

southern states received \$11.5 billion more in Federal outlays than they paid in Federal taxes. At the same time, the Federal government is also encouraging the mass relocation of American industry overseas with special programs ranging from the Foreign Tax Credit Incentive to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

In a recent issue of *Fortune* magazine, an article devoted to the issue of corporate migration and the death of the northern cities states bluntly, "it is hard to imagine what the cities could do to halt the outflow, let alone reverse it . . . to a great extent these cities are victims of forces they cannot control." What the *Fortune* article failed to ask is the big question: Why should the cities be victims to forces outside their control?

Who should decide whether a city prospers or collapses? Do communities exist to serve the interests of the industries that locate there? Or should companies exist to serve the interests of the community where they do business? The answers to these questions are certain to become a central issue of political debate over the next decade.

On one score, the experts are already in agreement: the cost of saving this dying urban industrial belt could run well into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

—Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard

Seventies

The man Congress picked to investigate the assassinations

It's an almost impossible job. The trails, if any, are stone cold: one crime took place 13 years ago, the other eight. Many witnesses are dead. The police agencies that would normally assist the investigation are themselves under suspicion.

But the persistent demand for a new investigation into the assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King finally moved the Congress, and on September 17 the House voted 280 to 65 to compose a 12-member select committee to "conduct a full and complete investigation" of the two murders. And, despite all the false starts of recent Congressional probes, many critics of the official verdicts in the two cases are guardedly optimistic this time. The reason is Richard A. Sprague, the man picked to serve as Staff Director and Chief Counsel, the most important position on the committee. Sprague



Sprague with committee chairman Thomas Downing: a prosecutor's prosecutor

(not to be confused with Warren Commission critic Richard E. Sprague) is the Philadelphia attorney who drew national acclaim for unraveling the complex conspiracy behind the brutal 1970 assassinations of United Mine Workers reformer Jock Yablonski, his wife and daughter.

Sprague worked on that case for five years as Special Prosecutor of Pennsylvania's Washington County, methodically working his way up the chain of command. First came the apprehension and conviction of the three assassins, then their four co-conspirators further up the line. Next came the indictment and conviction of Albert Pass, the Secretary-Treasurer of District 19 of the United Mine Workers. Finally, in September 1975, Tony Boyle, the powerful leader of the United Mine Workers, was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment as the man who had financed the Yablonski assassination. It was by all accounts an extraordinary achievement.

Nevertheless, a number of Warren Commission critics were initially wary of the choice of Sprague to head the new investigations. His boss during eight of his 17 years in the Philadelphia District Attorney's office was none other than District Attorney Arlen Specter, one-time Junior Counsel of the Warren Commission and inventor of the notorious single-bullet theory.

That theory had enabled the Warren Commission to account for what appeared to be too many wounds and too many shots fired in too short a period of time by one individual with one decrepit World War II surplus rifle. Many critics feel that Specter's work should be subject to intense scrutiny by any new investigation.

Sprague adamantly maintains that "I have no problem in going wherever the evidence leads," adding

that "whoever has any involvement suffers whatever may be." In fact, despite what appeared most of the time to be a tight relationship between Sprague and Specter, sources close to Sprague at the time maintain that the relationship was actually often cool. At one point Specter is reported to have barred Sprague from accepting the job of Special Prosecutor on the Yablonski case, fearful of taking too much of a back seat to his First Assistant. Sprague threatened to quit and Specter backed down. Sprague received only expenses for serving as Special Prosecutor, and used accumulated vacation time to conduct the trials while continuing to work for Specter.

Sprague joined the DA's office in 1958 at the age of 33 and quickly earned the title of "the iron man" after working the courtroom for 57 consecutive weeks without breaking for a vacation. He was promoted over several assistants with more seniority to become Chief of Homicide in 1962, and in 1966 the newly-elected Specter appointed him First Assistant, the highest position in the DA's office under the DA himself. Sprague has prosecuted or supervised over 15,000 criminal cases. He personally prosecuted over 70 first-degree murder cases, winning convictions in all but one. In that case the jury returned a second-degree conviction.

Sprague has been described by lawyers he has opposed as ruthless but compassionate. He is a strict law-and-order man who strongly favors the death penalty, opposes plea-bargaining, and applauds court actions like that of the Berger Court in softening the Miranda decision.

Sprague has never been shy about speaking his mind. He was dismissed from the Philadelphia DA's office after criticizing F. Emmett Fitzpatrick, the man who had defeated

Specter in the 1974 election, in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* interview. Sprague was also a harsh critic of Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, and wrote on the *New York Times* op-ed page that Jaworski "misused and abused" his position by excessive use of plea-bargaining and his failure to contest the Nixon pardon.

Before accepting his new assignment Sprague demanded and received an assurance of absolute freedom to hire and fire staff and to conduct the investigation as he sees fit, subject only to the veto of the committee. He plans to set up two complete homicide investigation units, each to operate independently and concurrently, each with its own legal, investigative and clerical staff. He plans a third unit as well, a Legal Counsel with a separate staff to provide legal advice so that staff time and energy are not sapped with litigation and other legal troubles.

Sprague envisions a staff of 160 to 200 people—possibly the largest committee staff in the history of Congress. That figure may cause some hard swallowing when the matter comes up in Congress early in the next session (the new Congress must formally re-authorize the select committee), but Sprague feels it is necessary to do the job right, and that Congress has an obligation to do

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Kennedy: was Congress serious about "a full and complete investigation"?

whatever is required if it was serious in authorizing "a full and complete investigation."

As he assembles his staff, Sprague claims an open mind and no preconceptions as to whether either assassination resulted from a conspiracy. As for assistance from the FBI and CIA, Sprague categorically rules it out on "any work involving inquiries into any government agency."

The committee lacks the power of prosecution, but Sprague intends to compel accurate testimony. "There's contempt power. There's immunity power," he notes. "If in fact somebody is caught in perjury in a properly provable case I do not think there will be much trouble in seeing that there's prosecution."

How long will the investigation last? Sprague won't even guess: "We might as well not commence the investigation if a deadline is set." He maintains that "such an extensive job can't have a time frame . . . it needs a space of years." —Jerry Policoff

Peanut power

Wall Street may not expect to cash in on Jimmy Carter, but Howard Johnson's certainly is.

Since Carter's nomination in July, HoJo's has been selling special peanuts in plastic planters, guaranteed to sprout within 72 hours. If the buyer is lucky, his peanut will grow to six inches in 18 to 28 days and produce 25 to 100 peanuts within four months.

Although the Peanut Power Superman on the package doesn't resemble Jimmy Carter, the people at Howard Johnson's concede that Carter is responsible for the quick sale of their nuts. "Peanuts are in the limelight," says public relations manager Evelyn Sullivan, "and it's lucky for us."

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An album for those in love with music.



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