (HMOs) as cost-effective care providers. Legislation encouraged the research and treatment of various diseases including, by the 1970s, alcoholism and drug addiction.

9a. S. 1, Senate version (as introduced) of the Medicare bill, 6 January 1965. At least as early as April 1960, Williams supported the concept of extending the Social Security system to include health coverage for the elderly. In testimony before a Senate subcommittee, he noted that nine million seniors, or sixty percent of that age group, had no health insurance. Compounding this exposure was the fact that six million seniors had annual total incomes of \$1,000 or less.

9b. Photograph, Williams as a subject of a demonstration glaucoma-screening test conducted by Ralph Mociarro, a Washington D.C. Health Department Mobile Screening Unit technician, September 1966.

Senator Maurine Neuberger looks on. Williams argued for expenditures on preventative health care and screenings.

9c. Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on S. 14, Health Maintenance Organization and Resources Act of 1973, 27 April 1973.

In 1973, Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) were a new concept in health care delivery, and it was hoped that they would broaden access to affordable health care through their cost control mechanisms. This legislation provided an important boost to the prospects of HMOs. Among other provisions, the law required that employers with twenty-five or more employees offer an HMO option in their health care benefit packages.

9d. Drug Addiction Rehabilitation Enterprise, Inc. (DARE) brochure, ca. 1970.

Government funding was provided to community centers and programs for mental health, drug addiction, alcoholism, and other health matters.

9e. The New Jersey Alcoholism Association, award to Williams for his initiatives concerning alcoholism treatment, 19 May 1979.

### **Case 10: The Elderly**

Poverty, health care, housing, and other needs of the elderly were a central feature of Great Society programs. As a member of the Special Committee on Aging for most of his career, Williams gained a first hand view of the problems of the aged, leading to his advocacy of corrective legislation. Williams viewed seniors not just in terms of their problems, but also as individuals with potential as a national human resource warranting government support. Green Thumb, Retired Senior Volunteer (RSVP), and other programs advocated by Williams and supported by Federal funding reflected this view.

10a. "Senior Power," National Council of Senior Citizens Rally at the Capitol. 6 June 1973. Photograph by Special Committee on Aging.

10b. Editorial cartoon by GAR, supporting Williams' housing legislation. Date unknown.

10c. Photograph, Green Thumb members planting flowers in the courtyard of the Old (Russell) Senate Office Building, July 1968.

Green Thumb was one of the programs established in 1965 to give senior citizens a vehicle for using their skills (gardening in this case) for their personal fulfillment and for their communities. The small pilot program included New Jersey among its four initial sites.

The courtyard in which they are planting flowers was known as the Harrison-Williams Park, and is an example of Williams' outlook that open space and beautification efforts can occur even within narrow confines. In 1962, Williams noticed that the courtyard, surrounded on all sides by the office building walls, was rather dingy. He worked with Gordon Harrison, staff director of the Committee on Rules, to improve its appearance. Over time the courtyard was the site of a planting of a tree by Lady Bird Johnson and of marigolds by Senator Everett Dirksen. (It was also the site of the El Teatro Campesino performance; see item 2o). In 1965, a plaque was placed in the courtyard indicating its name as the Harrison-Williams Park, a combination of the last names of the staff director and the senator.

10d. Pen used by President Jimmy Carter to sign the Age Discrimination in Employment Act Amendments, 1978.

10e. *Senior Citizen News* reporting on problems of the elderly as documented by Williams' Special Committee on Aging, May 1968.

10f. Photograph, Williams publicizing one of many product scams that targeted the elderly, February 1964.

### **Case 11: Vietnam War**

The gleaming vision of a Great Society could not transcend the tragedy of the war in Vietnam, where American combat operations raged from the early 1960s until the early 1970s. While it was not the only force dividing Americans, the war was arguably the most polarizing, particularly as the body count mounted. Though not speaking for all Americans, perhaps the correspondence displayed here, from a recipient of the Bronze Star Medal for heroism, can begin to convey the depth of introspection brought about by the war.

Joseph W. Davis to Williams, 14 May 1972.

Bronze Star medal and certificate, 29 June 1968.

Army Commendation medal and certificate, 23 June 1968.

Army Commendation medal and certificate, 14 September 1968.

### **Case 12: Foreign Affairs**

#### *Opposition to Communism*

Liberal programs, based on a confidence in the ability of the government to intervene usefully in economic and social relations, were often criticized as communist or socialist in nature, virtually a charge of treason in the Cold War setting. These assertions failed to acknowledge that liberals were fiercely anti-communist. Indeed, the willingness to confront communist expansion militarily led to the Vietnam War. In general, Williams and his contemporaries believed that the key to ultimate victory in the ideological war with communism was the use of foreign aid to help emerging nations develop, and the creation of a Great Society at home for those developing nations to emulate. In the meantime, direct relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and Red China alternated between denunciations and negotiations on arms control, trade, and other mutual interests.

12a. S. Con. Res. 20, resolution sponsored by Williams in support of the Baltic nations occupied by the Soviet Union, 17 February 1965.

12b. Photograph, Williams in China with Vice Premier Keng Piao, December 1978.

12c. Williams and Congressman Silvio Conte in Poland, at the Children's Hospital built with U.S. foreign aid, December 1965. Photograph by Edward Weglowski, Kraków, Poland.

12d. Photograph, Williams at a village on the Mekong River, South Vietnam, 1969.

Williams visited South Vietnam and South Korea as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and the primary purpose of his trip was to investigate the banking arrangements in place for servicemen. Committee counsel Steve Paradise is at the left of the photograph.

12e. *The U.S. Mutual Security Program, Fiscal Year 1957, A Summary Presentation, April 1956.* Departments of State and of Defense booklet.

#### *Support for Israel*

For Williams, and likely most of his colleagues, Israel was among the most reliable American ally in the world, as well as a beacon of democracy--and, at the height of the Cold War, anti-communism--in the strategically critical Middle East. His support for Israel manifested itself in several ways, including sponsorship of legislation in the 1960s and 1970s opposing the Arab boycott of Israel and support for arms sales.

12f. Zionist Organization of America, State of Israel award to Williams, 9 June 1975.

12g. Photograph, Williams with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty, March 1979.

12h. *The Arab Boycott Involves Americans*, a supplement to the *Near East Report*, publication of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, May 1965. An article in the supplement discusses the bill introduced in the Senate by Williams and Jacob Javits intended to assist American businesses in not cooperating with the Arab boycott of trade with Israel.

12i. Photograph, Williams with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat following Camp David negotiations, September 1978.

12j. Co-signed "Dear Colleague" letter from Williams and Senator Charles H. Percy, requesting support for loans to Israel for military equipment, 23 September 1970.

### **Cases 13 and 14: Debate**

Although a liberal program encompassing the expansion of civil rights, economic opportunity, environmentalism, access to education, and other policies advanced through the 1960s and 1970s, dissent was always present. By the end of the 1970s, this dissent over liberal programs, along with dissatisfaction with the nation's foreign affairs, ongoing economic crisis, energy costs, and cultural upheavals, led to a political shift favoring a conservative ideology and the inauguration of Ronald Reagan as President in 1981. The correspondence in the final two display cases provides a sense of the debate over liberal policies leading to the election of 1980. In their familiar issues and arguments, almost thirty years after Reagan's election, we find the continuing influence of Great Society liberalism and the present opportunity to join in the enduring themes of political debate in America.

#### *Energy Crisis*

Paul Schryba to Williams, 26 June 1980: "The solution is stressing conservation . "

Armand A. Fiorletti to Williams, 14 July 1980: ". . . legislators cannot continue to allow strict environmental considerations . . . "

#### *Business Deregulation*

DeWitt T. Budd to Williams, 22, June 1977: ". . . deregulation mean[s] CHAOS . . . "

Mrs. William T. Porter to Williams, 8 July 1977: "Competition usually improves service."

### *Balancing the Budget*

Sister M. Jane Veldof to Williams, 17 April 1980: "... questioning ... the structures that lie at the heart of America's persistent economic crisis."

Anne S. Holloman to Williams, 9 March 1980: "Help! We're drowning in taxes."

### *Government Assistance*

Michael X. Harrington to Williams, 7 February 1980: "God help us as a country, if we turn our backs to the less fortunate ..."

Arlene D. (Mrs. Fred R.) Brewer to Williams, 7 May 1979: "This redistribution of wealth is most discouraging ..."

### **Gallery Wall: Photographs**

Williams' Senate career extended twenty-three years, from 1959 to 1982, illustrated in the exhibition by photographs of the Presidential administrations in office during that time.

Williams sworn into office by Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Photograph by The Zito Studios, Fair Lawn, N.J., 1959.  
Eisenhower administration, 1959-1961.

Williams with John F. Kennedy. The date is unknown but the setting suggests that this photograph was taken while Kennedy was still in the Senate.  
Kennedy administration, 1961-1963.

Williams with President Lyndon B. Johnson, ca. 1964.  
Johnson administration, 1963-1969.

Williams with President Richard M. Nixon at signing of Construction Safety Act, 9 August 1969.

Nixon administration, 1969-1974.

Williams with President Gerald R. Ford at signing of National Mass Transportation Assistance Act, 26 November 1974. Photograph by Wide World Photos.

Ford administration, 1974-1977.

Williams with President Jimmy Carter, May 1980. Photograph by The White House.

Carter administration, 1977-1981.

Williams with President-elect Ronald W. Reagan, January 1981.

Reagan administration, 1981-1982.

### **Gallery Wall: Select Quotations of Harrison A. Williams, Jr.**

*On Poverty, from Crossroads U.S.A., 1968*

Poverty is the fundamental deficiency that intensifies all other weaknesses in our society.

Poverty perpetuates poor education, inadequate health standards, and disgraceful housing.

Poverty makes discrimination easier because its victims are usually isolated from a hostile society. Poverty cripples the spirit. The poor become hopeless or angry; the affluent become uneasy and defensive. Neither group understands or communicates one with the other.

*On Education, from Crossroads U.S.A., 1968*

In life today, learning can no longer be limited to the classroom between ages six and the mid-twenties. It must begin at birth and continue through life. The lifelong student must be able to change his career both to accommodate his talents and to fill the manpower needs of the time.

*On Policy Priorities*, from Seton Hall University commencement address, 1975

I believe that sensible, practical programs to rebuild our cities, conserve our energy and natural resources, find jobs for the unemployed, feed the hungry and clothe the needy, can be designed and carried out. But such programs have not often been forthcoming, perhaps because they would involve major changes in our priorities and life styles.

*On Market Regulation*, from remarks to the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, 1974

It is Congress' continuing responsibility to evaluate the operations of the markets in light of the policy objectives of our Federal securities laws.

\* \* \*

The first goal is to provide a fair and honest mechanism for the pricing of securities, free from manipulative and deceptive practices of all kinds;  
The second is to prevent undue advantages of preferences among participants in the markets;

The third is to insure that securities can be purchased and sold at economically efficient transactions costs.

And the fourth is to maintain, to the maximum degree practicable, markets that are open, orderly, and fair.

\* \* \*

We need less, not more, regulation. And that means more reliance on natural economic forces. Of course, federal regulation, including self-regulation through the exchanges and the NASD, remains necessary in order to insure that the markets operate in accord with these fundamental goals.

## GALLERY '50

### EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

The items on display in this gallery emphasize the New Jersey context of Harrison Williams' legislative activities. The exhibition begins in the Special Collections and University Archives gallery. That gallery places Williams' legislative career primarily in a thematic and national context.

All items in the exhibition, unless otherwise noted, are from the Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries. Credit for photographs is noted in the checklist when known.

#### **Digital Frame**

##### *Audio:*

Williams' announcement of his candidacy for re-election to the U.S. Senate, as recorded on audiocassette, Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth, N.J., 26 April 1976. Digitization by Vidipax, LLC.

##### *Digital scans of campaign photographs, in order of appearance on the frame:*

- 1950s House campaign trailer (outside). Photograph by Richard C. Gaine, Plainfield.
- 1958 campaign, dye shop, Paterson. Photograph by Tom Probert.
- 1958 campaign, Williams with Governor Robert Meyner. Photograph by Thomas Irwin Probert, Glen Rock.
- 1958 campaign, Paulsboro. Photograph by Tom Probert.
- 1964 campaign car. Photograph by Ed Goldspan(?).
- 1964 campaign, Williams greeting man at Bendix plant gate.
- 1964 campaign, Williams at Senior Citizens Caucus, Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City.
- 1970 campaign, election night, Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth.

1970 campaign, Williams at voting booth. Photograph by Fred Keesing, *Courier News*.

1970 campaign, Williams with two men at Hoffman-LaRoche.

1976 campaign, Williams and Senator Edward Kennedy at Rutgers University.

1976 campaign, Williams at voting booth.

1950s House campaign, Garwood. left to right: F. Wehrum, W. Severage, Williams, G. Casabona, J. Conlin.

1958 campaign, election night returns, Democratic county headquarters, Rahway. Edward Whelan, past county chairman (left), James J. Kinneally, Democratic county chairman. Photograph by George Van Photos, Newark.

1958 campaign, Middlesex County. Photograph by Tom Probert.

1958 campaign, garment factory, Woodbury. Photograph by Tom Probert.

1964 campaign, Williams with Hubert Humphrey at Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City.

1964 campaign, Williams approaching car at Bendix plant.

1964 campaign, Williams at Democratic Platform Committee, Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City.

1970 campaign, election night, Winfield Scott Hotel, Elizabeth.

1970 campaign, Williams with woman at Hoffman-LaRoche.

1970 campaign, Williams with women at Western Electric, Kearny Works. Photograph by Western Electric.

1976 campaign, President Edward Bloustein, Williams, and Senator Edward Kennedy at Rutgers University.

1976 campaign, Jersey City Shop Rite. Photograph by C.Y.O Diocese of Paterson.

1950s House campaign trailer (inside). Photograph by Richard C. Gaine, Plainfield.

1958 campaign event. Photograph by Thomas Irwin Probert, Glen Rock.

1958 campaign, Passaic County. Photograph by Tom Probert.

1958 campaign, Paulsboro. Photograph by Tom Probert.

1964 campaign, Williams with President Johnson, Paramus, 14 October 1964. Photograph by George Van Photos, Newark.

1964 campaign, New Jersey delegation, Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City.

1964 campaign, Williams with Dominic Crupi, owner of shoe repair shop, Monmouth Street, Red Bank.

1970 campaign, Williams at voting register. Photograph by Fred Keesing, *Courier News*.

1970 campaign, Williams and John Molinari at Hoffman-LaRoche.

1970 campaign, Williams shaking hands at Western Electric, Kearny Works.  
Photograph by Western Electric.

1976 campaign, Williams at voting register.

1976 campaign, Labor Day parade, New Brunswick.

### **Case 1: Introduction**

1a. Photograph, *Crossroads U.S.A.* by Harrison A. Williams, Jr., 1968.

1b. Photograph, Williams and Senator Clifford P. Case with reporters in Senate Recording Studio.

Through 1978, Williams' tenure in the Senate overlapped that of Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ), ca. 1961.

1c. License plate from the 1964 Democratic National Convention, held in Atlantic City.

1d. Williams greets an unexpected visitor to the podium, the son of one of the graduates, during his acceptance of an honorary degree and his address at the Seton Hall University commencement ceremony, 17 May 1975. Photograph by Van Picture Service, Inc., Newark.

1e. Senate campaign poster, 1958.

1f. Campaign pins.

### **Case 2: New Jersey Community Action**

A major emphasis of Great Society programs was the so-called War on Poverty. A principal vehicle for anti-poverty initiatives was the community action agency. Such agencies, founded on the principle of local self-help, were locally incorporated and operated, using federal funds in part to implement programs

identified by the community as appropriate for their circumstances, including education and training, legal services, health care, and economic development. Displayed are examples of the agencies founded in New Jersey in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

2a. *Annual Report, Community Action - Plainfield, Inc., 1971.*

Programs included daycare and various forms of education and training programs, including on-the-job, Head Start, youth development, and others.

2b. *Review of Senior Citizen Needs*, report by Evelyn Frank, Chairman of the Senior Citizens Committee, Union Township Community Action Organization, Inc., 18 December 1969.

2c. *BPUM-EDC Quarterly*, newsletter, June 1979.

2d. *BPUM Impact Corporation in Brief*, fact sheet, ca. 1980.

Economic development efforts by Black Peoples Unity Movement-Economic Development Corporation (BPUM-EDC) of Camden.

2e. *An Outline of Poverty in Middlesex County, N.J.*, by Georgina M. Smith, publication of the Middlesex County Economic Opportunities Corporation, July 1967.

2f. Burlington County Community Action Program brochure, 1971.

2g. "HOW-TO: A Pictorial Progress Report," *Trends (Riverdale, N.J.)*, 13 October 1971.

Housing Operation With Training Opportunity, Inc. (HOW-TO) was a self-help housing program undertaken by the Community Action Council of Passaic County (see 2h).

2h. Photograph, deteriorated house to be replaced under HOW-TO program in Ringwood's "mine area," ca 1972.

2i. Photograph, Williams discusses child development programs with representatives of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey, 4 May 1976.

### Case 3: New Jersey Labor

The workplace was a central concern of Williams' legislative efforts throughout his career. For the Great Society, the workplace, and the employment it offered, were cornerstones for the elimination of poverty and the social ills rooted in poverty. Among other matters, Williams' legislation aimed at improving working conditions, eliminating discriminatory practices, and building a skilled workforce. Williams advocated an active role for the federal government—via program and project funding and regulation—in ensuring that these broad social goals were accomplished within the essential framework of private enterprise. Migratory farm labor was a particular focus of Williams' legislation. Displayed are examples of New Jersey labor's interest in and, at times, tension over Williams' legislative initiatives.

3a. AFL-CIO advertisement supporting Williams' Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), *Hudson Dispatch*, 27 October 1970.

3b. Photograph, celebrating the safety record of Operating Engineers Local 825 at the Meadowlands Sports Complex construction site, 1976.

An article, which included this photograph, appeared in the August 1976 edition of *The International Operating Engineer*. According to the article, the Operating Engineers of Local 825 experienced no serious accident during the construction of the Sports Complex. Williams visited the site to offer his congratulations. He was made an honorary member of the Local, and presented with a hard hat as a memento (see Special Collections and University Archives Gallery, item 5a).

3c. Photograph, N.J. State A.F.L.-C.I.O, N.J. State Building Trades, March for Jobs, Trenton, 29 July 1974.

In response to high unemployment in the construction industry, 18,000 workers rallied in Trenton to call for more jobs. Williams sought a managed balance between development and conservation. The political difficulty of this balance can be seen in this rally: the workers wanted both more public works and less emphasis on environmental considerations in considering construction projects. Both Governor Brendan Byrne and Williams addressed the rally. Williams agreed that public works were necessary, but that they should be oriented toward pollution control.

3d. Migratory labor: picking tomatoes, Monmouth County, 1960s. Photograph by Franklynn Peterson, Black Star.

3e. Migratory labor: bagging potatoes, Milltown, October 1967. Photograph by Jack J. Schrier, Black Star.

3f-3i. "Before and after" photographs showing the result of efforts to improve the living conditions of migratory labor in New Jersey, 1960.

At Thanksgiving 1960, CBS-TV ran a documentary by Edward R. Murrow exploring the conditions of migratory labor in America. Titled "Harvest of Shame," the report included a brief appearance by Williams in his capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. The documentary also included a heartbreaking scene from Cranbury, N.J. After a young girl, daughter of migratory laborers, expressed her dream of becoming a schoolteacher, her teacher observed that this was unlikely given the inconsistent opportunities for education the girl would have as she moved from state to state.

3j. Photograph, Williams at the opening session of a training program in Newark, N.J., September 1968.

Williams recommended that Wall Street firms facing chronic openings for brokerage clerk jobs seek to fill those positions with the unemployed from Newark. Government funding was provided and the securities industry did the training at a New Jersey state government agency location. This model, consisting of federal and state funding and facilitating resources combined with private expertise, was one often used in the Great Society programs.

3k. Horace H. Hunt to Williams, 2 July 1971.

Calls for government intervention to ensure anti-discriminatory hiring practices.

#### **Case 4: New Jersey Civil Rights Activism**

4a. Photograph, Williams receives a petition from the Princeton area in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

4b. "Princeton Petition for the Civil Rights Bill" (of 1964).

4c. Photograph, Williams and Congressman Joseph Minish (center left) greet Newark Councilman Irvine Turner (center right) and other Newark area residents at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 28 August 1963.

4d. Harold C. Relyea to Williams, 15 April 1964, concerning racial discrimination in Madison.

*Photographs on wall above Case 4*

(left) Photograph, Williams with Irene Smith, President of the New Jersey State NAACP, February 1970.

(right) Photograph, Williams with John McGhee of Newark, President of The People's Association to the Memory of Dr. King, signing a petition to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, October 1977.

### **Case 5: New Jersey Education**

Williams and other Great Society advocates sought the expansion of educational opportunities to serve a number of national goals, including raising low income individuals from poverty and adapting the skill levels of all workers to meet ever-changing job requirements. New Jersey experienced the implementation of a range of new educational concepts, such as Head Start for pre-school age children, two-year community colleges, and vocational training through the Job Corps for adults.

5a. *Operation of a Near City Skills Training Center at Camp Kilmer, N.J.*, 14 May 1969. Proposal by the Federal Electric Corporation of Paramus to the U.S. Department of Labor for residential and non-residential training of the urban unemployed for police work.

5b. Photograph, Williams with Camp Kilmer student government leaders, 3 December 1970.

5c. *Progress Report I*, Riegel Ridge Development Center for Pre-School Children, Milford, N.J., with enclosed *Head Start Parents Booklet*, 1 December- 28 February 1967.

Seeking to staunch the impact of poverty through Head Start.

5d. Atlantic Community College, second annual commencement program, 6 June 1969.

Community colleges provided nontraditional and broader access to higher education. Williams gave the commencement address on this occasion.

*Photographs on wall above Case 5*

(left) Photograph, Livingston High School visit to the Capitol, February 1966.

(right) Photograph, Hunterdon Regional High School senior class visit to the Capitol, 14 May 1975.

### **Case 6: Health**

The Great Society's expansion of opportunity extended to access to health care. Innovative concepts supported by federal funding, such as hospice care, and by legislation advanced by Williams, including Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), emerged in New Jersey, as did treatment centers for alcoholism and other diseases.

6a. Rutgers Community Health Plan (RCHP) brochure, 1976.

Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) were a novel attempt to make health care more accessible and affordable. RCHP was the second HMO qualifying in New Jersey, and the eighteenth in the nation, under Federal law enacted two years earlier.

6b. Photograph, Williams and Congressman William Hughes (far right) at the dedication of Seabrook House in-patient facility, 18 October 1976.

The inscription from Jerry Diehl to Williams reads, "Thanks for participating in our dedication and for all you have done to make Seabrook House a reality of alcoholism treatment."

6c. Seabrook House alcoholism program brochure, 1974.

6d. Odyssey House addiction programs brochure, ca. 1972.

6e. Marilyn J. Thompson to Williams, 25 May 1976.

The new concept of hospice care, supported by federal funding, Riverside Hospital, Boonton.

6f. *Ironbound Community Health Center Project*, proposal sponsored by the Ironbound Community Corporation, Newark, N.J., December 1976.

Health care needs identified and serviced at the community level.

*Photographs on wall above Case 6*

(left) Groundbreaking ceremony for Hunterdon Medical Center extended care facility, 5 November 1971.

Federal funds for construction of hospital facilities. (left to right) Lloyd Westcott, President, Hunterdon Medical Center Board of Trustees; Williams; Assistant Surgeon General Harold M. Graning, M.D.

(right) Williams with Dr. Irwin S. Smith (center), executive director of Health Care Plan of New Jersey, first HMO in the state, and Dr. Segbold of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 2 June 1976.

### **Case 7: The Elderly in New Jersey**

Senior citizens were major beneficiaries of Great Society programs, as health care, housing, and other social services expanded. Williams led many of these efforts, as well as promoting legislation aimed at changing attitudes toward the elderly, including support for programs that drew on seniors as valued human resources in their communities.

7a. Proclamation, State of New Jersey Executive Department, signed by Governor Brendan Byrne, recognizing Williams' legislative initiatives on behalf of senior citizens, 7 November 1979.

7b. Photograph, expression of support for Medicare from Jersey City, 30 August 1965.

(left to right): Deputy Mayor Joseph Sesta; Mrs. Rose Kennedy, President of Hudson Gardens Golden Age Club (GAC); Mr. Conrad J. Vuocolo, Director of Tenant Relations; Mrs. Ann Reggy, President of A. Harry Moore GAC; Mrs. Lesterine Totten, Marion Gardens GAC; Mrs. Josephine Cirillo, Holland Gardens GAC; Mr. William Quinn, President of Currie Woods GAC; Mr. Clarence Hamilton, B.T. Washington GAC; Mr. Thomas Cesara, Montgomery Gardens GAC.

7c. Newsletter of the Essex County Retired Senior Volunteer Program, Fall 1974.

7d. Williams delivering a Meals-On-Wheels Thanksgiving Day dinner, Jersey City, 1976. Photograph by John A. Gibson, Jr.

7e. Blueprint for proposed three-story senior citizen housing, Westfield, 14 December 1972.

### **Case 8: New Jersey Open Space**

Many of Williams' legislative initiatives emphasized the importance of regional planning for metropolitan areas--that is, urban centers and the far-reaching areas surrounding them. Such planning was important for metropolitan areas to help balance competing demands for economic development and natural conservation. This contest was especially intense for a small, heavily populated state like New Jersey with several overlapping metropolitan areas, including those of New York, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Camden, and others. Displayed here are examples of New Jersey sites at the heart of Williams' efforts and the growing environmental movement to conserve open space within metropolitan areas.

8a. Photograph, Williams and Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall discuss the possible transfer of Sandy Hook from federal military control to New Jersey, 1961.

The setting is a filming of one of Williams' periodic interviews of government officials for use by television stations. The inscription from Udall to Williams reads: "'Strategy at Sandy Hook,' Best wishes to a fighting senator and friend!"

8b. Photograph, Sandy Hook, ca. 1962.

Formerly a Nike nuclear missile base, Sandy Hook became a recreational site as a New Jersey state park in 1962.

In 1962, 469 acres of land at Sandy Hook were leased by the federal government to New Jersey, thereby converting the former Nike nuclear missile base into a state park with public recreational purposes. In 1964, an additional 271 acres of land was leased to New Jersey and added to the state park (see exhibition catalog cover photograph). Williams had actively worked for both transfers, reflecting his interest in securing open space within metropolitan areas. Prior to the 1986 expiration date of the leases, in the 1970s, Sandy Hook became part of the newly created Gateway National Recreation Area with the support of Williams and others in the New Jersey and New York delegations.

8c. Photograph, Sunfish Pond and surrounding Kittatinny Mountain area, ca. 1966.

8d. Proposal for Sunfish Pond area as a source of electric power, Public Service Electric and Gas Co., Jersey Central Power & Light Co., 1965.

8e. Possible lay-out of proposed airport in the Great Swamp (Morris County), from *A Major Airport for the New Jersey-New York Metropolitan Area: A Report on Preliminary Studies by The Port of New York Authority*, 14 January 1960.

8f. *Wilderness Proposal*, M. Hartley Dodge Unit, Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge, N.J., 1967.

8g. *Bi-County Jet Airport Project*, report prepared for the Ocean County Board of Chosen Freeholders concerning development of the Pinelands (Ocean and Burlington County), 1960.

8h. The Pinelands of New Jersey brochure, New Jersey Pinelands Commission brochure, 1981.

Williams' vision of regional planning was realized in his 1978 bill that both created the concept of a "national reserve" and placed the Pinelands under its land use planning protections.

8i. Photograph, President Gerald Ford at the dedication ceremony for the Great Falls National Historic Site, Paterson, 6 June 1976.

### **Case 9: New Jersey Mass Transportation**

Throughout his career, Williams was an advocate of the importance of mass transportation systems within metropolitan areas. He deplored the air pollution, street congestion in population centers, time wasted in traffic jams, energy costs, and other negative impacts of the over-reliance on the automobile in these areas. Seeing the interstate and cumulative national implications of metropolitan area transportation structures, Williams advanced a federal role in funding demonstration projects, planning efforts, railway improvements, and other initiatives aimed at increasing the viability and ridership of mass transit.

9a. S. 345, one of Williams' earliest bills establishing the interest of the federal government in mass transportation systems, 11 January 1961.

9b. Morris County Commuters Man of the Year Award program, 23 October 1974.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Williams and the Morris County Board of Public Transportation were frequent correspondents concerning mass transit proposals.

9c. Williams and Governor Brendan Byrne at signage for the Harrison A. Williams Jr. Metropark Station, July 1979. Photograph by Office of Public Communications, State of New Jersey.

Williams' name was placed on the Metropark station (Iselin) in recognition of his support for mass transportation in New Jersey. His name was removed when he resigned from the Senate in 1982 as a result of his Abscam conviction (see biographical sketch).

9d. *Camden Rapid Transit: Route Alternative Study for the Greater Camden Movement*, prepared by Coverdale & Colpitts, consulting engineers, New York, 31 August

1962. Proposal placing local mass transit within a regional planning framework, Camden.

9e. Greater Camden Movement Alternative Plan, map from the Greater Camden Movement's Rapid Transit Route Alternative Study (see 9d), August 1962.

9f. *Hub-bound Travel in the Tri-State New York Metropolitan Region: Persons and Vehicles Entering Manhattan South of 61<sup>st</sup> St., 1924-1960*, Regional Plan Association bulletin, December 1961.

According to the bulletin, Manhattan south of 61st Street was the destination in 1960 for 3.3 million people every business day, one-half of them arriving between 7:00 and 10:00 am.