

November 1983

# RIPON FORUM

Vol. XIX,  
No. 5  
Price \$1.50

## The Melting Pot: America's Pluralism



A Conversation  
with  
Eric Sevareid

Pluralism: Defining  
the American  
Persona

Pluralism and  
Diversity: The  
Future of the U.S.  
Commission  
on Civil Rights

Reviews:  
George F. Will's  
*Statecraft as  
Soulcraft*

MCKENZIE PO15957093083CP01  
MRS PHYLLIS A MCKENZIE  
401 RIVERCREST DRIVE  
FORT WORTH TX 76107



# RIPON FORUM

Editor's Column	2
Profiles and Perspectives: A Conversation with Eric Severeid	3
The Pluralistic Approach to World Hunger: Senator John C. Danforth	7
Poll Results	8
Pluralism and Diversity: The Future of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr.	12
Pluralism: Defining the American Persona	14
Back to Basics: George F. Will, Statecraft as Soulcraft: Alfred W. Tate	15
The Chairman's Corner: Keep the U.S. in the U.N. and the U.N. in the U.S.: Jim Leach	18
Isolation Zoning: Patrick H. Hare	20
419 New Jersey Avenue	22
Washington Notes	24

## RIPON FORUM

Editor: William P. McKenzie

Editorial Board: Daniel J. Swillinger  
Sandra Thompson  
Alfred W. Tate  
Jayne A. Hart  
Gem E. Meyer  
Fulton T. Armstrong

Art Director: Elizabeth Lee (The Graphic Tuna)

Cartoonists: George Brewster, Bill Mitchell

Cover: Bill Mitchell

THE RIPON FORUM (ISSN 0035-5526) is published bi-monthly in 1983.

In the publication, the Society hopes to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well researched proposals, and a spirit of creative criticism and innovation in the Republican Party. Manuscripts and photographs are solicited, but do not represent the views of the Society unless so stated.

Contents are copyrighted 1983 by the Ripon Society, Inc., 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Second class postage and fees paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices.

Subscription rates: \$25 per year. \$17.50 for students, servicemen, Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas, add \$6. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

The Ripon Society, Inc., Frederic R. Kellogg, president, is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are business, academic, and professional men and women. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C., with National Associate members throughout the United States. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions, and revenues from its publications and contract work.

### Editor's Column

*Pluralism is the most distinguishing mark of American democracy. Out of it comes our moral and spiritual strength, but also our political conflicts. How we manage those essential conflicts is what makes government difficult and democracy necessary.*

*A number of individuals discuss pluralism and conflict in this issue. Eric Severeid reminds us that in the midst of cultural diversity, a distinctive American persona must not be lost. A Forum editorial argues that this persona must be redefined. Senator John Danforth outlines a pluralistic approach to combat world hunger. Clarence Pendleton addresses one of the nation's most troublesome political conflicts: racial discrimination. Alfred W. Tate reviews George F. Will's latest book, **Statecraft as Soulcraft** and Jim Leach discusses an institution which has a unique pluralistic dimension and an inordinate amount of conflict: the United Nations. The conclusion of each is that while pluralism is the source of great national tension, it is what provides the creativity necessary for a society dedicated to self-determination.*

— Bill McKenzie

#### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION:

1. Title of Publication: Ripon Forum. 2. Date of Filing: October 15, 1983. 3. Frequency of Issue: Bi-Monthly. A. No. of issues published annually: 6. B. Annual Subscription Price: \$15.00. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publisher: 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. 6. Name and Address of Publisher: The Ripon Society Incorporated, 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Name and Address of Editor: William P. McKenzie, 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. 7. Owner: The Ripon Society, Inc., 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none.

10. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. of Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Average No. of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest Filing
A. Total No. of Copies Printed	3000	3000
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, and Counter Sales	40	15
2. Mail Subscriptions	2784	2784
C. Total Paid Circulation	2824	2799
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means: Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	100	50
E. Total Distribution	2924	2849
F. Copies Not Distributed		
1. Office Use, Left Over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing	50	131
2. Return From New Agents	26	20
G. Total	3000	3000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. William P. McKenzie



# Profiles and Perspectives

Dan Rather once wrote of Eric Sevareid's autobiography *Not So Wild A Dream* that it is a "must-read and a joy for anyone even remotely interested in American literature and journalism."

His story certainly is a "must-read" because, while neither Republican nor Democrat, Mr. Sevareid's journey has been that of an astute observer of the American scene. He has written and commented about American life from home and abroad for nearly fifty years and in this interview with *Forum* editor Bill McKenzie, he shares his perspective on a number of contemporary issues.

Sevareid's democratic values stem from his roots in the wheat fields of Velva, North Dakota. It was of the harsh living earned in those fields during the 1930s that he wrote: "For the hired man or town banker, wheat was the common denominator of this democracy." This conviction has remained with him throughout his career — as a young reporter with the *Minneapolis Journal*, as a correspondent with the *Paris Herald* (now the *International Herald Tribune*), as a member of Edward R. Murrow's distinguished broadcasting team during World War II, and as a perceptive commentator for CBS News. His subsequent travels through Europe, the Far East, and South America have enabled him to do what few have done: to weave meaning into the great events of the last half century. "Journalists may be," Sevareid once wrote, "jacks-of-all-trades and masters of none save the trade of being jack-of-all. Yet someone must do it; someone must try to pull together the threads of disparate thought and desire and need and actions, to conjecture at their meaning and weigh their worth in the scales of common sense, at least, when men are wary of grander measurements."

That Sevareid has pulled together disparate thoughts and conjectured at their meaning is obvious. For in this interview we find not only the grand measurements of today's events, but also the common sense of a very uncommon man.

A Conversation  
with  
Eric Sevareid



**Ripon Forum:** During a recent trip through Colonial Virginia, I was reminded of our nation's great cultural heritage. From a group of religious and political immigrants, we have become a nation of great ethnicity. How do we manage the tensions that arise from such diversity?

**Sevareid:** Well, we've had a lot of space. Suppose we didn't have all of this geographic space? If we didn't, the country probably would have blown up. The sheer size of it has given our economic system great resiliency.

The lack of hostile neighbors, or even potentially hostile neighbors, also has been an important difference that has made a lot of things possible, including living together reasonably well with a great deal of cultural differences. Whether this will continue or not, I don't know. Things are happening now that are very bad and the nature of the country is changing rapidly.

*"This renaissance of ethnicity is an extraordinary thing. Originally, ethnic groups were a very practical thing, serving cultural as well as economic purposes. But now it seems that ethnic groups are just economic demand groups; a way to get things from government."*

**Ripon Forum:** In what direction?

**Sevareid:** To an even greater pluralism. There is a new wave of immigration, legal and illegal, that is of a size we haven't seen since the end of the last century. Greater than any country in the world, I guess. But the melting pot is not melting very well now. The lumps are re-forming at the bottom of the pot.

This renaissance of ethnicity is an extraordinary thing. Originally, ethnic groups were a very practical thing, serving cultural as well as economic purposes. But now it seems that ethnic groups are just economic demand groups; a way to get things from government. The more that goes on, of course, the more politicians will bend to it. Look at what President Reagan is doing in pandering to Hispanics and other interest groups. So are other politicians, and the greater the number of demand groups, the more that will happen.

**Ripon Forum:** What sort of strain will this put on the country?

**Sevareid:** I don't like it. I don't think that is the way a country should be run. Everyone who came here came to be an American, whatever that means, and recognized that it would take generations to create an American personality and a distinctive American culture. I thought that was the idea. I was taught to believe that.

Although a great deal of affectionate attention was paid to the ethnic background of the people that I grew up with, who happened to be Norwegian, that was displayed for cultural reasons. It was noticeable in the church, in certain ceremonies, and in foods and dresses. That was fine because it gave a cultural enrichment to the country. But we were not taught to hang on to our ethnicity. However, even with Norwegians, this new awareness of roots in Europe has been reawakened and become organized.

**Ripon Forum:** What does this mean?



**Sevareid:** What does it mean? Does it mean that there is no place in America to find roots? Has the attempt to create a distinct American culture failed? Why are people going back to do this? There must be something missing in their sense of the country. Maybe it is simply the increased pluralism that makes each group feel a little lost. I don't know; I am not wise enough to know. But it bothers me greatly. I don't see how this distinctly American personality or culture is to evolve. We are very successful as a unified nation, but not as a unified society. I was brought up with the notion that this diversity was the basis of the nation's strength. I don't believe that anymore.

**Ripon Forum:** Why?

**Sevareid:** It's quite the opposite today. The cultural landscape is enriched, but all you get from cultural diversity is cultural diversity. That doesn't have anything to do with the cohesion of the nation. Quite the contrary. One reason the Japanese, and even the British, are so united is that they've never quite had this pluralistic problem.

**Ripon Forum:** Can a president be too concerned with pluralism?

**Sevareid:** Absolutely! I wish somebody would get up and talk about America.

*"Everyone who came here came to be an American, whatever that means, and recognized that it would take generations to create an American personality and distinctive American culture. I thought that was the idea . . . I was brought up with the notion that this diversity was the basis of the nation's strength. I don't believe that anymore."*

**Ripon Forum:** Instead of?

**Sevareid:** Instead of being Hispanic, Asian, or whatever.

**Ripon Forum:** What role should bilingual education play in assimilating ethnic groups into the American culture?

**Sevareid:** Surely there has to be some special effort by school districts to give these kids, legal or illegal, some help. But there ought to be some terminal point on it. Children don't need years and years of being taught in their own language. They learn very quickly.

Yet as a practical matter, how can this be done? In Los Angeles, there are 80 different languages spoken by school children. How are you going to prepare teachers for this?

**Ripon Forum:** One recent study claimed that 44 percent of all blacks who were tested fall into the educational category of "adults who function with difficulty," which some interpret as functional illiteracy. What are we to make of this?

**Sevareid:** Blacks are not the problem. They are as American as anybody. Eric Hoffer, the author and longshoreman who was a friend of mine, used to say that blacks are more at home in this country than anyone else. Their ancestors have been here longer than mine, maybe yours. That isn't the problem.

But when you get a great bunch of Pakistanis, let's say, moving into London, that's different: it is a different language and a different culture. That is quite a collision; a more serious problem than blacks here.

I have an intuition that English-Spanish bilingualism will prove to be a greater strain on national unity than black-white biracialism. Language is so fundamental; it's more fundamental than skin color. Dr. Johnson, you know, once said that language is the nerve of the nation.

But I am afraid that we are going to get into all kinds of trouble in the Southwest. If we don't stop the immigration there from Latin America, we'll never be able to get on top of the poverty problem. If I thought that there was a terminal point to it and that it would really relieve poverty in Latin America, then I would welcome and accept the immigration. But that's not the case. Latin America contains vast oceans of poverty, disease, and illiteracy. Birth rates in many of these places are fantastic. That's really the problem as much as anything in Central America. It's the fantastic crowding. Of course, they come here; they would take any risk. But we can never solve our problems in Central America if this is to be the dumping ground for all the region's poor.

**Ripon Forum:** How do we solve it?

**Sevareid:** You've got to get tough. That is our privilege and our right. Every nation assumes that right. You cannot be a nation without a border.

**Ripon Forum:** Should we concentrate on sending economic aid to Latin America?

**Sevareid:** Of course you do certain things, such as supplying food and medical care when needed. But one of the greatest problems in Latin America is the enormous birth rate. The surest road to being poor and weak is overcrowding. Unfortunately, we can't control that. They must do it.

**Ripon Forum:** Has their lack of space added to this?

**Sevareid:** Lack of arable land. You can do things about land reform, for sure, and it has been tried in many places. But unless you increase the total production of food and fiber, it doesn't do much good. It is better socially than having a few big landlords. Land reform, however, is one of the most difficult things in the world to achieve.

*"You can't be a great power and have an easy conscience. That's impossible. You use force and you risk another Vietnam. You fail to use force and you risk another Munich. You never know for sure."*

**Ripon Forum:** Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote that some measure of coercion is necessary among nations. Yet is the military aid that we are putting into Central America capable of resolving the present political conflict?

**Sevareid:** The idea that military force never solves anything is quite wrong. Hitler's fascism put an end to communism in Europe and other people used force to put an end to fascism. We can't say that guns never change anything. They do. They made this country free. I don't like guns and I don't like that kind of intervention, but let's not kid ourselves.

Most Central American countries have armies and they often turn out to be corrupt. They are not intended to defend against their neighbors, but rather to keep order internally. However, it is wrong to laugh at Jeane Kirkpatrick for claiming that there is a difference between totalitarian regimes and authoritative military regimes. There is a difference and I have been saying that for years. Most of the time, a military authoritarian regime, like those in Latin



America, can be got rid of. They tend to come back, but they can be got rid of. But nobody gets rid of a communistic totalitarian society.

**Ripon Forum:** Should we embark, then, upon a policy of preventing totalitarianism from gaining a foothold in Central America?

**Sevareid:** I don't know how you do it. What can you do from here about some of those regimes? At times you can affect them, but other times you can't. What happens in so many countries is that they tend to oscillate between a period of a free parliament and free press and a growing inflation and chaos until somebody takes charge with a gun. Then the press is put down, order is restored, and the economy begins to improve. That gets too bad and people grow tired of it and the pendulum swings back. Greece has gone back and forth; Brazil has gone back and forth; Argentina has gone back and forth.

*"I hope to God we don't send any combat troops into Central America. If we do, we are almost certain to get into trouble."*

**Ripon Forum:** Is it arrogant to assume, then, that we can do anything about Latin America?

**Sevareid:** You can do some humanitarian things, yes. But you'd better start by getting rid of some of the American guilt complexes. It is nonsense to think that we cannot do anything. As a matter of fact, the existence of this tremendous American economic machine is probably for the benefit of Central American countries in the long run. I don't see how any country so close to this immense economic machinery can live outside of its orbit, economically speaking. I don't think it is possible. Cuba can't. They are on the Russian payroll. If they weren't, they would have to do business with us.

**Ripon Forum:** Has President Reagan's image as a forceful president well served our interests abroad?

**Sevareid:** No, not necessarily. I think he has been very foolish in his rhetoric about the Russians. It gets you nowhere. On the other hand, his action in sending those gunboats to Central America has probably caused Castro and the Russians to pull back a bit and say: "Wait a minute. We're pushing things too fast. This guy is dangerous. Let's at least lay low for awhile." This is probably what is going on with them. That's brinkmanship. That's a John Foster Dulles kind of approach. But it's a tricky one, a dangerous one to use. I don't like it. However, it is part of the dilemma of a great power. You can't be a great power and have an easy conscience. That's impossible. You use force and you risk another Vietnam. You fail to use force and you risk another Munich. You never know for sure. It's not that simple. That's the difference between being a great power and someone else.

**Ripon Forum:** Have we stopped taking risks?

**Sevareid:** No, I think we are still taking them. Certainly we are taking them in Central America and maybe in Europe, too.

**Ripon Forum:** Did Vietnam leave us with an easy conscience?

**Sevareid:** We feel badly about its failure and the loss of lives. But that had a purpose to it. We were told by President Kennedy that a very minor effort would prevent

another country from falling into Communist hands. I thought, well, if he's right about that, okay. But by 1965, I knew that this was ridiculous and hopeless and a great mistake. When President Johnson made it a big war, it just didn't work.

**Ripon Forum:** Are there any trip wires that a president can look for in using force?

**Sevareid:** I hope to God that we don't send any combat troops into Central America. If we do, we are almost certain to get into trouble. That's the way Kennedy started out in Vietnam. We weren't going to shoot anybody. Then we were going to shoot back if shot at.

Central Americans have to handle it essentially themselves. It is a real risk that some of these countries will fall under Communist influence. But it is nonsense when Reagan gets up before Congress and says that if this should happen, then Mexico is going to fall on its back and the United States and our alliances will be imperiled. We are far too big for that.

**Ripon Forum:** Is the domino theory applicable to Central America?

**Sevareid:** No, not necessarily. Burma is still there; Thailand is still there; Finland is still there. In Indochina, it didn't seem to me that dominoes were falling. It was like a great building, all of which was on fire, all at separate parts: Laos, South Vietnam, Cambodia. It fell in sections, the way a tall building would fall.

**Ripon Forum:** Are we in need of developing a less Eurocentric view of our foreign policy?

**Sevareid:** No, Europe is too important. It's where the power lies. Plus, I am not so impressed with the concept of the Third World. Some people would claim that it is virtually the child of economic aid, foreign aid from this country.

*"... without order there is no freedom and no justice. That is what American liberals have not been willing to acknowledge. But ordinary people understand this."*

**Ripon Forum:** Have we created the Third World?

**Sevareid:** We have sort of created the concept, the idea, the myth of the Third World. Along with that, of course, is the great American guilty conscience. Those liberals whose highest form of happiness is a warm feeling of guilt. They do a lot of damage, or they can, with all their good instincts. Since many of these nations are small and weak, American liberals think that they excel in virtue. They don't. Most of them, in fact, are immensely corrupt. It doesn't mean that we shouldn't try to help them. There's been some improvement. Quite a bit in some. But we didn't cause the problem. We didn't create the Third World.

**Ripon Forum:** Recently one of your colleagues at CBS, Bill Moyers, did a documentary on the buildup of resentment among political dissidents in the Philippines toward the U.S. The assassination of Benigno Aquino and the cancellation of President Reagan's trip there have given this even greater public notice. How far can we go in putting our strategic interests above the promotion of democratic values?

**Sevareid:** Don't ask me to draw a line on that. Nobody can do that. I wish there were a rule of thumb on it, but you just do the best you can. It's a very pragmatic thing.



In the Philippines, for example, if anybody can show me how to create a free democratic society with order, and with order that will last, then I would be very grateful. The place is so corrupt, so chaotic, an absolute ocean of poverty with an appalling birth rate. Marcos has obviously become a dictator, and a fairly cruel one as far as I can see. Maybe they should now have another go at free elections and freedom of the press, it might let gas out of the boiler. But it won't be a guarantee of a good society by any means. It can all collapse. I don't like people like Marcos. I don't like nations run that way. None of us do. But why we think that our system can be applied to all those nations, I don't know.

***"A society can never go back; it can only go forward. It must go forward. But there are no easy answers. This is what upsets so many right-wing fundamentalists. They cannot stand the thought of confusion which comes from wandering through choices."***

The one condition that doesn't last very long is anarchy, because anarchy is the worst tyranny of all. People in a state of anarchy very soon cry for a dictator. Almost any kind of dictator. Someone to tell them what to do, where to go, and how to eat. I've only experienced it once. That was in the fall of France in 1940. That was anarchy and believe me, those people would have given anything for a boss to tell them what to do, where to go. It's frightening. Nobody's policy or program can do anything during a period of anarchy. The Philippines are right on the verge of it all the time.

**Ripon Forum:** It seems, though, that in the Philippines order has been placed above freedom.

**Sevareid:** That's correct. That happens periodically in these places. But let me tell you, without order there is no freedom and no justice. This is what American liberals have not been willing to acknowledge. But ordinary people understand this. They know that we cannot live without order. We can live with quite a bit of injustice because we can often rectify it. But it is impossible to live without basic order. The trick is to have it without oppression. That's the whole problem of a free society.

**Ripon Forum:** Will a society sustain itself with more order than more freedom or with more freedom than more order?

**Sevareid:** I can't answer that. Nobody can answer that. That's a blue sky question.

**Ripon Forum:** But that's the tension developing societies must face.

**Sevareid:** Sure, it's always under that tension.

**Ripon Forum:** So if you are in a political movement in a developing country, where often no political center exists, then you must side with either order or freedom.

**Sevareid:** Well, you can have freedom until it becomes anarchy. Then you get order. The order then becomes a fascistic, cruel, oppressive thing. That's what happens. Not everywhere, but in many places.

Editorial writers of *The New York Times* now use lovely adjectives about the recent elections in Nigeria. The marvelous news from Nigeria, says *The Times*. Well, I was there during their first election in the beginning of 1960. The

British organized it. It went off very well. But I went back to London and wrote a piece for *The Spectator*, saying: Watch out; it's going to explode. I caught hell from the BBC and all kinds of other editorial writers. The model black republic in Africa, they said. Nonsense. Tribalism is a powerful force. It's racism. Sure enough in about six years they had a civil war. About a million people died.

**Ripon Forum:** Switching focus a moment, have we lost our creativity in government?

**Sevareid:** Yes. We have so damn many experts and so much information we don't know what to do with it all. We are being suffocated.

This town [Washington] also has too many of two kinds of people: journalists and lawyers. Just two years ago, for example, the president went to Santa Barbara for three weeks and the press took him to task for taking too much of a vacation. My God, the man had just been shot three months before. There is no need for such scrutiny. People don't want to serve anymore because of it. None of the greats of old, such as General George Marshall, who was one of the finest men I ever met, would subject themselves to that. Roosevelt; Acheson; Truman; all of these were great men and none of them would subject themselves to that. No doubt, this has led to a loss of creativity in government.

**Ripon Forum:** In your autobiography *Not So Wild A Dream*, you wrote at age 33:

"... there is no going back. One can only go on with those of his own generation; living in his own time. It may only be a wandering which will lead in the end to some way station that is not a home. And there is always the danger that one may so lose acquaintance-ship with happiness that it can never be regained, even if a home is found. But there is no choice. Mine is a time without choices."

Is ours still a time without choices?

**Sevareid:** A society can never go back; it can only go forward. It must go forward. But there are no easy answers. That is what upsets so many right-wing fundamentalists. They cannot stand the thought of confusion which comes from wandering through choices.

**Ripon Forum:** They've lost their sense of pilgrimage?

**Sevareid:** Exactly. We must feel our way through an interminable amount of choices. Unfortunately, maturity cannot pass on the lessons of experience. That is nature's secret way of preserving the idealism of youth.

**Ripon Forum:** Does age make one a relativist?

**Sevareid:** No, not necessarily. I would hate to think that you must lose the ideals of your youth. Yet you cannot relive the feelings of youth, either. That is nature's secret way of preserving the elderly. ■



The holiday season is right around the corner, so why not give a friend (or a foe) a gift subscription to the **Ripon Forum**? For a one year subscription, just send the name and address of the recipient plus \$15 to:

**The Ripon Society**

419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

*P.S. A notice of the gift will be sent to the recipient.*



---

# The Pluralist Approach to World Hunger

by John C. Danforth

**T**he Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations estimates that there are nearly half a billion malnourished people worldwide. This number, unfortunately, is growing steadily. While starvation is caused in part by natural disasters and political crises, the real hunger problem is chronic undernutrition. More than half of those affected are children, and more women suffer from starvation than men. Most of the hungry are rural inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent, southeast Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. Many of the afflicted also live in Latin America and even some in the United States.

## The Causes

A primary cause of world hunger, of course, is poverty. Even in years of abundance, millions suffer from malnutrition because the vast majority of the hungry are unemployed and own very little, if any, land. Thus, they can neither buy nor grow food.

Severe inequalities in land and food distribution have resulted in grinding poverty and starvation for millions of people, and government policies in the most affected countries sometimes work to maintain or strengthen the position of the large landholders. The problem is further exacerbated because tenant farmers have little incentive to enrich absentee landlords by increasing production. There are incentives, however, for the very poor to expand the size of their families: children provide an extra source of family income and old age support. Because of poor health care facilities, many children die before maturity, also encouraging larger families.

***“90 percent of the population growth from 1975 to 2000 will occur in low income countries, and Africa, the area of the lowest incomes and poorest nutrition, will experience the greatest population increase. Hunger, poverty and population are, and will remain, inextricably tied together.”***

Although the over-population problem is actually an effect, not a cause, of world hunger, its importance should not be underestimated. World population growth has slowed from a 2 percent increase in the 1970's to a 1.7 percent increase in 1980. However, population numbers will continue to soar. More people will be added to the

world population in the fourth quarter of this century than in the third. According to one Congressional Research Service report, 90 percent of the population growth from 1975 to 2000 will occur in low income countries, and Africa, the area of the lowest incomes and poorest nutrition, will experience the greatest population increase. Hunger, poverty and population are, and will remain, inextricably tied together.

A second major cause of world hunger stems from the insecurity of food supplies; that is, the lack of enough food in the right place at the right time and at the right price. This is made more acute by the economic vulnerability of many developing nations. A study by the Presidential Commission on World Hunger has shown that more than half of the non-oil exporting nations earn 50 percent or more of their income by exporting one or two raw materials whose prices can vary dramatically from year to year.

***“Development assistance is not focused sufficiently on the truly needy: the landless or nearly landless, those who form 50 to 90 percent of the developing world's rural labor force.”***

The American response to world hunger often has been insufficient, inappropriate or both. U.S. developmental assistance — helping nations to help themselves — has decreased since the 1960's. Moreover, U.S. aid is frequently diverted from “prime” development objectives to more diverse objectives such as fighting communism, expanding American agriculture, and creating new markets for American businesses. Development assistance is not focused sufficiently on the truly needy: the landless or near landless, those who form 50 to 90 percent of the developing world's rural labor force. Such watchdog agencies as the General Accounting Office (GAO) have found repeatedly that the Agency for International Development (AID) has an inadequately developed strategy to help these people.

***“It is important, however, to distinguish foreign policy goals from moral imperatives. Selling food and feeding the hungry are not, and should not be, political issues.”***

It is naive to insist that U.S. developmental aid remain isolated from foreign policy. Economic assistance can be a valid and potent foreign policy tool. But it does have

---

John C. Danforth is a U.S. senator from Missouri and a member of the Ripon Congressional Advisory Board.

(continued on page 10)



---

---

# Poll Results

**I**n the July issue of the *Ripon Forum*, we asked our readers to register their opinions on a number of public policy and political concerns. The results were tabulated and analyzed by Ripon research assistants Mary Beth Cooleen and Mike Wilson and offer an interesting synopsis of our subscribers' opinions. In fact, several of the issues included have become even more relevant since the poll first appeared.

Budget deficits and arms limitations talks were viewed by readers as areas that should be President Reagan's top policy priorities. Of the readers responding to this question, 65% cited one of these two concerns.

Responses to the U.S.'s El Salvador/Nicaragua policy were varied with a third (35%) of our readers favoring partial aid and peace negotiations, and a smaller percentage of responses (16%) advocating economic aid only. Interestingly, over 23% of those responding felt the U.S. should either maintain or increase its military aid to the region.

At the same time, *Forum* readers were in favor of cutting military spending to ease budget deficits (30%), while also voicing strong support for raising existing taxes (25%) and cutting spending across the board (25%).

A vast majority of *Forum* readers were in agreement over the need to expand international trade in addition to dissolving protectionist barriers to force U.S. industries to compete in the global market (73%).

Not surprisingly most readers were in similar agreement over the two most pressing environmental concerns: toxic waste (32%) and former Interior Secretary James Watt (30%). In light of the recent controversy surrounding Mr. Watt, the percentage of respondents citing him might well be significantly higher if polled today.

In order to improve relations between minorities and women and the Reagan administration/GOP, readers were equally divided between nominating more minorities and women as candidates for elected office (26%), and opening up the RNC delegate selection process to these groups (27%) — an area which the Society is examining as it looks to 1984. Only 6% felt it was "already too late."

*Forum* reader preference for the 1984 Republican presidential nominee revealed some interesting results, too, with as many respondents (25%) favoring "Other" candidates (Mathias, Packwood, Leach, other progressives) as those backing President Reagan (26%). 35% favored either Howard Baker, George Bush, or Robert Dole. Apathy was also evident as 10% didn't think enough of anyone else to name.

Regarding the focus of future Ripon efforts, *Forum* readers cited three main areas: policy papers and research ideas, political organizing and chapter development, and the promotion of a moderate network to counteract the influence of the New Right in the GOP.

As for the role of Ripon within the Republican Party, readers urged the Society to remain an independent progressive voice distinct from the "official" party while acting as a

unifying force for moderate Republican groups and laying the groundwork for a national moderate movement. Only 8% felt Ripon needed to develop closer ties with the RNC and the White House.

Readers also viewed special reports, political reporting and issues with a theme as particular strengths of the *Forum*.

Amidst the myriad of responses defining moderate Republicanism, readers offered such descriptions as "pragmatic," "fiscally conservative and humanitarian," and "preserving the party of Lincoln and T. Roosevelt." "Not noisy enough" seemed to sum up the Society's shortcomings as readers expressed concern about the impact of the Ripon Society within the political process. ■

## *Ripon Forum* Readers' Poll Results

### 1. Reagan Administration Priorities

- D. Deficits — 36%
- A. Arms Limitations/Nuke Freeze — 26%
- G. Other — 12%
- F. Unemployment — 10%
- E. International Trade — 10%
- B. El Salvador/Nicaragua — 4%
- C. Environment — 2%

### 2. El Salvador/Nicaragua

- E. Partial aid and try to negotiate peace — 35%
- D. Economic aid only — 16%
- G. New approach — 15%
- B. Increase aid and/or military involvement — 12%
- A. Maintain present military aid and advisors — 11%
- C. Pull out entirely — 9%
- F. Step up intelligence operations — 2%

### 3. Budget Deficits

- D. Cut only military spending — 30%
- A. Raise existing taxes — 25%
- C. Cut spending across the board — 25%
- F. Combination — 10%
- G. I propose . . . — 7%
- B. Create new taxes — 3%

### 4. International Trade

- E. Greatly expand and pursue international trade — 36%
- F. "B & E" — Dissolve barriers to force U.S. to compete in global markets — 19%
- "D & E" — Get agreements before acting either way — 18%
- B. Dissolve barriers . . . — 17%
- D. Get agreements . . . — 10%



5. **Environmental Concerns**

- B. Toxic waste — 32%
- D. James Watt — 30%
- A. Acid rain — 12%
- F. EPA — 10%
- E. Deregulation and corporate pollution — 8%
- G. Other — 5%
- C. Oil, coal . . . — 3%

6. **The Republican Party**

- B. Nominate more minorities and women for elected office — 26%
- D. Open RNC delegate selection process — 27%
- A. Appoint more minorities and women — 20%
- C. Institute more programs . . . — 12%
- F. I propose . . . — 12%
- E. Nothing, it's too late — 6%

7. **Presidential Choice**

- A. Reagan — 26%
- F. Other: Mathias, Packwood, Leach, other progressives — 25%
- C. Baker — 15%
- B. Bush — 10%
- D. Dole — 10%
- E. Kemp — 1%
- No response — 10%
- Undecided — 3%

8. **The Ripon Society RE: Future Energies**

*(many multiple responses)*

- A. Policy papers and research ideas — 38%
- B. Political organizing/Chapter development — 33%
- H. Fighting "New Right" — 20%
- E. 1984 Convention strategy project — 10%
- F. Development of moderate GOP PAC — 10%

9. **The Ripon Forum RE: Strengths**

*(many multiple responses)*

- A. Special reports — 25%
- E. Political reporting — 25%
- F. Issues with a theme — 20%
- B. Interviews — 20%
- D. Congressional ratings — 10%

10. **Role of Ripon within the GOP**

- D. Lay groundwork for national moderate movement — 31%
- A. Maintain independent progressive GOP voice — 27%
- C. Clearinghouse and unifying force — 20%
- E. Progressive "watchdog" — 9%
- B. Closer ties with RNC — 8%
- F. Other — 5%

---

**The 1982 Ripon Ratings  
are now complete.**

For a copy, please send \$3.00 to:

**The Ripon Society**  
419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

---

**Progressive Legislative  
Candidates in Mississippi  
Need Your Help!**

**Join Mississippi First.**

A Bi-Partisan Campaign Support Committee.

Write: P.O. Box 1488, Jackson, Mississippi 39205

**Today!**

---

**Rebuilding the Republican Center  
begins November 18-20 in Madison.  
Be there!**

**Respected GOP leaders from across America . . .** including U.S. Senator Bob Packwood (Ore.-invited), U.S. Representatives Jim Leach and Tom Tauke (both from Iowa), former Governor Lee Sherman Dreyfus (Wis.), U.S. Representative Bill Green (N.Y.), Political Scientist John Bibby (U.W.-Milwaukee), Alex Gage of the noted polling firm Market Opinion Research (Detroit), Representative Claudine Schneider (R.I.-invited).

**. . . Discussing topics vital to Progressive Republicans**

- "Shoot out at Gender Gap"
- The Economy
- Foreign Policy
- Approaching the 1984 Convention: Of party structure, delegate selection, and platform drafting.

**Details . . .**

**When:** Friday, November 18, starting with an informal cocktail party from 6:00-8:00 p.m., until Sunday, November 20 at 4:00 p.m.

**Where:** The Inn on the Park on the Capitol Square in Madison, Wisconsin.

**Housing:** Rooms available at Madison hotels and private houses.

**Cost:** Conference fee of \$35 covers all meals and meeting expenses.

**Sponsored by . . .**

Wisconsin's New Republican Conference, the New Republican League of Minnesota, the Ripon Society, and Republican activists in Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois.



## Danforth

Continued from page 7

limitations. Since internal politics is a key factor inhibiting development projects in friendly countries, and since our government is often unable or unwilling to jeopardize potential political gains by interfering in the domestic politics of the host country, official U.S. assistance sometimes fails to achieve its developmental objectives. It is important, however, to distinguish foreign policy goals from moral imperatives. Selling food and feeding the hungry are not, and should not be, political issues. The U.S. government can and does participate in the battle against world hunger, but precisely because its economic aid has several priorities and restrictions, there is a very important role for corporate and private voluntary assistance.

### The International Problem: World Hunger

AID and most U.S. private voluntary organizations (PVOs) try to implement a development strategy of "affirmative action." This includes everything from improving health and educational facilities to increasing food production. Partially through American help, food production has kept pace with population growth: since the 1950's there has been an increase in the amount of food produced per person.

***"The struggle to end world hunger will necessitate a pluralistic approach . . . The cooperation and participation of government, business and private voluntary organizations will be required."***

There is potential for even greater production, but farmers in the developing countries need more incentives to grow food than most governments are likely to offer (i.e., better irrigation and insect control, improved management techniques, better storage and high commodity prices). Even if governments did actively support increased agricultural output by small farmers for domestic consumption, this would not necessarily insure that additional food supplies would reach the needy.

The struggle to end world hunger will necessitate a pluralistic approach. There must be short-term measures aimed directly at hunger (food aid, storage and protection of American agricultural resources) and long-term projects which confront and conquer poverty and insecure food supplies (education, land reform). To meet these objectives, the cooperation and participation of government, business and private voluntary organizations will be required.

### The Government Role

The immediate needs of starving people should not be subject to the vagaries of American international politics. Furthermore, it is critical for the U.S. government to

improve its performance in the fight against world hunger. The United States actively supports a grain reserve system, including farmer-owned grain reserves, emergency wheat reserves for AID use, and an international agreement for internationally coordinated but nationally controlled reserves. More attention needs to be paid to the reserve system and especially to the international reserve which has failed to stockpile the targeted annual amount of 10 million tons.

The U.S. must take care to protect its own agricultural base as well. Since the United States is the largest grain exporter, the domestic situation is especially important. The encouragement of viable family farm enterprises and the protection of the American system against environmental damage (i.e., soil erosion, loss of water supply) is of international significance.

***"U.S. development assistance has plummeted from 2.7 percent of GNP in 1947 to 0.27 percent in 1979. In short, a firm and consistent commitment to longer term development aid has been lacking."***

The U.S. also sponsors bilateral and multilateral food and technical assistance programs. However, American aid has decreased in relative and absolute terms over the last 30 years. While the U.S. is still the largest donor in terms of dollars spent, as a percent of Gross National Product (GNP), the United States ranks behind 12 other donors. Relative to other countries, U.S. assistance has fallen behind. Moreover, U.S. development assistance has suffered in absolute terms: our aid has plummeted from 2.7 percent of GNP in 1947 to 0.27 percent in 1979. In short, a firm and consistent commitment to longer term development aid has been lacking. This is unacceptable. It is time for the United States to exert its moral leadership and employ its extensive economic power. Indeed, it is in our interest to do so. Hunger is a central issue aggravating North-South relations: it is an issue which highlights and personalizes many other problems related to poverty and underdevelopment. A solution to world hunger would greatly ease the tensions between developed and developing nations. The developing nations would be more likely to support us in other areas if we were to maintain a strong commitment to end world hunger. Furthermore, the U.S. economy would also benefit. Countries cannot buy U.S. products if they must devote most of their foreign exchange to debts incurred by food-related loans. In an increasingly interdependent world, healthy and growing parts are essential for the well-being of the system as a whole.

### The Corporate Role

There are over 20,000 affiliates of international corporations operating in the developing countries, and about half of these are American. Because of their impact on employ-



ment, income distribution and international trade, U.S. multinationals are uniquely situated to play an important part in the fight against hunger. Agribusiness and construction firms are especially able to do so.

An AID mandate specifically includes corporate America by requiring the agency to work through the U.S. and the foreign private sectors. In fact, in 1981 50 percent of the \$4 billion direct AID disbursement expenditures was spent in the U.S. private sector.

The Reagan administration has particularly emphasized increased private sector involvement in developing countries. For example, in July 1981 the Bureau of Private Enterprise was created to increase private sector involvement. The prime objective of the bureau is to use government funds as a lever to attract private resources for investment in, and technology transfer to, developing countries. Washington advocates corporate involvement because American companies abroad increase the amount of capital and credit available for foreign firms; they secure access to international markets; and they introduce new technology, scientific expertise, managerial skills and a modernized food system (including processing and storage facilities). American commercial interests reinforce many of the development programs initiated by AID and offer unique development prospects of their own. By increasing training and employment opportunities, U.S. multinationals contribute to the alleviation of the most pressing incidents of undernutrition.

***"The United States must be a major player in the search for the implementation of solutions, but government organizations cannot do everything. Private voluntary organizations (PVOs) must play a part as well."***

However, corporate programs, like official U.S. assistance, require the cooperation of the developing country's government. In addition, commercial projects are rarely directed specifically at world hunger, and like U.S. government aid, they often ignore those in the greatest need — the rural poor.

### **The Private Voluntary Organization**

In all of this it is now commonly accepted that an explicit role for the PVO in foreign development assistance is essential. PL 480 ("Food for Peace") authorizes the designation of PVOs as distributors of food commodities, and non-government agencies receive sizeable grants from AID. Private voluntary organizations are active in various AID program sectors, including agriculture/rural development/nutrition, health, population and especially education and human resources development. Finally, 20 percent of AID's total assistance funds goes to its central bureaus (as opposed to specific projects) which use the bulk of these dollars to finance U.S. university and PVO projects. The private agencies receive so much government assistance

that there has been concern expressed about their ability to remain independent of AID and U.S. government demands. It is essential that they do retain a separate identity and that they continue to recognize and respond to needs from their own networks because PVOs have a special role in the American response to Third World development, in particular with world hunger.

PVOs offer an alternative to traditional government and corporate channels. Voluntary agencies are not distracted by short term security, political or economic concerns. They are willing to take risks to experiment and innovate with pilot projects that provide the basis for large-scale follow-up projects. PVOs can serve those living beyond the reach of public services much more effectively than either government or commercial interests. Private non-profit entities can act quickly, and they often are better positioned to instigate immediate measures to combat world hunger through nutrition programs, disaster relief and increased food production. Moreover, PVOs generally emphasize the strengthening of local organizations operating at the village and subnational level. In the remote areas where they operate, private agencies sponsor training programs, community development and public works projects, sharing the management of these projects with local groups.

Private agencies, in fact, provide the opportunity for all Americans to become involved in the fight against world hunger. They mobilize American financial and human resources, including cooperative officials and corporate executives, and they help to educate the American public on development overseas. In short, PVOs can direct and implement government, corporate and private individual assistance.

### **Conclusion**

In the near term, world hunger can be dealt with through food aid and increased production. In the long term, starvation will only be conquered by eliminating its causes: poverty and food insecurity. These problems primarily stem from an inequitable distribution of food and land; this is largely a domestic issue for the governments of the developing countries. The United States must be a major player in the search for and the implementation of solutions, but government organizations cannot do everything. PVOs must play a part as well. Often, they can reach the individual more directly than any government or international entity. Corporations can help by careful consideration of the type of investments made in developing countries and by managing the size of their returns. This is a matter of self interest. Careful consideration of investments and returns can help promote a healthier business climate offering new investment opportunities, new markets and eventually increased financial returns. Private voluntary agencies in particular are ideally situated to undertake "basic human needs" development programs at the grass roots level. Finally, individual Americans can help to win the battle against world hunger by expressing their concern on specific issues to their elected officials and by actively participating in voluntary agencies. It is imperative that we use all of the tools at our disposal and activate assistance mechanisms at all levels if world hunger is finally to be defeated. ■



---

# Pluralism and Diversity: The Future of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

by Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr.

**I** write this article at a critical time for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Technically, I am chairman of a commission that went out of business at midnight September 30, 1983. The Commission is now functioning only because the authorizing legislation contained a sixty day period for preparing a final report and closing out the operation.

Sitting quietly on the sidelines since the historic day in May 1983 when the president announced his intention to replace three of my fellow commissioners has been a test of my ability to practice political restraint. As I chair a bipartisan fact-finding commission and believe wholeheartedly in the spirit of collegiality, I have tried to remain silent. However, as Congress has stalled in their attempts to either confirm the commissioner designates or reauthorize the Commission, I cannot help but wonder if silence is golden.

***"We have made great progress in removing political, economic and social barriers that prevent full participation for minorities in the American mainstream, but we have a lot more to do to accomplish the realization of this goal."***

Over the past seventeen months since my own stormy confirmation, I have been called many names, including "Uncle Tom," and been accused of various and sundry "heinous" crimes. Not the least of which is "a mouthpiece for the Reagan administration." It is not an easy task being the first black chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Particularly a black man who is a conservative Republican. There are people who would consider this last sentence a contradiction in terms. For those who might believe it such, I remind you that the black population in the U.S. is not a monolithic body but a diverse group, whose ideologies cover the full spectrum of thought. My ideology is no more or less genuine than that of say the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Although I disagree with the Reverend Jackson, I respect his views. I demand no more or less for mine.

## A Strong Civil Rights Commission

No matter how I may be portrayed or what one may think about a black conservative Republican, my commitment to the civil rights movement and my credentials in that

---

*Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr. is chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.*

movement are not suspect. I have spent the majority of my adult years working to insure a better life for minority Americans and all Americans. I believe in the necessity for a strong, healthy and active U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. We have made great progress in removing political, economic and social barriers that prevent full participation for minorities in the American mainstream, but we have a lot more to do to accomplish the full realization of this goal. It is imperative that we have a commission to ferret out and correct civil rights violations that do occur, and occur daily.

That the Congress has allowed the Commission to "cease to exist" based solely on a political disagreement over the president's authority to replace commissioners stupefies me. It reminds me instantly of an article I have reread recently, written by Sam Ervin titled, "Civil Rights and Constitutional Wrongs." In the article Mr. Ervin quotes Pope Julius III to the Portuguese monk, "Learn, my son, with how little wisdom the earth is governed."

I believe that this political argument is suspect. My commission, which hangs over my desk, states clearly that I serve "at the pleasure of the president . . . for the time being." Based on these very clear words, I cannot help but wonder if perhaps the real issue is over the ideology of the commissioner designates. Each of these distinguished individuals has stated publicly their disagreement with quotas and mandatory busing to achieve school desegregation. The current commissioners have condoned these two enforcement tools as legitimate methods for curing past vestiges of discrimination and in all fairness to my colleagues, many federal courts have upheld the legality of these methods.

***"The question for those who truly believe that we are a diverse, pluralistic society is not whether these methods have worked, but if one breaks faith with minority members of this country in looking for alternative methods for ending discrimination. I think not."***

## Alternative Methods for Resolving Discrimination

The question for those who truly believe that we are a diverse, pluralistic society is not whether these methods have worked, but if one breaks faith with minority members of this country in looking for alternative methods for ending discrimination. I think not. I do not believe that civil rights can only effectively be practiced by liberals. In fact, I



strongly disagree with this notion. I have begun to question the sincerity of a civil rights advocacy movement that appears to prefer putting the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights out of business than having a commission whose members consist largely of Reagan appointees. This is the ultimate insult to all of us. It indicates that we will not exercise our judgment or abide by our conscience, but act as puppets of a president. I am sure the commissioner designates would not mind my stating that we are all independent thinkers who have no compunction in exercising our individual judgment on any issue.

***“There is no doubt in my mind that a ‘color blind’ or race neutral society is not yet a reality. However, one does not get to color blindness or racial neutrality by making race conscious decisions, laws or executive orders.”***

If one were to investigate the voting records, as they are a matter of public record, of the two Reagan appointed commissioners, myself and Commissioner Mary Louise Smith, it is obvious that we have disagreed with each other, our fellow commissioners and President Reagan on many issues. Additionally, to my knowledge, no sitting commissioner of any political party, Republican, Democrat or Independent, has ever been pressured by the president or any member of his administration to take a particular stand on any issue or cast a policy making vote in any specific direction. For anyone to assume differently defies the facts.

Civil rights policy and enforcement in the 1980s and beyond cannot be the sole domain of liberals. That this president is trying to appoint commissioners that may differ from their predecessors in their approach to civil rights will not threaten or in any way lessen the effectiveness of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. If the designates are confirmed by the Senate there will be a change in direction but that change should only act to stimulate a healthy debate, not guarantee the outcome of any vote or a change in any existing commission policy. As society changes, effective civil rights policy and enforcement must be negotiated by both liberal and conservative thinkers. We live in a society that is truly pluralistic — all sides of an issue must be legitimately debated to arrive at workable solutions.

Perhaps I should leave it to the reader to decide how radical this “conservative” thinker is. The best way to do that is to share some of my personal views. There is no doubt in my mind that discrimination against people because of race, gender and national origin still exists in this country and that a “color blind” or race neutral society is not yet a reality. However, one does not get to color blindness or racial neutrality by making race conscious decisions, laws or executive orders. Equality of opportunity does not mean equality of result.

### **Assuring Equal Opportunity**

Assuring equality of opportunity for every individual in

all areas of life — economic, political and social — must be the major objective of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The continued propensity toward establishing protected classes and insisting on proportional representation based upon color or sex, especially in the form of quotas, does not move us toward the ideal color blind society. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights must begin to investigate the barriers that prevent individuals from full participation in our society and recommend solutions to the Congress and the president for removal of these barriers.

It is for these reasons and others that I have recommended to the president that he sponsor legislation calling for a moratorium on the minimum wage for youths between the ages of 16 and 19. At \$4.05 per hour for an entry level position, it is unlikely that employers will create any new jobs. I have carefully worded my proposal to be a temporary measure and to include provisions prohibiting substitution of youth employees for permanent workers.

Additionally, I have suggested that Title I funds in public education be targeted to the five cities’ school systems that educate more than 40 percent of all minority elementary and secondary school children. Targeting these special education funds into Washington, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles will assure the preparation of youngsters and help to prevent them from becoming social and economic burdens later.

***“I have suggested that Title I funds in public education be targeted to the five cities’ school systems that educate more than 40 percent of all minority elementary and secondary school children.”***

If reauthorized, the Commission in 1983 and 1984 will investigate and appraise Congress and the president of the regulations which prohibit entry into the economic mainstream. If I may, I will share some short examples of what I mean by regulatory barriers.

To borrow from my friend, Dr. Walter Williams, a taxi cab license in New York City costs \$65,000. A taxi cab license in Washington, D.C. (including insurance) costs less than \$200 per year. It should be obvious to you who owns the taxi cabs in New York City — not many minority individuals. Washington, D.C. has more cabs per capita, cheaper fares, and more minority drivers and owners than New York City. Certainly, a license costing \$65,000 is an economic barrier which restricts entry into the market.

Ward Smith is a trucker from Omaha, Nebraska who bid on a federal government contract for the transportation of military personnel effects from one state to another. Ward Smith’s bid was \$85,000 lower than any of the other competitors. Mr. Smith did not receive the contract. Not due to any lack of professional expertise — Mr. Smith lost the contract because he did not have an ICC license.

These are just two examples of regulatory barriers. I am certain that when the Commission completes its investigation, it will find many more. These regulations do discriminate against anyone who is poor and without resources to engage a professional political lobby.

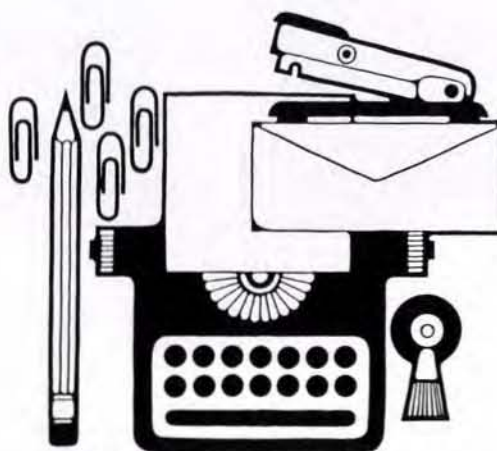


Finally, it remains the responsibility of the Commission to ensure that the Constitution of this country is actively enforced. To quote again from Sam Ervin, "No segment of our population has any right to expect government to bestow upon it any legal rights other than those enjoyed by

other segments of the population, or to subject other individuals to their wills."

These are just some of my views. I hope we all agree that civil rights policy and enforcement negotiated by rational and conscientious individuals with differing ideologies is no threat to the civil rights movement. The only threat is that we allow a partisan political constituency to determine the future of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. ■

## Pluralism: Defining the American Persona



**A**merica's greatest strength, it has been said, is its cultural pluralism. But, as Eric Sevareid notes in another section of this *Forum*, "All you get from cultural diversity is cultural diversity. That doesn't have anything to do with the cohesion of the nation."

The problem we face, and most likely always will face, is translating that diversity into some form of cohesion. So far, we have been successful. But with a new wave of immigrants coming into the U.S., particularly in the Southwest, formidable problems are arising.

The most noticeable dilemma is that somewhere in the proliferation of rights and interests over the last two decades, which has necessarily accompanied this new wave of immigrants, a distinctly American culture has been lost. Our national being has been subjugated to the interests of each part, with no common thread binding them together. Abuse instead has been regularly heaped upon those who have tried to connect those disparate segments. This has done nothing but leave a residue of guilt and a spirit of timidity in the American people.

To be timid, however, about our national identity is to be timid about our national purpose. And to be timid about that is to leave the world community skeptical of our resolve. As one British Member of Parliament recently told an American official: "The problem with you Americans is that you're too nice. You should yell back when someone yells at you."

If we don't "yell back" because we don't believe "yelling back" is a proper response, then we are not to be faulted. But if we don't "yell back" because we lack a sense of purpose, an understanding of who we are and what we are about, then we are missing an ingredient critical for a healthy personality: firm determination.

Different leaders, of course, have tried to give us that. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed unity; Theodore Roosevelt was "bullish" on America; Franklin Roosevelt gave us strength; Martin Luther King, Jr., a dream; and John Kennedy, a new faith in liberty.

But since the tumultuous shocks which followed in the aftermath of President Kennedy's assassination, we have been timid, painfully so, in exerting our national self. Yet, as Sevareid says, a great power cannot have an easy conscience.

This is especially true as our role expands in the conflicts in Central America and the Middle East. The uncertainty over whether we should or should not use force has created nothing but an attitude of hesitancy, of doubt, about our role in those regions. This apparently has made some wonder about our ability to act boldly. The French philosopher Raymond Aron, in an interview shortly before his death last month, said; "The great weakness of the United States is the absence of the will-to-power." A will-to-power, of course, does not mean only the application of military force. But it does mean acting confidently, with *veritas*, in global matters.

Certainly such confidence must be matched by calm deliberation and great wisdom. This also is a prerequisite of a great power. However, if we are to remain a global leader we must develop a better understanding of ourself, of our character and our purpose. While pluralism has been one of our greatest strengths, it should never preclude the development of a distinct American persona. If it does, then we will be without cohesion and thus unable to tell the world that in the defense of liberty, we will yield to no foe. ■



---

---

# Reviews    Reviews    Reviews    Reviews

# Reviews    Reviews    Reviews    Reviews

**Back to Basics:** George F. Will, *Statecraft as Soulcraft: What Government Does*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983.

by Alfred W. Tate

**I**n politics, the simplest and most important questions are the ones least often asked. One reason for this is that such questions are not easy to answer, but simple only in the sense of being fundamental; answering them is difficult and requires sustained and disciplined thought of the sort beyond most of us. Another is that the effort can produce unexpected and even unwanted results. Particularly when we attempt to articulate why it is we are doing something, it seems inevitably the connection between our principles and our practices turns out to be more tenuous than we would have liked to believe. In *Statecraft as Soulcraft* George Will raises some simple and important questions with unexpected results.

Pervading the book is Will's concern for the malaise afflicting our body politic. According to his diagnosis, ours is a society in which public policy is increasingly made through the conflict of competing special interests and, as a result, our politicians have come to see themselves essentially as brokers, occupied more with gaining and retaining power than with the ends the wielding of it should serve. Although he puts it more elegantly, what he says is that we have raised up a generation of political panderers, men and women who have achieved their positions of leadership by bringing out the worst rather than the best in us through playing to our baser fears and prejudices. Should this state of affairs continue, his prognosis is for "a kind of slow motion barbarization from within" of the nation which provides the world's only real hope of holding the truly barbaric regimes of our day at bay.

***"What [Will] says is that we have raised up a generation of political panderers, men and women who have achieved their position of leadership by bringing out the worst rather than the best in us through playing to our baser fears and prejudices."***

Will's thesis is that this dismaying development is no accident, but the logical consequence of our country's founders having devised a system of governance that may well carry within itself the seeds of its own destruction. His aim is to recall us to a road not taken, to what he believes is that genuinely conservative tradition in Western political thought wherein he is convinced our salvation lies.

Accomplishing this requires his beginning at the beginning, and Will's argument is based on two fundamental and related premises. The first is that the inner, private life we live as personal selves is intimately and inseparably linked with the outer, public lives we pursue as citizens. We are at the most rudimentary level social — and therefore political — beings who can only realize our full potential and become truly and completely human in relationship with others.

From this central fact of life, he argues, it follows that there is a direct and necessary connection between the attributes or characteristics which we believe constitute our essential humanity as individuals and the institutions and conventions with which we structure our communal life.

***"Will's thesis is that this dismaying development is no accident, but the logical consequence of our country's founders having devised a system of governance that may well carry within itself the seeds of its own destruction."***

Will's second premise is that this relationship between the personal and communal dimensions of human existence is a dynamic and dialectical one. His central point is that, just as our laws, institutions and social conventions give expression to what we believe to be true about ourselves as individuals, these same laws, institutions and conventions shape our personal characters. Thus, Will would claim, the laws defining and governing the sale of pornography both reflect and at the same time change our understanding of human sexuality, just as the advantages given art galleries as non-profit organizations by the tax code both express our appreciation for and — through our exposure to the collections of art such tax breaks help make possible — refine our sense of beauty.

Will castigates both liberals and conservatives — he finds little to choose between the versions of each current in our national life — for failing to recognize and take into account this dynamic relationship between the personal and communal. Liberals ignore it when they claim government should or even can be neutral with regard to so-called moral issues, a fallacy he finds clearly expressed in Justice Felix Frankfurter's assertion that "law is concerned with external behavior and not with the inner life of man." Conservatives make essentially the same mistake, according to Will, when

---

Alfred W. Tate is a member of the **Forum** editorial board.



they deny any positive role to government and define the public good solely in terms of whatever unfettered individuals produce either alone or through voluntary associations.

Where we went wrong he believes is clear. It is the result of the United States having been launched as a nation just as a dramatic change was taking place in the direction in which the political power ordering society was thought to flow. From the beginning of Western civilization it had been assumed to move from the top down, from God or the gods to regents who ruled by "divine right." During the eighteenth century, this power was reconceived as flowing from the bottom up, from "the people" to the deputies they chose to act as their representatives. According to Will, we exemplify the results of this reversal: "American experience," he writes, "has been the most explicit, and emphatic, break with the tradition of society shaped from 'above' by central authority."

***"The remedy Will proposes is a renewed and reinvigorated conservatism continuous with a tradition of political philosophy he identifies with Aristotle and preeminently Edmund Burke."***

Such a clean break with the past was possible because, in the New World, Americans had the benefit of European thought and experience without the burden of Europe's institutional baggage. Thus, as they embarked on the heady experiment of forming from scratch the first government whose basis was to be the uncoerced consent of the governed, Will describes the founding fathers as facing "a fork in the road of optimism." Confident that men and women could govern themselves, their first and most important decision entailed choosing which of the characteristics we share as individuals should be the primary focus of the system of governance they were devising.

Here the potentially fatal die was cast. As Will sees it, the architects of our Constitution followed Hobbes and Machiavelli in believing our most politically important attribute to be our propensity to be ruled by self-interest. In doing so they opted to understand human society to be a fragile coalition of individuals contracting together for physical security and the protection of personal property. Such a society is in constant danger of dissolving into a war of all against all, and the politician's task inevitably emerges as one of maintaining order by retaining power.

On the basis of this assumption and with Europe's experience in mind, Will says the founders under the leadership of Madison and Hamilton emphasized the dark side of our nature and asked "how do we prevent the worst from happening." Identifying selfishness as the dominant human trait, they decided that for a democracy a tyranny of the majority was the answer, and attempted to ensure its prevention, Will writes, "by the checks and balances of a system of separation of powers, and federalism; and by having a large, complex commercial society that will spawn a 'saving multiplicity of factions,' and will submerge dangerous passions in the pursuit of gain."

This, he concludes, is the source of our contemporary obsession with self-fulfillment, our attenuated sense of community and the very present danger that the internal

fragmentation the United States is experiencing will ultimately result in its succumbing to the external totalitarian forces which threaten it.

The remedy Will proposes is a renewed and reinvigorated conservatism continuous with a tradition of political philosophy he identifies with Aristotle and preeminently Edmund Burke. It would be a "conservatism with a friendly face," one which sees its function "judging and editing the social transformation" inevitable in history. Such a conservatism would be distinguishable from both the jejune liberalism and the ersatz conservatism of contemporary politics in two ways. First, it would always keep before it the dynamic nature of the relationship between the personal and communal dimensions of our lives. It would, in other words, acknowledge the accuracy of the title Will has given his book, that "Statecraft" is "Soulcraft" and that "what government does" is produce good citizens.

Second, such a conservatism would take as its guide those character traits constituting the best, rather than the worst, of the human potential. Chief among its goals would be the fostering of the virtue of altruism — although not at the expense of subordinating the individual to the collective — in order to ensure the dynamic relationship between the individual and the community is a vital one.

Will's proposal is a poignantly appealing one, all the more so because of the accuracy of his identification of the problem we face and the unassailable truth of the premises from which he begins. He states his case with daunting erudition, but in at least two major ways that case is deeply flawed.

***"Will has fallen victim — as he did in his treatment of 'human nature' — to what has been called the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Like 'human nature,' 'good government' is not something to be possessed or laid claim to. Rather, it is a process which must be participated in."***

The first difficulty arises as a result of the problematic status of the concept on which his argument hinges — the reality of something called a "human nature" we all may be said to possess simply by virtue of being born. Without the existence of such an entity composed of an identifiable and stable hierarchy of attributes, it would be impossible for any government to decide just what personal character traits it should enshrine in its public laws and institutions and thereby foster in its citizens. Such a stable and permanent "human nature," however necessary for Will's argument, does not exist. Or, to make the same point more circumspectly but equally tellingly with regard to his proposal, if it does, there is no general agreement as to of what it might be comprised.

As Will himself admits, "the most politically important idea of the last two centuries is the idea that human nature has a history." If this is true, and it most certainly is, the question which must then be answered is how can something that is itself a product of and subject to the vicissitudes of history be set up as the standard by which historical transformation is to be judged and edited?



The attention he gives to this question indicates Will is aware of the radical difficulty it presents. The ultimate inadequacy of his response to it is revealed when he says that the aim of government in an open society "is not to make society inhospitable to pluralism, but to make pluralism safe for society." The pluralism endemic to our society is both the source of its potential richness and the greatest obstacle to the existence of the sense of community on which its survival depends. Unfortunately, this same pluralism is also a symptom of our inability to agree on what constitutes "human nature." Thus, by appealing to a solution the very lack of which has created our problem, Will has produced an argument whose circularity defeats it.

A symptom of the second difficulty Will's proposal presents is its vulnerability to the charge that it is at best elitist and at worst cryptofacist. He defends himself against this charge at length, but his weakness here is revealed in his audacious assertion that "the basic political right is to good government, not self-government." Here the inescapable question is who is to decide just what constitutes "good" government. Will does not blink from responding an elite who best exemplify those values constituting to greater or lesser degree every individual's "human nature." We are back where we started from and the argument again collapses into circularity.

At issue is Will's negative and finally mistaken interpretation of what the authors of the Constitution accomplished. He views the checks and balances defining the system of self-government they established as intended to meet the essentially negative need to tame humanity's rapacity, but this is surely less than half the story. Moreover, by talking about "good government" as if it were an ideal which could be even approximately realized, Will has fallen victim — as he did in his treatment of "human nature" — to what has been called the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Like "human nature," "good government" is not something to be possessed or laid claim to. Rather, it is a process which must be participated in. That, at any rate, is how the authors of the Constitution understood it.

***"He states his case with daunting erudition,  
but in at least two major ways  
that case is deeply flawed."***

Among the assumptions underlying this system is a belief in "the people." By "the people" the founders had in mind not a single group of individuals but the whole of human life. The "people" are understood to be the finite medium through which the good is to be produced. Self-government, as they understood it, is the vehicle through which the good is to be defined and worked for, although not in a simple or direct way. The founders insisted that no individual or group, majority or minority, politician or preacher, could claim a monopoly on the knowledge of what is good. But they concurred that in the governance of human beings there is no higher court than the will of "the people." That is to say, there is no stepping beyond the confines of time and space to appeal to an entity outside the process through which that will is expressed: history itself.

Understood in this way, conflict is the very way in which the will of "the people" comes to expression. It is the engine that drives our system, and not simply a necessary evil to be put up with as the only available check on human greed. This belief that conflict is a creative and necessary part of the democratic process is illustrated by Jefferson's assertion "that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapon, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them."

The notion of freedom at work here is not a relativistic holding that anyone's opinion is as good as anyone else's. Rather, it is the positive contention that the respective merits of differing positions, opinions or value systems only emerge if all are openly debated and compared.

From this perspective, the checks and balances of our political system and the free market forces of our economy Will denigrates may be seen to have a much different function than that which he assigns them. Properly understood, they may in fact be seen to be what makes community possible in a pluralistic society. Rather than merely taming our baser instincts and reducing our efforts to their lowest common denominator, these institutions ensure that the conflict that is democracy is both productive of creative compromise and protected from being extinguished by either an overzealous majority or a disruptive minority.

It is tempting to conclude that Will is half right. His statement of the problem facing us is incisive and the premises on which he bases his solution are absolutely sound. Will has anticipated the criticisms of his argument offered here and anyone concerned about the fate of this country ought to read the book and judge for themselves.

However, to evaluate *Statecraft as Soulcraft* solely on this basis would be a mistake, albeit a mistake to which Will contributes. He says at the outset of the book that to accomplish his ends he must "commit political philosophy." What he has done is write a religious tract. Although the demagogues who dominate religion right and left in this country have given the genre a bad name, this is not meant as a criticism. Moreover, given his identification with the Oxford Movement, a.k.a. the Tractarians, presumably Will would not take it as such. To fully appreciate the book, at any rate, its essentially religious nature must be grasped.

Will's mentor, Edmund Burke, maintained that "religion is the basis of civil society" and Will's book is a statement of religious faith. As such, it might more properly be called a "preface" or "prolegomenon" to a political philosophy. He has identified the most pressing political problem confronting us, and then outlined what he believes must be true about us individually and collectively if that problem is to be successfully solved. These truths are not proved, but simply asserted — as they must be — as articles of faith whose adequacy must be tested in living them.

The true value of the book lies in the courage with which Will confronts our political malaise and the candor with which he articulates his faith in how it must be addressed. No one else is doing this in anything like the systematic way it must be done if we are to salvage the polity Lincoln called humanity's "last best hope." Will's reach exceeds his grasp, but that is always the case with anything worth doing. It is to be hoped that he, and others challenged and inspired by his effort, however flawed, will keep reaching. ■



---

# The Chairman's Corner: Keep the U.S. in the U.N. and the U.N. in the U.S.

by Jim Leach

**A**s historians recount the deeds of mankind, it appears that the scourge of war is a constant of history. From pre-biblical to post-Hiroshima times few generations have known peace. In this light, Pope John Paul II's recent warning that the world has shifted from a "post-war" to "pre-war" mentality deserves careful pondering.

Reflective of heightened tension in the world are global intransigence on arms control and the escalation of regional conflicts from the Middle East to Central America. Against this political backdrop the recent debate about the depth of U.S. commitment to the United Nations could not be more troubling. Sparked by an intemperate exchange between U.S. and Soviet ambassadors in New York, two questions have been raised in the minds of many Americans: should the U.S. remain in the U.N. and should the U.N. remain in New York?

In the strongest possible way, I am convinced the answer to both questions should be "yes." Now is the time to sound the alarm bell in support of the U.N.

## Criticisms of the U.N.

This is not to say that the U.N. has not been a disappointment, if not failure, in many instances. Even the Secretary General's latest annual report expresses deep concern over the "partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security." On the other hand, the U.N. has been effective in dealing with the crises in the Congo in 1960-64 and in the Sinai in 1973, where peacekeeping operations may have helped prevent a U.S.-Soviet confrontation. Today, U.N. peacekeeping forces or observers are present in Cyprus and Kashmir, on the Golan Heights and in Lebanon.

***“. . . two questions have been raised in the minds of many Americans: should the U.S. remain in the U.N. and should the U.N. remain in New York? In the strongest possible way, I am convinced the answer to both questions should be 'yes'."***

While on a scale of one to a hundred U.N. peacekeeping efforts might only earn a mark in the neighborhood of 10, when survival of the planet is at stake some achievements are better than none at all.

Frequently the U.N. has been criticized as having

degenerated into a world debating society. This criticism has a ring of truth to it. Many citizens of the world had higher hopes for the U.N. than to see country after country use the podium of New York for political diatribe, much of it directed against the U.S. Still, all in all, words are cheaper than bullets, and who knows how much conflict such open discussion prevents.

***"It is the duty of leadership to appeal to the highest, not the lowest, instincts of the body politic . . . The rallying cry 'Get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.' may be psychologically satisfying for some, but it is a prescription for strategic disaster."***

Cost-wise, the most expensive part of the U.N. is not the maintenance of the General Assembly and Security Council. Rather, it is the support to its specialized agencies like the United Nations Education and Social Council (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). Here, any neutral assessment of the U.N. must be generous. The U.N. High Commission on Refugees is a recent recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize; WHO is largely responsible for eradicating smallpox from the vast majority of countries of the world; UNESCO has broadened the education and cultural opportunities for millions of impoverished children; the International Atomic Energy Agency has established safeguard and inspection systems to insure against nuclear non-proliferation.

And, perhaps most importantly, in the area of arms control U.N.-affiliated institutions have worked to advance treaties ranging from the demilitarization of Antarctica and outer space to restraints on the development, production and stockpiling of biochemical weapons. Arms control, we must constantly remind ourselves, is not an exclusive U.S.-Soviet concern. International efforts and safeguards will be increasingly necessary to preserve international peace and prevent nuclear holocaust.

To support the U.N. is expensive, but although we are its largest contributor, the U.S. devotes a smaller portion of our GNP to support the world's foremost international institution than many other countries. In addition, we receive far more direct economic benefit than any other country due to the location of the U.N. in New York. It is estimated, in fact, that New York City alone receives almost \$700 million yearly in economic benefits from the U.N.

It thus could not be more ironic to hear New York Mayor Ed Koch term the U.N. a "cesspool" and find our representatives saying they would gladly stand at the wharf

---

*Jim Leach is a member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Ripon Society.*



and wave goodbye to delegates.

Diplomacy by wisecrack is irresponsible. Just as James Watt's humor ill-served his president on environmental issues, so thoughtless gibes about the desirability of the U.N. being located on a half-time basis in Moscow stand as unchivalrous bleatings from the host country's U.S. representative.

Where, we must ask ourselves, is old-fashioned statesmanship? It is the duty of leadership to appeal to the highest, not the lowest, instincts of the body politic. The times are too calamitous to play the cheap word games associated so long with the John Birch Society. The rallying cry "Get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S." may be psychologically satisfying for some, but it is a prescription for strategic disaster.

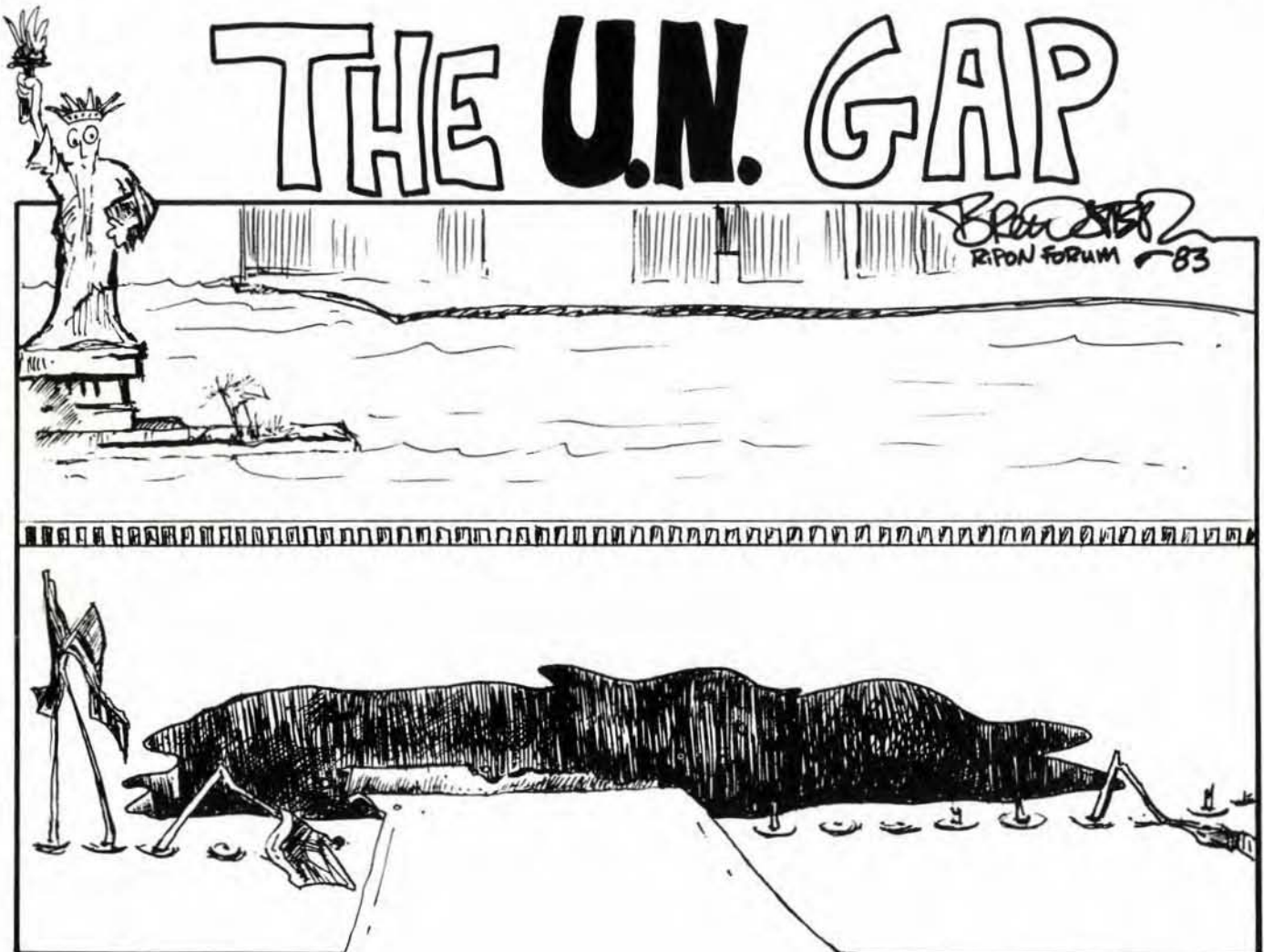
### The U.N.'s Necessity

Americans must recognize that the United States will never again hold as great a percentage of the world's economic and military might as it did at the end of World War II. Hence, in a very practical sense our national security demands that greater emphasis and sensitivity be applied to relations between states and to major international institutions such as the United Nations. Responsible governments have an obligation to seek to strengthen rather than deprecate the U.N. and its sister organizations.

***"By a narrow 25-to-23 vote the decision was made in 1945 to locate the U.N. in America rather than Europe, partly out of respect to the greatest democracy in the world, partly out of fear that the United States would turn inward and again deny its global responsibilities."***

At the insistence of Woodrow Wilson, the League of Nations was created in the aftermath of World War I. Yet, with Wilson's illness and death, narrow isolationism took hold in the United States and we refused to join the League, thus contributing to the unstable peace from which the second world war developed.

By a narrow 25-to-23 vote the decision was made in 1945 to locate the U.N. in America rather than Europe, partly out of respect to the greatest democracy in the world, partly out of fear that the United States would turn inward and again deny its global responsibilities. Now, as the Cold War tensions have reemerged, it is particularly timely for the United States to make clear to the world that we are proud the U.N. is in the U.S. and the U.S. is in the U.N. The United Nations may not have lived up to original expectations, but it is still a beacon of hope for mankind. ■





# Isolation Zoning

by Patrick H. Hare



**D**uring the last three years, a great deal of time and energy has been devoted to denouncing the cuts in domestic spending and the effects these cuts will have on the elderly and the poor. It is important to realize, though, that with or without the "New Federalism," demographic and economic changes are forcing us away from "programs" as a method of meeting social needs. For the growing elderly population, meeting those needs will primarily be a question of building on what is already available without cost: the family. This always has been the primary caregiver for the elderly, and its role will necessarily become more prominent as programs are reduced by declining funds in the face of increased demand.

The strength of the family's role is indicated by research on meeting the needs of the elderly. The National Center for Health Statistics reported recently that 46 percent of the population 65 years of age and older were limited to some extent in their activities due to chronic health conditions. Seven percent were limited but not in a major activity like eating or dressing, 22 percent were limited in the amount or kind of a major activity they can carry out and 17 percent were unable to carry out at least one major activity. In light of this data, it is surprising that only five percent of those over 65 are in long-term care facilities. While care is undoubtedly inadequate for many elderly with chronic health problems, others are receiving more than adequate care from informal sources. This hypothesis is supported by other data from the Reagan administration which shows that typically 53 percent of elderly persons saw a child of theirs today or yesterday, and 24 percent saw a child two to seven days ago. The same study also reported that 79 percent of the elderly have one or more surviving children, that 18 percent live with their children and that 34 percent live less than 10 minutes away from at least one child. The

adequacy of family or other informal care is also suggested by comparison to the well-known drawbacks of nursing homes.

## Innovative Living Arrangements

However, to suggest building on the strength of family ability to care for the elderly is deceptive if there is no practical means of doing so. However, there does appear to be a means: innovative living arrangements.

This includes accessory apartments, echo housing, and shared housing. Accessory apartments are complete, independent living units installed within the surplus space in a

***"For the growing elderly population, meeting [social] needs will primarily be a question of building on what is already available without cost: the family."***

single-family home. They result in two independent households living under one roof. Echo housing (also known as granny flats) refers to small temporary living units placed in the yard of single-family homes so that adult children can care for aging parents. Older people can also install them in their own yards and rent their houses in return for income needed. In fact, the echo housing program begun in Australia started in the public sector and became so successful that echo units are now being built for sale by private builders.

echo units are now being built for sale by private builders.

A third type of innovative living arrangement is shared housing. This involves the physical sharing of a dwelling unit by two or more unrelated individuals, each having a private room and sharing other common areas. At its best it results in a family of choice.

Each of these arrangements makes economic sense because we have too much single-family housing for a population structure that is short on kids, but long on empty nesters. The latter include not only those who have finished raising families, but also those who haven't started yet. Innovative living arrangements also make social sense because they permit the exchange of support between

---

*Patrick H. Hare is a Washington, D.C. housing consultant. A list of materials on accessory apartments and echo housing is available by sending a self-addressed stamped envelope to Mr. Hare at 2027 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Margaret Haske, a research assistant at Georgetown University Department of Community and Family Medicine, assisted in the preparation of this article.*



households. They are reinventions of old lifestyles that have new relevance: extended family living and boarding houses. In fact, it has been suggested that "Kin-Care" living arrangements would be a much more meaningful term than innovative living arrangements.

***"To suggest building on the strength of family ability to care for the elderly is deceptive if there is no practical means of doing so. However, there does appear to be a means: innovative living arrangements."***

### Housing Use

The practical reason for the reemergence of these lifestyles is that many elderly persons have something the rest of the society needs: housing. 70 percent of the elderly own their own homes, and many of those homes have underutilized space. The U.S. has 12.2 million households in which the head is over 55, and in which two persons or less live in five rooms or more. Innovative living arrangements provide ways that older persons can trade surplus space to meet their own needs for income and/or services.

In addition to rent or in exchange for rent, younger residents in innovative living arrangements can provide home maintenance, shopping, transportation, security, and companionship. The exchange can also work the other way. The older people can provide services to younger people such as assistance in child-rearing, something needed by many working couples faced with "day care guilt" and "latchkey kids."

Innovative living arrangements also generally enable older people to stay in their own homes. They resolve the

***"Innovative living arrangements are reinventions of old lifestyles that have new relevance: extended family living and boarding houses."***

problem many older people face of being forced out of a neighborhood they love because they are house rich and cash poor and cannot afford the taxes, maintenance, and fuel costs of staying in the family home.

One indication of the value of these new housing options is their spreading popularity. California recently passed a bill requiring all local jurisdictions to formally consider zoning for accessory apartments and echo housing by July 1, 1983, and many communities there already permit them. Towns in southwestern Connecticut are changing their ordinances in rapid succession, following the lead of two

communities, Weston and Westport, which have permitted accessory apartments for a long time. Many towns in New York and New Jersey have changed their ordinances or are considering doing so. In fact, there are now over 300 shared housing programs in the country which provide services to clients.

### The Need for Education

In general, subsidies are not required for innovative living arrangements. What is required from social service and public policy agencies is an effort to remove roadblocks and provide education. For example, research is needed on the impact of innovative living arrangements on neighborhoods. This is a critical question due to the zoning changes required in most areas. Local officials cannot easily recommend zoning changes if the impact is unknown and no research has been conducted regarding this topic.

Another role for government is to look at the potential for service exchange. To what extent can we actually expect people to provide services in return for housing? How much personal home health care of any kind can be provided, perhaps with limited training for tenants? To what extent can innovative living arrangements reduce the demand for long-term care facilities?

***"Subsidies are not required for innovative living arrangements. What is required from social service and public policy agencies is an effort to remove roadblocks and provide education."***

There are a variety of other similar issues that need exploration. However, the individual significance of these research issues is overshadowed by their common objectives. The need is to make both our existing housing resources more productive, and to release human resources trapped by single-family housing patterns. Single-family zoning almost by definition prohibits the exchange of services between households. Today, for too many older homeowners, single-family zoning amounts to little more than isolation zoning.

While there are ways to provide additional housing, income, and services for many elderly people at little or no federal cost, they have been ignored. Aside from a few individuals like Senator Richard Lugar and Congressman Ed Roybal, they have been ignored not only by Congress but also by an administration that is supposedly searching for social solutions which do not require subsidies and which replace public programs with individual, family and community commitments. The total administration effort in the area of innovative living arrangements amounts to five nickel-and-dime initiatives that could not even pass as an attempt to legitimize lip service to the ideas. Perhaps, the most severe criticism that can be made of the Reagan administration, and its claim to be concerned about quality of life, is the fact that it has been unable to put any muscle at all behind a series of concepts that are also completely consistent with its own philosophy. ■



# 419 New Jersey Avenue

## Political Notes

In **Washington** former Governor Daniel Evans, a moderate appointed to fill Senator "Scoop" Jackson's seat, has won the Republican primary and will face Democratic Congressman Mike Lowry in the general election. Evans has given Republicans new hope of retaining control of the Senate in 1984. That control has been seriously jeopardized by the retirement announcements of Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker and **Texas** Senator John Tower . . .

Texas *Forum* correspondent Mike Hayes, in fact, reports that front runners are already emerging from both parties to vie for Tower's seat. Conservative Phil Gramm is the early GOP favorite. Other announced Republican candidates include Congressman Ron Paul, an unabashed libertarian who favors legalization of marijuana and a return to the gold standard, and Robert Mossbacher, Jr., a former aide to Senator Baker. Mossbacher, a relatively young moderate conservative, has ties to a family oil business which certainly won't hurt financially. He is presently running third with visibility his major obstacle. On the Democratic side, former Representative Robert Krueger appears to have an edge over Representative Kent Hance and State Senator Lloyd Doggett. After some early speculation, former Governor Dolph Briscoe has decided he will *not* be a candidate . . .

Supporters of **Illinois'** moderate Republican Senator, Charles Percy, appear cautiously optimistic as he continues to do battle with conservative Congressman Thomas Corcoran for the Republican nomination for Senate. Throughout the campaign Corcoran has attempted to paint Percy as an out-of-touch, non-Reagan Republican. Percy's record, however, shows otherwise. In addition, the media has been quick to point out the inaccuracies and misrepresentation of Corcoran's claims, which may hurt the congressman in the primary. At this point, it looks close with Percy the winner . . .

**Nevada Forum** correspondent Dr. Donald Olson reports that things are also heating up in that state. Lt. Governor Bob Cashell, a Democrat, has switched to the GOP in order to challenge the current Democratic governor, Richard Bryan. Although the race is still three years away, Senator Paul Laxalt is already giving considerable support to Cashell to further solidify his Republican base . . .

Loret Ruppe, director of the Peace Corps, will most likely make her announcement regarding the **Michigan** GOP Senate nomination by December 1. Odds are that Ruppe will declare her candidacy then. In fact, a recent newspaper clip claimed President Reagan phoned her, urging her to do



*Congressman  
Sherwood Boehlert*

so. The only announced candidate is former Congressman Jim Dunn, a Gypsy Moth from Lansing. Rumor is that Michigan party officials are taking a "wait-and-see" attitude about any endorsement, apparently hoping to endorse Ruppe when she announces. Another potential candidate is Jackie McGregor, the current vice-chair of the Michigan GOP. Her support, however, is limited. All three are centrists — no conservatives per se: Pete Dawkins has since joined Salomon Brothers, and no further talk has been made of a Charleton Heston candidacy.

In another Michigan development, the drive to recall 14 Democratic state senators who voted *for* Governor Blanchard's 38% tax increase is picking up steam (in an attempt to offset this, Democrats are trying to start a recall for one of the GOP state senators who voted *against* the increase). Currently, enough signatures have been collected to put the recall on the ballot for two of the Democratic state senators and the Michigan secretary of state has announced November 22 as the date of the recall. After a recent court battle, the Democratic leadership has decided to fight the first recall to put an end to all of them. However, they have failed to rally enough support and instead of nipping this problem in the bud, it could be a major tactical mistake. For example, it now appears that State Senator Phil Mastin of Pontiac has a better than even chance of losing his seat, which means there would be a special election in two to three months. With Democrats currently controlling the Senate by only a 20-18 margin, the ramifications could be far reaching.





Senator David Durenburger

### Chapter Notes

The recently revived **Washington, D.C.** chapter now boasts over 75 paid members and has established a number of permanent committees. Officers include Bill Clohan, president; Mike Getto, vice president; John Bond, treasurer; and Andrew Askland, secretary. In October Congressman Ed Zschau from San Francisco's "Silicon Valley" addressed the group. He spoke about high technology, industrial policy and the budget process. In early November former GOP Co-Chair Mary Crisp and Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member Nancy Johnson, R-Ct., discussed "Women and the GOP — Where Do We Stand?" . . .

Led by the Society's **New York** chapter, progressive Republicanism continues to grow in New York. The sponsor of monthly political forums, the New York chapter held their October program on "Before You Vote: Election '83." In addition, members of a black GOP group in New York, the "Freedom Republicans," recently went on WLIB in New York to discuss the representation of blacks in the GOP. There is also talk of a second radio appearance, possibly a nationwide broadcast on the National Black Network. New York Republicans also have witnessed the emergence of another progressive GOP organization, "The New York Rough Riders." Formed this year "to restore integrity to the political process and revive the spirit of public service exemplified by Theodore Roosevelt," the group's primary purpose is to "provide no-strings funding to independent candidates running on the Republican Party ticket" and "recruit able fresh talent to run for elective office and to assure independence and honesty once elected." For information on any of these groups, please contact the Ripon national office . . .

The **Iowa** Ripon Chapter sponsored a Fall Issues Conference on November 5th in Des Moines. Interested Republicans met earlier in the year in all of Iowa's six districts to lay the foundation for the conference. Attending it were various elected officials, including Ripon Chairman Jim Leach, Congressman Tom Tauke, R-Ia., and Congressional Advisory Board (CAB) member Senator John Danforth, who was the featured luncheon speaker . . .

Requests for chapter information have come recently from Georgetown University, Middlebury College, Stanford University and the University of Iowa. The Society has had other chapter requests within the last month from New Jersey, Minneapolis, Greensboro, North Carolina and Boise, Idaho. For more information about forming or joining a Ripon chapter, please contact Greg Knopp, the Society's political director, at the national office.

### General News

Recent additions to the Congressional Advisory Board include Senator David Durenburger of Minnesota and Congressman Sherwood Boehlert of New York. Both have been supportive of the Society's efforts and were in attendance at the Society's 21st anniversary dinner in June . . .

On October 29th a memorial service was held for the late John S. Saloma, founder and first president of the Ripon Society, at the Georgetown Lutheran Church in Washington, D.C. Several members of the Society, including founding members Emil Frankel and Congressman Tim Petri, spoke of their association with Dr. Saloma and his impressive professional and personal accomplishments in the field of political science. A John S. Saloma Memorial Fund is now being established at the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University. The Fund would make available resources for the type of research, writing and lecturing activities that John Saloma encouraged his colleagues and students to pursue, and in which he himself excelled. If you are interested in making a contribution to the fund, please contact: The Ripon Society, 419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 546-1292. ■

## MEMO

TO: THE EDITORS

RE: PUBLIC POLICY ECONOMICS

Now that the *Ripon Forum* (August 1983) has identified the difference between Apple and Atari economics, the Republican Party should develop a post-John Cameron Swazy world view. Maybe we could develop the multiplier effect or perhaps — if we dare — a consumer demand theory.

I beg your pardon, but the discovery of new economics is no discovery at all. A rehash of New Deal concepts and a review of the "Pigou effect" is not the road to original research. However, a rediscovery of the new economics is better than nothing at all.

John L. Harris, Waco, Texas



## Washington Notes and Quotes

Moderate Republicans in the House and Senate are again leading the battle for equity in the legislative process. For the first time in five years, the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education will have bona fide appropriations. Due to the leadership of Ripon Congressional Advisory Board (CAB) member and 1982 Ripon Republican of the Year, Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.), the House passed the necessary appropriations bill, including funding for programs from community services, employment for senior citizens, and Employment and Training Administration operations to the National Institutes of Health and compensatory elementary and secondary education for the disadvantaged. The Senate also passed its version, and at press time the House-Senate Conference Committee was working out the difference between the two measures . . .

Leading the battle for the resignation of former Interior Department Secretary James Watt were six moderate Republican senators, including Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker and 1983 Ripon Republican of the Year Robert Dole. They were joined by a host of House members calling for Watt's resignation. As stated by Congressman Tom Tauke (R-Ia.), Watt has "lost his credibility with Congress and can no longer effectively perform the duties required as the chief steward of our natural resources . . . Mr. Watt clearly does not have the understanding, tolerance, and human sensitivity which should be an essential prerequisite for service in the highest levels of government." One can only hope that William P. Clark will serve as a better steward of the nation's environmental resources . . .

The "gender gap" remains a problem for President Reagan — no matter how much his aides try to pawn this problem off as a party problem. Republican congresswomen have been meeting regularly with Michael Deaver at the White House to discuss legislative initiatives relating to women. In addition, Representative Olympia Snowe (R-Me.), in her capacity as co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, is pushing for passage of the Economic Equity Act . . .

In a related measure, Congressman Barber Conable (R-

N.Y.) was joined by Congressional Advisory Board member Bill Frenzel (R-Minn.) and Congresswomen Olympia Snowe, Marge Roukema (R-N.J.), and Lynn Martin (R-Ill.) in introducing legislation to strengthen enforcement of child support laws to insure that single parents, most of whom are women, do not suffer unfair financial hardship. The measure includes financial incentives to improve the states' ability to collect support for non-welfare families as well as those on welfare. "It's important that families get assistance before they are forced to turn to welfare," said Conable in his statement before the House of Representatives . . .

Moderate Republicans continue to urge the White House to devote its attention to arms control negotiations. Ripon Congressional Advisory Board members, led by Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Congressman Jim Leach (R-Ia.), are keeping up the fight for a mutual, verifiable nuclear freeze, which has been approved by the House and is now pending Senate floor action. Other congressional moderates, led by Senators Charles Percy (R-Ill.) and William Cohen (R-Me.) have intensified their efforts to secure changes in the administration's arms control policies in return for their support of the MX missile . . .

The debate on the three Reagan nominees for the Civil Rights Commission still flourishes — as was noted in this *Forum* by the commission's chairman, Clarence Pendleton. However, as was reported in the August *Forum*, a compromise bill, spearheaded by CAB member Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.), passed the House and is awaiting approval in the Senate. The House-passed compromise extended the life of the commission for five years and allowed removal of sitting commissioners "only for cause" . . .

Before the end of the first session of the 98th Congress, Congressional Advisory Board member Nancy Johnson (R-Ct.) will introduce legislation to create Individual Training Accounts — a fund for the aid of displaced workers. This fund would be financed through employer and employee tax deductible gifts of a fraction of one percent. The proposal addresses the long-term problem of unemployment. It is an attempt to provide greater options to those who are jobless through no fault of their own. ■

