Fall 1981

In Politics: The Magazine for Students, Fall 1981

Connecticut College

IN POLITICS

THE MAGAZINE FOR STUDENTS FALL 1981 $1.50

CONSERVATIVE CAMPUS POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

SENATOR CHRISTOPHER DODD ON INTERNING

TRUTH IN TESTING

THE MORAL MAJORITY

WHAT'S BEHIND THEIR PATRIOTISM?

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Publisher's Statement:

IN POLITICS (ISSN 0275-8954) is published twice during the academic year by Connecticut College students, Connecticut College, Box 1322, New London, Connecticut 06320. It is a non-profit magazine published for students interested in Political Science or Government. Single copy $1.50 *IN POLITICS* welcomes unsolicited articles and artwork from students, but will return material only if self-addressed stamped envelope is included. Reproduction of any part of the magazine without written permission from the Editor is prohibited. The articles in *IN POLITICS* reflect only the views of the individual writers and not those of Connecticut College.

Typesetting by Sandra Taylor, and donated by Dr. and Mrs. Leo Golub

IN POLITICS is printed by New London Printers, Inc.

Letter from the Editor

By Leslie Pedler

We who attend liberal arts institutions frequently give an obligatory nod to political science courses, and perhaps, participate more or less actively on the campus, but few of us have the opportunity to get out of our ivory towers into the real world. A world which needs our fresh talents desperately. We live in a country which is in the preliminary stages of a socio-political change. How many of us know what the real issues are, much less how we feel about them? The classroom provides the background . . . but it is only an incubator. It is up to us to take those steps that will lead us to a better understanding of and perhaps involvement in our nation's political process.

In Politics is designed to draw you into the excitement and challenge of our governmental system, along with those of us who conceived and made this magazine a reality. If you are majoring in or merely interested in political science and government *In Politics* is for you. *In Politics* includes a variety of articles which range from current controversial issues to how to get involved in the political system.

We welcome any letters, comments, or suggestions you might have. We are a relatively new magazine and would like to expand by printing articles, letters, and artwork by other New England college students.

We would like to hear from you.

In Politics
Box 1322, Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut 06320

Volume 2, Number 1

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Reagan's Defense Plan: A Little Less Madness . . . A Bit More Risk?

by Steven E. Marshall

President Reagan's October decision to beef up America's strategic nuclear forces (SNF) was expected for some time by proponents and opponents alike, and thus was no surprise in and of itself. However, certain aspects of his massive program reveal a significant shift in U.S. military strategy, on a scale not witnessed since the early 1960's. Debates on the specific weapons will of course continue, as they have in the past. But a far more necessary debate on U.S. military and nuclear strategy unfortunately may never materialize.

Since the end of the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons under Eisenhower, the United States has operated under a strategy of "containment" of Communism, relying on a strategic nuclear doctrine called Mutual Assured Destruction, or (appropriately?) "MAD." MAD assumes that nuclear war can be deterred when both sides have the capability to endure a first strike and still retaliate with enough nuclear force to inflict "unacceptable damage" to the aggressor. Military strategists generally agree that optimum stability exists when both sides have such a "second-strike" capability.

Throughout the 1970's under MAD, each side agreed to limit anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defenses to one site each, in effect leaving both American and Soviet populations vulnerable to a retaliatory attack. But MAD only concerned the use of inaccurate, strategic nuclear weapons, i.e., those launched from the U.S. or U.S.S.R.

Through the 1960's and 1970's, tactical nuclear weapons ("super-artillery") and theater nuclear forces (TNF) emerged. The U.S. and NATO adopted a "Flexible Response" strategy for these new weapons, permitting the West the option of responding to any military aggression at that level (conventional, tactical or theatrical), while retaining an option to escalate to a higher level if necessary. Following Robert McNamara's lead, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger adopted a doctrine of Flexible Response, while still relying on MAD to deter any all-out attack. However, Schlesinger made a significant shift, called, of all names, the Schlesinger Shift. The Defense Secretary began to explore the possibility of limited American "counterforce" strikes on the Soviet Union, that is, strikes against missile, bomber and other military installations rather than the existing "counter-value" targeting of industry and population centers. Schlesinger also moved away from a reliance on U.S. nuclear superiority, instead calling for "essential equivalence" between the superpowers.

Why the shift? Improvements in technology led to speculation that the Soviets could theoretically attack only a few U.S. missile bases with a fraction of their forces. Under the counter-value, "massive retaliation" doctrine, a President could only react by destroying Soviet cities, and inviting the same on the U.S. population. As Nixon asked in 1970, "Should a President, in the event of a nuclear attack, be left with a single option of ordering the mass destruction of enemy civilians, in the face of the certainty that it would be followed by the mass slaughter of Americans?"

Without Flexible Response options, including the ability to launch counterforce strikes, the U.S. deterrent would lose its credibility, making it no deterrent at all. Even Jimmy Carter, one of the most anti-military presidents of the decade, realized his limitations in the event of a limited counterforce attack on the U.S., and acted accordingly by issuing Presidential Directive 59 (PD-59) which preserved more targeting options for the Commander-in-Chief.

The significance of the Reagan strategic package is that the U.S. will finally have the capability to execute these counterforce options. Contrary to popular belief, only one leg of the strategic nuclear "triad" of ICBMs, B-52 bombers and Polaris submarines is presently able to destroy such "hard" targets as reinforced missile silos. The B-52 bomber force has been generally dismissed as any sort of effective penetrator of Soviet air defenses. The cruise missiles, the B-52 is now beginning to carry, are not powerful enough to severely damage silos or even reinforced bases. On top of this, many bombers are vulnerable to a "sneak attack" or BOOB, a "bolt-out-of-the-blue." Submarines carrying nuclear missiles are nearly invulnerable, yet their SLBMs lack the accuracy and explosive force to carry out counterforce strikes. Indeed, they are said to be primarily aimed at weapons and fuel depots throughout the Soviet bloc, and at Soviet cities.

The only counterforce-capable weapons the U.S. possesses are 1,052 Minuteman IIIs in Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming and Missouri, and Titan II ICBMs in Kansas, Arizona and Arkansas. That may appear to be quite a large number, especially when counting the MIRVed warheads (3 on each Minuteman); yet a look at recent Soviet developments sheds a new light on the issue. In the last decade, the U.S.S.R. has developed four new ICBMs: SS-9, SS-17, SS-18 and SS-19, all of immense megatonnage. Two new ICBMs are said to be in the works. The 308 SS-18s, though having less-powerful single warheads (10-20 megatons, for those who bother to count) than the others is the greatest threat: it is accurate enough to have a very high probability of knocking out U.S. ICBMs. With all or most of this U.S. force destroyed, America would not have a counterforce capability for retaliation.

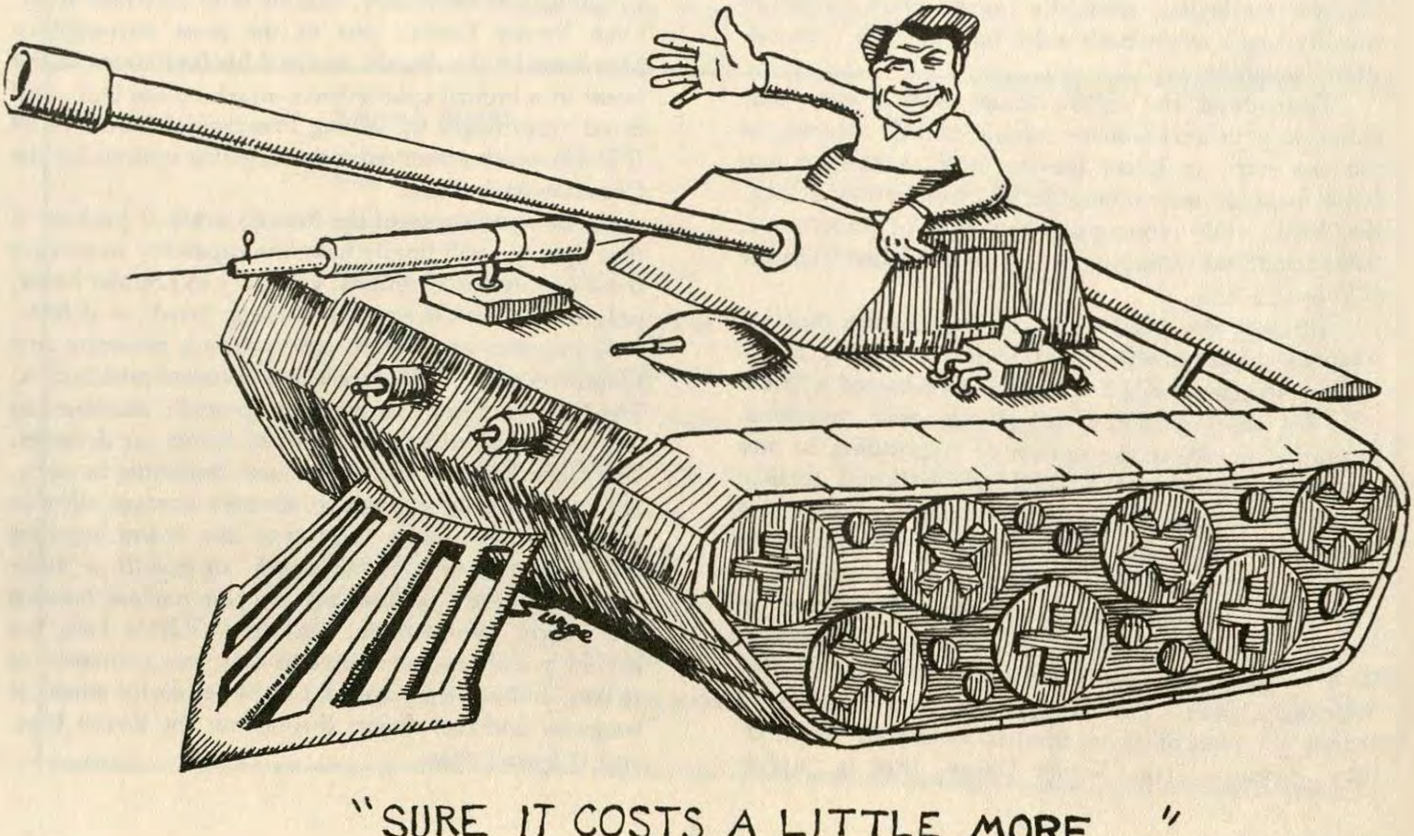
For these reasons, and many others, President Reagan has chosen to overhaul the U.S. SNF, at a cost of $180.3 billion. For those of you who are able to avoid newspapers, radio and television news, here are the highlights:

MX Missile. Scrapping Carter's huge "racetrack" plan, Reagan has postponed long-term basing of this monster until 1984. By then, he should have three major options: burying the ICBMs deep in the Rockies, where they can withstand direct attack; placing them on large aircraft that will remain aloft for 48 hours; or deploying an anti-ballistic-missile defense around the MX. The latter will entail abrogation or renegotiation of the SALT I treaty limiting ABMs. Until 1986, MXs will occupy newly-reinforced existing ICBM silos.

The MX missile is ten feet taller than the Minuteman III, has 10 warheads to the MM's 3; each with a force of 300 kilotons, to the MM's 170 Kt. (The Titan II has a force of 9 megatons.) More importantly, the MX will have a new type of re-entry vehicle called Advanced Ballistic Re-entry Vehicle, giving it an accuracy of 100 yards CEP (Circular Error Probable: an estimated 50% of the warheads will fall within 100 yds.), compared to the MM's 240 yard CEP. Cost: $18 million each.

Bombers. Reagan has resurrected a new, subsonic version of the B-1 scrapped by Carter. Older B-52 Ds will be retired, while B-52 Gs and Hs will be converted to Cruise missile-carriers. The President proposed building 100 B-1s, but that number will depend on the speed of development of the advanced "Stealth" bomber, which will come off the lines in the 1990's. Cost: $200 million per plane; total: $20-30 billion.

SLBMs and Subs. Reagan proposes production of one Trident sub (each with 24 launching tubes) each year, through 1987. Research and development on a new Trident II (D-5) sea-launched-ballistic-missile (SLBM) will be sped up, to be deployed in 1989. These intercontinental missiles will each have 7-14 warheads, with the hard-target power and accuracy of the present force of MM III ICBMs. Cruise



"SURE IT COSTS A LITTLE MORE..."

missiles will be deployed in 1984 on non-nuclear attack subs.

Command, Control and Communications (C^3). Perhaps the most significant of the proposals, is that communications to all nuclear forces will be improved. Instead of one-way messages to ICBM and bomber bases and subs, 2-way links are proposed, among other things. The cost of this project is approximately $18 billion.

What are the prospects for Congressional approval of the Administration's defense proposals? While there is obviously a great deal of support both in the House and Senate for bolstering America's military forces and readiness, opposition to some aspects of the plans does exist, and is growing. Very few Congressmen have criticized the plans for improving communications, early-warning and navigational capabilities. It should be noted that such programs assist in the prevention of accidental war, in addition to their offensive potential. But there will no doubt be a great deal of debate over the fate of the B-1 bomber and the MX missile. Congressmen are reluctant to spend billions of dollars for a bomber that many claim will be necessary for only a few years, until the deployment of "Stealth" bombers. The Administration has hinted that cuts in the B-1 proposals might be acceptable, provided they be replaced with greater funding for the development and production of the Stealth bomber. Nevertheless, the Air Force will surely press for both programs. Consequently, the $2.4 billion requested for fiscal 1982 as part of the six-year cost of approximately $20.5 billion for the B-1 program will most likely be significantly trimmed.

As for the MX missile, it would seem that President Reagan finally concluded that there is in fact no perfect solution to land-based missile vulnerability, at least without mutual limitations on the so-called throw-weight, and accuracy of Soviet ICBMs and SLMBs. It may not be coincidental that Reagan decided to postpone a permanent basing decision on the MX until 1984, an election year. The Administration may have chosed the reinforced-silo mode simply as the "lesser-of-many-evils" solution. If such is the case, a decision by Congress to postpone funding for silo reinforcement and alteration, to permit basing of the larger and bulkier MX missiles, might not be contested too hotly by the White House. However, it seems apparent that the Reagan Administration has embarked on a road towards achieving a credible first-strike capability. This conclusion is based on both the MX proposal and the plans for the new Trident II missile, to be based on submarines. Both will be extremely accurate, with several MIRVed warheads of very high explosive yield. Thus it is very unlikely that the Administration will permit the new missiles themselves, as opposed to their basing modes, to be canceled without a fight. What may result is an emotional debate on the direction of US military strategy and the Administration's strategic goals.

These issues only begin to touch on the military, political and psychological complexities of strategic thinking. It is easy to turn the channel or magazine page in a combination of disinterest and fear. But nuclear weapons are a part of our times and worldwide disarmament will not arrive simply because people are afraid of nuclear war, and protest a sub-launching or policy decision. Only with a public debate of U.S. strategy and direction can meaningful arms reductions (not limitations) occur. The hoopla over Reagan's specific weapon programs has been misdirected, and needs to address American goals, both foreign and domestic, and the strategy chosen to pursue those goals.

NEWS BITS NEWS BITS NEWS BITS NEWS BITS NEWS

Pentagon Increases Spending:

While the federal government is cutting back on many educational grants, the Pentagon will increase its spending to $319.5 million for basic research at universities. The departments which will be the major recipients of the funds are oceanography, electronics and computer science.

Consolidation of the Student Aid Program:

Three federal Student Aid programs: Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant; College Work-Study; and National Direct Student Loans may be consolidated into one major grant. The final decision on the allocation of federal funding for the individual student will rest with the college financial aid offices.

Poland's Best-Known Dissident Group Disbands:

The Committee for Social Self-Defense, Poland's best-known dissident group, formally announced that it was disbanding because its goals had been taken over by Solidarity, the country's independent trade union. Known as KOR, its Polish acronym, the organization was established in 1976 to defend workers who had been arrested for demonstrating against sharp rises in meat prices. It was one of the few organizations in Eastern Europe that had forged links between intellectuals and workers.

An Insider's View to the Senate

by Larry Kaplan

My internship was conducted under Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Republican of Connecticut, in his Washington office during the summer of 1979. The application process for the intern program involved a personal biography, three references, and an interview with the director of the Senator's home office in Bridgeport. Ultimately, ten people were chosen from the application pool, eight of whom were from Connecticut. The remaining two people who were selected had definite ties to the state. In addition, nearly all of the interns were majoring in government, political science, and/or law.

At the time of my arrival in Washington, I was placed under the supervision of Frank Kinney, one of Mr. Weicker's legislative aides. The single criterion the office had used to match me up with this particular aide was the similarity of my economics major with the committees he covered for the Senator. At that time, Frank was responsible for the Finance Committee, the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committees, and the Governmental Affairs Committee. During my ten-week stint, I was working on legislation coming from the Finance and Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committees.

For the most part, Frank asked me to research and follow legislation that was not high on his priority list during the period of my internship. It turned out that several of the legislative areas he assigned were of special interest to me. My schedule was highlighted by the petroleum windfall profits tax legislation, and included proposals on establishing uniform weight and length limits for the trucking industry nationwide, proposals for the deregulation of the communications industry, and working with the Federal Department of Transportation on the proposed interstate highway link between Hartford and Providence. These responsibilities consumed the major portion of my day on Capitol Hill.

There were many other responsibilities to fill which were important for the smooth functioning of the office. One obligation, which was always interrupting memorandum preparation, was answering general phone calls. By definition, general calls were those not involving issues handled specifically by the legislative aides. The receptionist funnelled these calls into the back room, where the interns had to compete dearly with each other for desk space. Many of the calls could be handled in less than a minute, but some phone exchanges meant researching various Senate and House proposals, final bills, Senator Weicker's position papers, and returning the call or mailing correspondence. Naturally, the attitude in the office was to be efficient and courteous when dealing with constituents.

Replying to inquiries through the mail was a more extensive way of disseminating information on general matters or positions the Senator holds. Another dimension to the internship experience was running errands. Briefly, these tasks ranged from getting the Senator lunch, driving him to various engagements, and moving his station wagon to the Senate steps so he could avoid the walk back to the office and leave directly for home.

The legislative aides make up the backbone of the Senate staff both in numbers and importance. Their duty is to provide the Senator with the pertinent information he must have to make sound decisions. Since the Senator cannot attend even a fraction of the meetings, hearings, and markups that involve him, the legislative aide has to be present at such functions to absorb necessary details. In the Weicker office, there were seven legislative aides. Each aide had his own distinct territory to cover. The two aides Mr. Weicker valued the most seemed to be placed on the most critical assignments: to be responsible for the committees the Senator represents, the Appropriations Committee and the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. It was not surprising that these men had the most seniority and experience on the staff in congressional matters. The remaining five aides were in charge of foreign policy, urban policy, social welfare issues, economic issues, and finance. Although my aide was assigned to the Finance Committee, I found out that this area was not his favorite. One concession of landing a job for a Senator is that one's area of interest and/or expertise is often already occupied and might take a long time to become available. In addition, aides with the least seniority may have limited contact with the Senator because of his tendency to place senior staffers on assignments of direct concern to him.

On a level of the Senator's special interests, Mr. Weicker had a legislative aide working for him who handled matters concerning the environment. This individual had become a specialist on these subjects and his status in the office appeared to be on a higher level than the other aides. That he covered a special interest area is shown by the Senator's absence from any specific duties on the environment and ocean. None of his

committees or subcommittees dealt directly with either of these concerns. Instead, he addressed them on an authoritative level. In the case of the ocean, Mr. Weicker is considered one of the leading authorities in the Senate. During my internship, I discovered that each Senator customarily develops one or more special areas, often called "pet" projects, to a point of relative expertise. For example, Senator Proxmire, D-Wisconsin, is well-known for his criticisms of waste and mismanagement, and Senator Kennedy, D-Massachusetts, is an outspoken advocate of national health insurance.

I learned that the legwork legislative aides perform represents a basic service to the Senator, that of keeping his head above water. One of the most striking drawbacks of any Senator's job is the unending list of commitments that should be met each day. Only a few weeks in the office was all I needed to understand the degree to which Mr. Weicker has to rely on his staff for guidance in voting on legislation not very familiar to him. The final truth is there are not enough hours in the day to cover the myriad of responsibilities. The inevitable outcome is that Senators end up spreading themselves very thin just to meet their basic duties. Part of this problem has been caused by the addition of new committees in recent years. Each Senator currently has to serve on three committees, many subcommittees, and other committees such as joint conferences, standing committees, steering committees, Republican Policy, Republican Conference, or Democratic Policy, and Democratic Conference. Senator Weicker, for example, is a member of five subcommittees under the Appropriations Committee alone, in addition to five more subcommittees divided between the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and the Small Business Committee.

. . . When I worked in the Senate, there was a prevailing notion that the only bills to be taken seriously were those written by the Democratic Senators.

During my short tenure in the Senate, I observed the obvious advantages derived from being the majority party. In the Democratic-controlled Senate, every chairman (both in committee and subcommittee) was a Democrat. This power enabled that party to exercise varying degrees of control over the essential phases of bill making: the hearings, mark-ups, and in a strong chairman situation, committee voting. Furthermore, once legislation passed this stage and progressed to consideration on the Senate floor, the Majority Leader and Majority Whip, both Democrats, scheduled the time of debate and voting. This ability to control the calendar was significant, since the majority could make it more difficult for a fair hearing to be conducted on a bill proposed by the opposition. This objective could be accomplished through various scheduling practices.

Another distinction between the majority and minority was the allocation of representation on committee staffs. On the basis of a proportional breakdown based on Senate representation of each party, the committees are divided in such a fashion: If the Senate is sixty percent Democratic, and forty percent Republican, committees are subjected to the same composition. Similarly, committee staffs are divided into a fraction represented by the majority-minority ratio. This characteristic is not as notable as the previous examples because under a proportional system, each party has an allocation of staff members equal to its percentage of representation. The basic advantage of the majority is that it dominates committee work and sees its own legislative versions, for the most part, favorably voted on in the Senate chamber.

When I worked in the Senate, there was a prevailing notion that the only bills to be taken seriously were those written by the Democratic Senators. Not unexpectedly, virtually every bill that passed had been fashioned by the majority party. This pattern was discouraging for me, due to my partisanship with the minority party, but I appreciated the mechanics of the system, as follows. Essentially, the minority would present its own alternative program, as a matter of convention. The majority would continue to control the reins of government, until enough of its members were forced from office to cause a switch over to the other side. At this juncture, the new majority would run the legislative machinery with its own ideas, presumably ones which had come in line with the times. On this account, the Senate functions smoothly. The recent election illustrated that this process works efficiently.

In the 1980 transition over to the Republicans, the benefits of being in the majority switched over to the new majority. Now, the Republicans in the Senate have shown they can shape the legislative process. At the same time, the Democrats must now present the alternative program and voice opposition to the majority party in the hopes of regaining the dominant position they held for some twenty-five years. In summary, the majority-minority division in the Senate leads to the practice of an incentive system. This particular approach to government seems to be a healthy way of conducting business.

In general, the Senate seemed to operate smoothly in an institutional sense during my internship. One characteristic I found particularly effective was the long screening process each proposal had to endure before being considered on the floor. In spite of the advantages available to the majority party for promoting its own legislation, bills had to be well prepared, in general,

before they could be presented to their relevant committees for consideration. Then, there were other hurdles to be overcome by the committee before a vote could be taken, and the proposal forwarded to the floor. Even when a bill was approved in the Senate, the House version might have contained conflicting ideas. If a compromise could not be hammered out in the joint conference, the versions of the bill from both chambers would die. This practice seemed to cut down on the passage of poorly-conceived bills. As only about five percent of bills introduced at the committee level go on to become law, this system gave me confidence in the overall efficiency of the bill-making procedure. Of course, it is not possible to entirely stop the movement of poorly constructed proposals through this lengthy course.

Unfortunately, authors of legislation were not always noteworthy, but when partisan votes could be called up for passage of proposals, they would pass regardless of their quality. This reality is not a reflection of the system in the Senate. It results from a particular brand of Senate membership. In the final analysis, inefficiency in the Senate can be attributed to lower than ideal quality of some Senators, not the institutional make-up of the Senate, which provides the necessary mechanics for smooth functioning.

The atmosphere in the Senate office buildings was one of productivity and purpose. Senators take their jobs seriously. My employer, Senator Weicker, worked long hours and still there was not enough time to meet all of his engagements. It was my observation that the number of committee and subcommittee assignments should be re-evaluated to decide if any changes could be made to lessen the workload on the Senators. The current situation impressed me as one of the weaknesses of the Senate. In terms of the general quality of the legislative aides, these people were very conscientious, hard-working, and their work was highly competent. Of particular importance was that they enjoyed their work. Certainly, part of the reason they worked so hard was to amass a solid Senate record for the inevitable movement off Capitol Hill to other kinds of employment. Since the overwhelming majority of a Senator's staff and committee workers move on to other jobs by age thirty to thirty-five, the average employee is in his twenties. But beside the practical aspect of working hard, many of the aides performed at a high level because they were happy with the job as well as the location, the United States Senate. In the end, the fact that the staffs and the Senators aim for high achievement contributes to the high level of productivity on Capitol Hill.

I found the United States Senate to be an efficient institution. Despite problems such as overworked Senators, the overall picture was one of a functional environment. On nearly all counts, my reaction to the Senate was positive. The value of the internship on a work level was considerable. Since one had to handle three or more projects at the same time and maintain quality work in each area, it was important to be able to work under pressure. That this atmosphere was marked by fluidity challenged me to be more resilient and productive than I was accustomed to being in any other facet of life. I am grateful to the Weicker internship for the opportunity to observe the Senate in operation, and to study the legislative process up-close through extensive work on measures such as the Windfall Profits Tax proposal. In the months that followed the summer of 1979, I watched the evolutions and outcomes of the legislation I had been associated with, all the time sensing how much I wanted to return to Washington on a more permanent basis. In the final analysis, the internship enhanced my understanding and knowledge of politics, politicians, and decision-making. It also gave me a clear-cut direction for job selection after college.

News Bits News Bits News Bits News Bits News

The Continuing Controversy over Bilingual Education:

Terrel Bell, Secretary of Education, has recently called attention to the bilingual education practice in American schools. His statements reaffirm a national commitment to bilingual education and to the rights of individual school districts to use methodologies appropriate to their students and particular situations. Although a promising tool, bilingual education is not without controversy. Several charges have been made against the hasty implementation of the programs, the most sensitive of which concerns the current belief that bilingual education is being used as a stratagem for ethnic employment.

Corporations Urged to Give Colleges More Support:

Business corporations are feeling increased pressure to aid colleges and universities due to reductions in federal educational support. The Reagan Administration, through its tax cuts for business and reduced federal support of educational and charitable institutions, has handed more responsibility to businesses. Consequently, at a recent meeting of business executives in White Plains, New York, a positive response to the demand for larger corporate contributions was described as not only a social responsibility but also as an opportunity for enlarging business influence.

The Moral Majority: Falwell's Plan to Save America

by Seth Stone

Jimmy Carter, Dick Clark, George McGovern, John Culver, and Gaylord Nelson, these politicians all have one element in common. All are Democrats, defeated in their respective bids for re-election. Many credit their defeat to the rise of the New Right, a conservative element that was a major influence on the election of 1978 and 1980. And, with the 1982 election only a year away, it may be wise to look at the chief protagonist of the New Right—the Moral Majority.

Moral Majority (MM) was formed in 1978 by Robert J. Billings and the Rev. Jerry Falwell, for 25 years the minister of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia.[1] Through the years, Falwell's influence and importance has grown. His church has 17,000 parishioners, and has spawned a religious institution in Lynchburg, encompassing Liberty Baptist College, Liberty Baptist Seminary, Lynchburg Academy, and Thomas Road Bible Institute.[2]

The cornerstone of Falwell's religious empire however, is his "Old Time Gospel Hour" program, carried by 681 television and radio stations each week. Courtesy of its 21 million listeners, the show grosses $1 million per week.[3] Falwell's history and empire have been traced in detail by many publications. But, one aspect of Falwell that has yet to be traced in detail is the relation of his present politics to his evangelical beliefs. For, as Jerry Falwell goes, so go million of evangelical voters.

Jerry Falwell has a mission. He is determined to save America from itself. America has been subject to immoral behavior during the 1970's, and Falwell wants to bring morality back to politics. Immorality can be reversed by godliness. Among the social ills of America are abortion, gay rights, arms limitation, increased social spending, all coming under the heading of "liberalism".

Falwell's plan is to reverse these trends in the 1980's. If he does not, he feels America will crumble. We will implode and Russia will move in to fill the vacuum. This scenario can be prevented in two ways. First, America must repair itself socially and internally so that, secondly, the country can stand up to the Soviets. In Falwell's world, the religious and secular politics are strangely intertwined. Because Communists are godless atheists, increased defense spending is a religious necessity. Because welfare has destroyed the Protestant work ethic, increased welfare spending is against God's wishes.

. . . abortion: "every member of Congress has blood on their hands", ERA: "the feminist movement is simply women, most of them failures, who want to do their own thing".

The message is a simple one—government has grown too big. Its interference in our lives has become excessive. The liberal attitude of the 1970's said to "do your own thing." Falwell claims the government has immorally condoned the activities reliant on this attitude, including such hedonism as abortion: "every member of Congress has blood on their hands"; E.R.A.: "the feminist movement is simply women, most of them failures, who want to do their own thing"; gay rights: "they . . . came out of the closets and out of the cesspools"; with the result leading to the destruction of the family: "all these are vicious assaults upon the home and family."

Falwell plans to fight these immoral assaults upon society. He is guided by four unwavering principles: pro-life, pro-family, pro-morality, and pro-America. These stands translate into opposition of abortion, E.R.A., gay rights, increased trafficking of drugs and pornography, SALT II and arms limitation. Falwell claims he is not motivated by partisan politics, but only by the issues. Yet recent history proves otherwise. The MM is blatantly motivated by politics.

The Moral Majority says less government is necessary to return to the morality of God. But, they still want a government ban on abortion, gay rights, and SALT II. Falwell wants to see the government increase defense spending and institute prayer in public school. "In short, they do not want government intervention when their own freedoms are at stake, but they are willing to use the power of the government to force life style changes on others."[5]

Despite protestations to the contrary, MM is neither apolitical nor apartisan. Its track record since

1978 would do any conservative proud. This is how it should be, for the MM is a partisan, conservative organization, committed to right wing ideology. Though couched in religious rhetoric and hidden by disclaimers, Falwell's machine is an effective political weapon.

Falwell believes the moral decay of the 1970's was caused by a liberalism of the human spirit. The problem was exasperated by liberal politicians. Logically, if moral decline is to be reversed in America, the political climate must change. The politicians must change.

. . . "The best politics in the world is godliness," claims Falwell.

"The best politics in the world is godliness," claims Falwell. Those who don't believe as the evangelicals do and who are ungodly must be replaced by God-fearing Christians. "If Christians do not act to throw out of office those officials who perpetrate an unchristian liberal program, the U.S. will crumble and the cause of God's kingdom will be frustrated."[6]

Despite claims of aloofness from political races, Falwell, by definition, has no choice but to get involved. Since the 1970's were the decade of liberalism, the 1980's must then be different if the country is to survive. "If the 1980's are to be the decade of destiny, we must marshall together the forces of righteousness."[7] Righteousness, for Falwell, means a "return to America's God-inspired foundation of morality, free enterprise, and patriotism. At the ideological heart . . . are traditional conservative beliefs in individual freedom, limited government, and personal diligence."[8]

The traditional values sought by MM are similar to the values espoused by the Republican party. It may not be a marriage made in Heaven, but the spiritual views of the MM, as well as the political views of the Republican party are a close match.

In this context, the political involvement of Falwell and his group is a perfectly natural process of lining up one's self-interest with those that best serve it. It just so happens that the culprits turn out to be liberal Democrats while the respectable are conservative Republicans. Falwell says the MM is only interested in principles of morality, not partisan personalities or candidates.[8] When he referred to Gary Grassley, who defeated John Culver in Iowa, as a "dear friend of ours and a fine Christian," Falwell leads one to believe it was nothing personal.[9] It must just be coincidence that Culver was one of the most liberal members of the Senate.

A key element of the New Right are the congressional report cards. MM itself does not issue report cards of voting records, but the pages of its magazine have been used to distinguish good votes from bad votes. Liberals who vote badly must be turned out. Those who vote for SALT are bad, but those who vote to oppose busing get good reviews. Translating the votes into good and evil is a prime tactic of the New Right and MM.

According to Paul Weyrich of the Conservative Committee for the Survival of Free Congress, this policy is entirely appropriate. "It is not going to do any good to register millions of voters and then not tell them who the good guys are and who the bad guys are." His final comment is chilling. "Ultimately, everything can be reduced to right and wrong. Everything."[10]

This raises a delicate question among many critics of the MM. Falwell looks for Christian ethics and godliness in a moral politician. These are the qualities preferred by the MM. But, can these qualities really be gleaned from a voting record? A tendency to equate Christian morality with conservative politics is a dangerous road to be travelling, and if this is where Falwell is leading his troops, many fear the outcome of his attempt to Christianize America.

Falwell defines a moral politician as one who voted against abortion, against E.R.A. and for prayer in public school. "To disagree with their conclusions on numerous matters of morality and politics," says Norman Lear, former television producer, "is to be labeled a poor Christian, or unpatriotic, or anti-family."[11] Lear, an avowed liberal, and Falwell have had many public feuds, but even fellow conservative Jesse Helms questions Falwell's motives. "I could never take the position that anyone who disagreed with me was less a Christian," he says. "Hubert Humphrey and I didn't agree 90 percent of the time. Does that mean he was more immoral?"[12]

Falwell and his group are sensitive to this charge. They claim that they do not rate politicans on a report card based on his morality or voting record. They say they have no "hit lists" and are not interested in undoing separation of church and state, nor making judgments on human character. Falwell wants to put religious morals back into politics, and if the feet of a few politicians get stepped on, then so be it.

"The moralists in America have had enough. (We) are joining hands together for the changing, the rejuvenating of our nation," says Falwell.[13] "We support separation of church and state . . . we want influence not control."[14] The difficult problem with issues such as abortion, prayer, sex education, and divorce, is that they have a tendency to become religious and moral issues. While most people do not feel high interest rates are ungodly or immoral, many feel abortion is. It is difficult to support somebody you do not agree with; it may be impossible to support somebody you feel is sinning against God. Thus, Falwell can say he is merely doing his religious duty by preaching politics.

Gary Jarmin, a close religious ally of Falwell, is of the opinion that returning religious sensibilities to

politics can be beneficial. "Today, we have government so secular, so dominated by a humanist mentality, that we've rejected the role of God in it."[15] Richard John Neuhaus, Lutheran pastor and board member of *Worldview* magazine, agrees, and says that evangelical believers are sincerely looking to a return from the excesses of the last decade.

> Many of the liberals who propound the separation of church and state have gone beyond that to the separation of moral judgment from public policy. They are the ones who have driven us into this current dilemma by trying to purge American life of religion and values—by creating a 'naked public square' where anything goes.[16]

Obviously, many devoutees are offended by questionable television programming, liberalization of marijuana laws, and the spread of pornographic movies. So, to vote against a politican who supports a "naked public square" is an act of personal duty. This argument will only be acceptable on certain issues. When MM and the New Right move into strictly secular issues, they stop being a religious element and become a political element.

Falwell and his cohorts often quote the Bible in defense of their positions. They believe the Bible is opposed to abortion and homosexuality, and supports close familial ties. MM is founded on Biblical qualities, but recent strategy is "more electoral than Biblical."[17]

Under the name of MM, Falwell has issued a "laundry list" for the 1980's. It includes banning abortion, supporting prayer in public school, stopping E.R.A., opposing national health insurance, handing out stiffer sentences for pornography and drug-dealing, and acquiring weapon superiority.[18] The fact that some of these issues are purely political, purely secular, worry many people. The fact that many of these issues are duplicated on the Republican platform, worries people even more.

The move into secular politics is a logical development for MM says Charles Cade, their director of state organization. "Abortion, pornography, homosexuality, those are hard for average Christians to relate to. They don't read *Playboy*, their daughters aren't pregnant, they don't know any queers. But when people's life savings are deteriorating at 15 to 20 percent a year, that is evil."[19]

Falwell believes his interest in secular politics is not activism, but motivated by genuine interest for the country. He says America must build up its defense, or it will lose its freedom. "The U.S. is inferior to Russia militarily, because they've never been hampered by treaties or contracts. They will continue to build their armaments until they force us into capitulation."[20]

Public education is another target for Falwell. Educators teach the Bible as just a book of literature and evolution as a fact, belittling the power of God, says Falwell. Similarly, the new economic policies are favored by Falwell. In the past, capitalism, the basis for freedom and growth, had been insulted as godless, a reference which upset the Reverend. Falwell believes this godlessness in education and economics must change.[21]

Opponents cite his involvement in these issues as purely political. "If, in order to be faithful, you have to support a certain stand regarding Russia, asks Rev. Theodore Edquist of the First Congregational Church of Boise, "what's the next step?"[22] Many citizens, along with clerics, question the motivation of MM. Is it strictly moral and religious, or, as many claim, a rightist political pressure group?

The truth may be the latter supposition. Robert Drinan, William Gray, and Richard Kelly are three congressional examples. MM actively pointed to the "lowest possible rating" Drinan and Gray received from *The Christian Voice*'s report card, and the high score achieved by Kelly. *The Voice* is run by Falwell's friend, Gary Jarmin. These scores are important tests of a congressman's voting record, reflecting his stands on abortion, defense, and the budget, issues which influence the vote of many believers. The ratings are purely political, for Drinan is a Catholic priest and Gray is a Baptist minister. The lack of ethical and moral content implied in these ratings is further reflected by the fact that Kelly was convicted in the ABSCAM scandal. Films show him stuffing $25,000 into his pockets and asking "does it show?"[23]

Positions held by MM duplicate many Republican positions. In itself, this is suspect, and condemning for a group which offers itself as moral and apolitical. Falwell's "laundry list" opposes national health insurance, SALT II, welfare increases, and arms reductions. Compassion and morality seem to be absent in these sentiments. This is a serious attack on Falwell, whose razor sharp mind correctly quotes Biblical passages instantly.

"There are more than 300 verses in the Bible on the commitment to the poor, to justice and righteousness," says Rev. Tom Skinner, a born again black activist, "but they are silent on that."[24]

Christian Century also brings Falwell and his group to task. "The Bible is full of passages mandating a concern for the poor—a focus too often lacking in laissez-faire conservative circles. The Bible does not see government as the satanic evil which the conservatives decry; rather the government is a divinely ordained instrument."[25]

The feared development is that the evangelical right equates Christianity with right wing politics, and ignores moral issues such as arms reduction and world hunger.[25] Falwell feels this criticism is merely sour grapes. He points to the success churches had in the 1960's on such issues as Vietnam and civil rights. He argues churches have always been involved in politics, and says that the U.S. Catholic Conference,

Washington Interfaith Staff Council, and the National Council of Churches take stands on such secular issues as food stamps, health insurance, handguns, and employment subsidies.[27]

"Nobody's ever accused the National Council of Churches of mixing religion and politics," Falwell says. "But when 'ol Jerry gets into it, that's violating separation of church and state."[29]

Falwell's chip-on-the-shoulder prevents him from seeing one key difference among his groups and the ones he cited. The latter church groups are strictly lobbying efforts based in Washington. Their sole purpose is lobbying and influencing government. MM, on the other hand, has never clearly defined what type of organization it is. It is passed off as strictly religious, strictly political, both, and neither.

MM, through government, is trying to impose religious values onto society. This may be an admirable, if slightly righteous goal. However, when they mix politics and morality, and associate godliness with their own personal beliefs, the MM becomes a dangerous monster. They mock religious virtue and governmental policy by defining their limits. They decide where one ends and the other begins. While this may be acceptable for the MM as individuals and as a group, it is not right for everyone. Their rights, like the rights of gays and women which the group opposes, end where ours begin. This is a boundary that Falwell has stepped over.

"When you start feeling you've been selected by God, there's a strong danger," says Charles Bergstrom, executive director of the Lutheran Council for Governmental Affairs.[29] According to a leading theologian, Prof. William Hendricks of the Golden Gate Theological Seminary, those who "speak as God instead of for God may be idolatrous at best and blasphemous at worst."[30]

Controversy of this sort does not seem to phase the followers and believers of Jerry Falwell. His personal success is tied to his ability to recruit people to the MM. In terms of those interested in and dependent upon MM, Falwell has been a critical smash.

Falwell's message is popular in its accessibility and simplicity. Over 400,000 members and an estimated 3,000,000 newly registered voters were hooked by his dynamic message and personal charisma.[31] Problems now encountered by man can be solved by returning to God, is the message Falwell preaches. Man is suffering for the decadence of the last ten years, and this decadence must be reversed and morality returned.

> Frustration, confusion, and disappointment over the breakdown of traditional moral standards and the increase of crime and corruption leave many Americans receptive to a message which explains their feelings in terms of anticipation of divine judgment and a betrayal of national heritage. And yet, for the faithful, miracles still occur.[32]

The problems facing America, according to Falwell, are spiritual ones. Increasing numbers of abortions and divorces are symptoms of a cultural malaise. Television, the babysitter for a generation, delights in sex and violence. Education is humanist and secular and America has let itself be overrun by gay rights, women's rights, and children's rights. Man has become too concerned with himself and not enough with God. The cliched catchwords are humanism, atheism, secularism and godlessness.[32] According to Falwell, in a message he constantly repeats, God will return to man when man returns to God.

Their is nothing new or unique in the message that Falwell preaches through the MM. It is usual church fare; for Falwell by vocation and avocation, is a reverend. But, for a man with his political influence, the solutions he offers may be too simple. It does not require Jerry Falwell to tell us that the United States is facing deep, serious, and long lasting problems. They will require years of study and action, serious activities, to overcome. The energy crisis, weak currencies, and stagflation are specific problems mentioned by Falwell, that need solutions. But to fashion a cure, one must understand the cause of the problems, and Falwell has a firm grasp on this. All are caused by God.[34]

Nobody has the right to question the religious beliefs of another. But for Jerry Falwell to imply that God has caused three of the more serious problems in the world, borders on the improbable and leads his followers astray. Falwell has had a history of being vague, simplistic, and a misinterpreter of history. He has a tendency to break problems into neat answers, all is good or bad, black or white, right or wrong. For a group with the self-proclaimed goal of leading American society, and for a group firmly convinced of its own importance, this is a dangerously held belief. Believing in Falwell's message that God has caused our problem and he will redeem us is too simple and too impractical.

Falwell's style is appealing and addictive. He starts off by reassuring his listeners that he is not a fatalist or an alarmist, but that unless man changes his evil ways, we will become extinct in ten years. To get right with God is all that will save us. To get right with God will solve all our problems. It is a simple message, that may be all too simple to believe.

The energy crisis has nothing to do with finite supplies of coal and oil, or even greedy Arabs and oil companies. According to Falwell the crisis is a result of human hedonism, humanism and open secularism. Cutting off our energy is God's way of showing his displeasure. "And I say to you," Falwell cries, "if this nation gets right with God, there'll be adequate energy for whatever our needs are. I do not believe there is a shortage."[35]

Inflation and recession, combined with high interest rates, all lead to an economic condition known as 'stagflation.' "How come we have that problem?"

asks Falwell. "God Almighty has pushed the panic button. He knows how to get us down to our knees."[36]

According to Falwell, it is a return to morality which saves man. A return to the cozy Republican, conservative virtues outlined on his laundry list. He implies a return to simple virtues will solve our problems. Turn away from selfish liberalism, and work hard, pray, don't support SALT or national health insurance, and our problems will end. The sins of abortion, homosexuality, drugs, and sex, all acquired during the liberal 1970's will be redeemed by a return to capitalism, arms build-up and a strong Taiwan. The liberals gave us the "darkest decade in history." Saying that we must turn away from that decline, Falwell is convinced conservatism is the way back to godliness.[37]

Falwell has a habit of misreading and simplifying history. American history buffs can tell you that there was a real fear of the South winning the Civil War and dividing the country. Falwell confidently states that this is a fallacy, as everyone knew the Republic would survive.[38] Flashing ahead 55 years, the United States entry into World War I may have been the act that sealed victory for the allies. Entry just days later may have given the war to Germany. Again, Falwell says that there was no doubt over the outcome of the war. The same scenario and disclaimer are repeated for the Second World War.[39] He has no concern for the real patterns or facts of history.

Historian Falwell tells us that the durability has never been severely tested in its 200 year history. Only now is survivability being questioned, based on the decline during the '70's. The last decade was our darkest, and this decade may be our last to enjoy freedom.[40] The leader of MM once again breaks down complex events into an easy-to-understand, but totally misleading pattern. The same self-serving message is repeated—only faith, belief, and conservative values can save us.

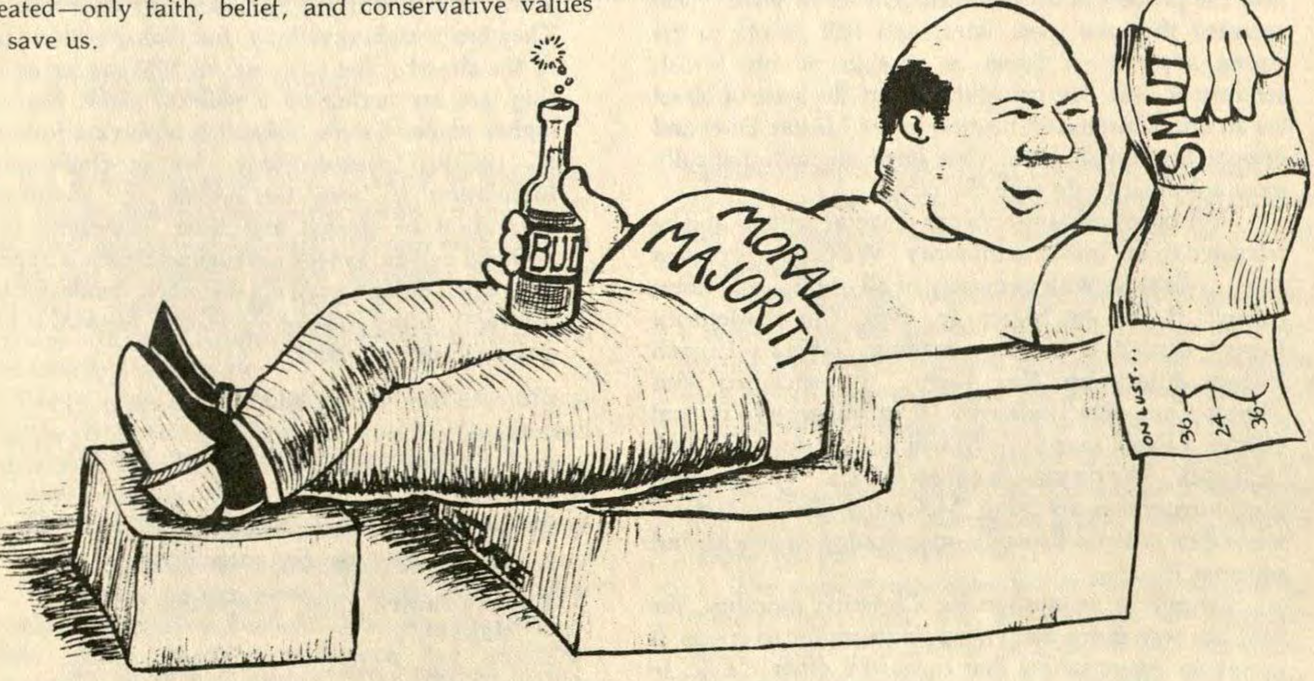
One must ask why Falwell seems determined to offer simple, incongruous solutions to history and current events. His intent is to build up his credibility and hence, to build up MM. Falwell supplies the illusion that he understands the problems facing the world, and that he can offer the correct solutions. His remedy entails simple solutions to complex problems. This is a panacea sought by many, and Falwell becomes a paragon of virtue. The message is clear, and the means are obvious. MM, Jerry Falwell's vehicle to God, is the solution.

Members work towards a common and united goal—the salvation of America. Their intent, righteously correct, is nice to believe in. The MM will save the world from liberals, gays, feminists, arms control, and national health insurance. America must turn away from this path and return to the right path, which is the one preached by Falwell. The MM is right and thus will triumph. Sometimes things do look better in black and white.

Falwell has decried the fact that man is presuming power over God. He has written and spoken out against this evil power of humanism. Falwell has said when man presumes power only held by God that the results are Hitler and abortion.[41] Yet the ability of the MM is founded on the power to dictate what is good and what is evil. There is no gray area—everything is either right or it is wrong. This determining power has ended up in the hands of Falwell.

"To suggest that I am a modern-day Pavlov," writes Falwell, "who, upon ringing my bell causes millions of Americans to salivate to whatever tune I am playing is as illogical as it is ludicrous."[42]

In fact, the message preached by Falwell, despite his protestations, does spur his followers to action.



Once he has engaged the masses, they do in fact react to his dictates, and the results are humorous in their frightening possibilities. When Ronald Reagan uttered the word "damn" in public, he was besieged with letters because Christians do not swear. The same thing happened when Reagan referred to his horoscope, because Christians do not believe in horoscopes. Once the indignation of these evangelical believers is raised, it cannot be controlled.[43]

The power Falwell has may be no more than the influence possessed by an effective preacher over his flock. A good preacher tries to raise the spirit in his congregation, and influence their behavior for the better. By this, the world may be made a better place to live. The question is whether Jerry Falwell is working for everybody, or for his own personal viewpoint? Is Jerry Falwell concerned for America or for Christian America?

"We have neglected to insist that the absolute laws of God form the basis for all our national decisions," claims Falwell. "However, when we choose righteous men who recognize God's sovereignty and are accountable to Him, they will be submissive to and dependent on God . . . ."[44]

Many fear this sounds like the idea for a Christian America. While Falwell has never publicly stated this position, he has hinted at it in various ways. He leaves it to his religious allies to carry on the battle publicly. Pat Robertson, like Falwell, is a television preacher. "We have enough votes to run the country," he says. "And, when the people say we've had enough, we are going to take over."[45] Paul Weyrich has similar sentiments. "We are talking about Christianizing America."[46]

Falwell himself has spurred this fear with his comment about Jews at a press conference during the first week of October 1980. "I believe God . . . does not hear the prayers of unredeemed gentiles or Jews."[47] He recanted this one week later, and still points to his strong support of Israel as a sign of his Jewish sentiments. But, one can still support the state of Israel (as an anti-Communist Bastion in the Middle East) and oppose the Jewish faith. One does not automatically have anything to do with the other.

"We believe that people can disagree with us and be relegated to an 'immoral minority.' We believe a person can . . . disagree with us on any or all our issues," states Falwell. [48] Yet, on March 16, 1981, *Moral Majority Report* carried a headline reading "Liberals Launch Vicious Attack on 'New Right'." It concluded with "Smear Campaign Underway."[49] In response to critical articles, Falwell says the MM will not lay down but will fight back. "We do plan to counterattack."[50] MM claims liberal opponents are using "McCarthy like fear tactics" when they criticize Falwell's organization in articles and cartoons.[51]

Despite its reputation for Christian morality, the MM has been quick and vicious in its replies to critics. It is not an organization that turns the other cheek. In response to an inflammatory ad, run by the ACLU in national newspapers ("IF THE MORAL MAJORITY HAS ITS WAY, YOU'D BETTER START PRAYING), the MM featured an equally inflammatory editorial in response. It states that the ACLU ad is "filled with libel."[52] The MM then ran its own national ad, claiming that the ACLU ad was merely a solicitation for funds. The MM ad similarly ended with an appeal for money.[53]

Normal Lear has organized a group known as People for the American Way, which opposes New Right groups such as MM. Falwell's response to Lear has been to send letters to MM supporters, stating Lear was threatening their existence. Lear has overseen the creation of a series of public service commercials for his group. These ads are highlighted by a 30-second spot called "Eggs," in which people discuss varying ways to enjoy eggs. "The right to have and express your own opinions," intones the voice of the announcer, "freedom of thought. That's the American way."[54]

Again MM fought back, this time creating their own series of commercials. "We simply oppose his (Lear's) use of the public message for a plainly political purpose."[55]

Two words stand out in Thomas' statement. "Plainly/political" are words that best describe the purpose of MM. Falwell has said that his group will remain active and speak out in the future. In the final analysis, MM is a political organization, committed to promoting its own viewpoint. "We may not always be right, but we will never stand accused of doing nothing."[56] While Falwell says he will not always be right, he will always be Right. This is why many wonder whether MM is really moral or a majority?

What is dangerous about the stands MM takes is not that they, above all, are political. The worst factor is that Falwell and his spokesman claim that they are above politics and are speaking only on a moral level. They are preaching politics, but hiding behind the cloak of the church. The followers of MM are led to believe they are not acting on a political plane, but a much higher plane—God's. Falwell is absolving followers of all political responsibility. He is challenging the foundation of two institutions by obscuring the separation of church and state. Appealing to one's political beliefs, as well as religious beliefs is acceptable. But, when defining one via the other, (while disclaiming this fact), in the guise of a preacher, the MM is creating a dangerous precedent.

NOTES

1. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2628.
2. *Christian Century*, March 29, 1978, p. 334.
3. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 35.
4. Jerry Falwell Tape, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority".
5. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 940.

6. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 938.
7. Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority".
8. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 937.
9. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 32.
10. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2631.
11. *New York Times*, March 28, 1981, p. 16.
12. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 36.
13. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 28.
14. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 36.
15. *New York Times*, March 26, 1981, p. B14.
16. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 36.
17. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 28.
18. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2630.
19. Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority".
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 36.
23. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 940.
24. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 36.
25. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, pp. 939-940.
26. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2631.
27. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2633.
28. *Newsweek*, Sept. 10, 1980, p. 31.
29. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2633.
30. *New York Times*, March 26, 1981, p. B14.
31. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2627.
32. *Christian Century*, Oct. 8, 1980, p. 937.
33. Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority".
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority".
42. *Newsweek*, Sept. 21, 1981, p. 17.
43. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2634.
44. Jerry Falwell, *Christians in Government*. pp. 13-14.
45. *U.S. News and World Report*, September 29, 1979, p. 37.
46. *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept. 6, 1980, p. 2629.
47. *Facts on File*, 1980, p. 811.
48. *Newsweek*, Sept. 21, 1981, p. 17.
49. *Moral Majority Report*, March 16, 1981, p. 13.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *New York Times*, March 16, 1981, p. B14.
52. *Moral Majority Report*, Dec. 15, 1980, p. 8.
53. *New York Times*, March 26, 1981, p. B14.
54. *Rolling Stone*, Oct. 1, 1981, p. 18.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Newsweek*, Sept. 21, 1981, p. 17.

Reagan's Financial Aid Cuts: Update

by Patrick Kennedy

The Reagan Administration's policy of fiscal restraint as part of its program for economic recovery will have direct effects upon students through reductions in the amount of Federal monies available for higher education. These cuts are directed toward certain programs and are generally intended to limit benefits to those who are truly needy.

The program which has probably been most affected by the Administration's proposals is the Guaranteed Student Loan Program. Under this program, the Federal government makes loans available to students at relatively low interest rates, financing the difference between the market interest rate and the student's lower rate. This program was originally created by the Higher Education Act of 1965, but was vastly expanded by the Middle Income Student Assistance Act of 1978. Supported by President Carter as an alternative to the Packwood-Moynihan tuition tax credit proposal, this bill removed the family income ceiling of $25,000 that had previously restricted eligibility under the student loan program.

With eligibility requirements literally nonexistent, it is easy to see the appeal that such loans had to upper-income borrowers. Families in high-income categories were free to borrow funds at the low interest rates and reinvest them at market rates, with Uncle Sam, in effect, paying the difference. The amount of money spent upon this program led President Carter to call for a tightening up of loans in 1980, a course of action which President Reagan has put into practice.

The steps being taken to do this include raising interest rates and the reimposition of eligibility requirements. The interest on loans to new borrowers has already risen from 7% to 9% annually, and interest

rates for the separate parent loan program will rise from 9% to 14% as of October 1. Even more important, as of the same date loans will be available only to students in families with incomes under $30,000; a family with an income that exceeds this amount will have to demonstrate financial need. As to what constitutes financial need, we are not yet sure. Loan guidelines will be promulgated by the Department of Education sometime in the near future (hopefully) at which time a majority of either house of Congress may veto the proposed rules.

Another program which will undergo substantial renovation is the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant. Money received under this program is given to lower-income students to help finance their education and, unlike the loan program, need not be repaid.

Under the Pell Grant program, maximum and minimum grant amounts are set by the Federal government (prior to the passage of the Education Amendments of 1980 these amounts were $1,750 and $200 respectively). The government then determines an eligibility index for a student, which is basically a measure of what one's family is expected to contribute to the student's education, and subtracts the student eligibility amount from the maximum grant amount to calculate how large a student's Pell Grant will be. For instance, if a student's family share is determined to be $1,350 and the maximum grant is $1,750, a student will receive a Pell Grant of $400. A family with an eligibility index of more than $1,550 last year would be ineligible for a Pell Grant due to the fact that the grant would be less than the $200 minimum.

. . . Education funding has been affected not only by the need for fiscal austerity in the budget as a whole, but also by the financial straits that the Social Security program is in.

This year, however, the maximum and minimum grants have been cut by $80 by the Educational Amendments of 1980 to $1,670 and $120 respectively, meaning, in effect, an $80 cut in Pell Grants across the board, although there is no change in the $1,550 cut-off point. Although this reduction was enacted by the Carter Administration, the Reagan Administration has also effectively cut the program by dropping its indexation to the inflation rate. The increased eligibility of students under the MISA Act of 1978, which allowed families with incomes of up to $25,000 to participate in the program, is also coming under attack from Congress, which is studying committee proposals to cut eligibility standards to as low as $18,000.

As with the Guaranteed Student Loan program, it is hard to calculate with certainty the effects that the cutbacks in funding will have because the Education Department has not issued any new student eligibility guidelines yet to deal with them. This is complicated by the fact that the department is seeking the repeal of recent legislation requiring the use of the same formula to determine eligibility for Pell Grants as is used in determining eligibility under the campus-based aid programs. This requirement will not go into effect until the 1982-83 school year, but the department would like to be able to continue the current practice of maintaining a separate formula for Pell Grants so as to be able to impose a stricter needs tests for them than for the campus-based programs.

The campus-based aid programs are National Direct Student Loans, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and the Campus Work-Study program. The National Direct Student Loan program provides very low-interest loans to students directly through the college and is not to be confused with the previously-mentioned Guaranteed Student Loan program, which provides loans through banks. The NDSL program is considered relatively safe from Reagan budget cuts because it had already been cut sharply by the previous administration, increasing annual interest rates from 3% to 5% over the past two years (rates that are still less than usurious to be sure). The only other recent changes in this program accelerate the repayment of outstanding loans after a student graduates.

The Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant, or SEOG, is a grant program that is administered through the college. The future of this program is somewhat uncertain. Although previous budget-cutting had for the most part spared SEOG, the Senate subcommittee handling education appropriations has targeted the program for a 40% cut. As for Work-Study, there are no plans for reductions as of this writing.

There is one program coming into existence that will supplement existing student aid programs. This is the recent parent loan program passed by Congress last year under the acronym PLUS (Parent Loans for Undergraduate Students). However, because the program needed enabling legislation to take effect, it was initially only available to people in Massachusetts, although many states have passed the necessary legislation by now. The program is now being expanded to include graduate students (with the name being changed to Auxiliary Loans for Assistance to Students or ALAS) and the rates rise from 9% to 14% effective October 1. In case you are wondering why so many of these changes take effect on this date, October 1 is the beginning of the new fiscal year, and is the starting date for most of the spending and tax reductions passed into law this summer.

Education funding has been affected not only by the need for fiscal austerity in the budget as a whole, but also by the financial straits the the Social Security program is in. One of the additions to the Social Security program passed in the 1950's and 1960's was the Student Benefit Program started in 1965. This program paid college expenses for students who had a working parent who died, retired, or became disabled. The Administration contends that it is necessary to eliminate the program because it is a drain on the Social Security system, makes payments that do not reflect student's incomes or expenses, and duplicates existing student aid programs. The Administration's proposal is to add no new beneficiaries to the program and to cut current beneficiaries by 25% each year. Although beneficiaries of this program are being cut very sharply, they still may be eligible for other forms of student aid.

Not all of the Administration's education aid policies involve cuts in benefits through reductions in spending. One proposal that has been endorsed by President Reagan is the concept of providing student aid through tax relief. I refer, of course, to the Administration's support of tuition tax credits as embodied in the Packwood-Moynihan-Roth Bill and similar measure now before the Congress.

Tuition tax credits have never been passed into law but the "threat" of their passage in 1978 acted as a spur for the enactment of the Middle Income Student Assistance Act. Under the Packwood-Moynihan bill, a family may deduct half of a student's tuition, up to a maximum of $500, from its tax bill. This applies not only to private colleges, but also to public institutions of higher learning, vocational and technical schools, and private elementary and secondary schools. Hence, debate over this proposal encompasses many more issues than those just affecting college students. Private higher educational institutions tend to oppose tuition tax credits as an alternative to current forms of funding such as loans and grants because they feel that loans and grants are more beneficial to institutions have have to charge high tuition rates in relation tho those charged by publically subsidized colleges.

The President's program is obviously one that will require a certain degree of sacrifice from students, as it will from everyone else. The Guaranteed Student Loan Program is the program which the Administration has cut the most so far, although the Pell Grants seem to be targeted for heavy trimming. The programs that will probably suffer the least are the National Direct Student Loan Program and the College Work-Study Program, although the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants may be affected. The Administration can also be expected to pursue the idea of financing student aid for middle-income students through reductions in taxes rather than increases in government spending. Finally, the picture is clouded by the need for further reductions in Federal spending to prevent the deficit from swelling, the implications of which have only begun to be debated as of this writing. In short, the next few years will probably be trying ones for college administrators, who will have to adjust to substantial changes in our nation's educational policy.

POLAND'S NATIONALISM?

BY KAREN KRAMER

What began fourteen months ago as a spontaneous worker's protest against arbitrary price increases has become a political and social revolution of immense proportions. This revolution, led by the independent trade union Solidarity, has been swift and bloodless as a result of its incredibly loyal and disciplined backing. This revolution is by no means an accident. The impetus to revolt existed and needed only to be actualized.

Nevertheless, there are two striking features which make this revolution unique in Communist Polish history. Foremost is that this is the first time Poland has experienced a protest led by the workers with the support of the intelligentsia. Not to mention that "the militancy of the workers outstrips that of their leaders . . . many dissidents who have spent years behind bars." (John Barton, "The Polish Awakening", *New York Times*, June 16, 1981)

The second feature is that with the exception of the first Polish uprising in 1956, when university students and intellectuals rose up in protest against government censorship and an increasingly restrictive cultural policy, uprisings in Poland have been centered around economic grievances. These uprisings have also been a response to questions concerning the distribution of welfare specifically in regard to participation and legitimacy.

In this protest economic reform is not the only demand that the Solidarity movement has made, nor do these economic grievances alone account for the spirit behind this revolt. There are three underlying factors accounting for this spirit, which have been cited by John Darton of the *New York Times*. The first of these factors is the increase of contact between the West and Poland. As a result many Poles are reminded of their past and temporary freedoms. The second factor is the election of Cardinal Karoli Wojtiva as Pope and his visit to Poland in 1979. This has proved to add fervor and dimension to the spirituality of the Solidarity move-

ment. Finally, the deteriorating economy made it more difficult for the workers to sublimate their energies in material pursuits. John Darton suggests that the Polish Nationalism, potent in the 1950's, has resurfaced and is yet another driving force behind the movement.

. . . The movement began with the intent of voicing the wrongs that had been inflicted on the workers and evolved into a mass movement to amend the injustices imposed upon the rest of the Polish society.

John Darton traces the emergence of the Solidarity movement through several phases. The movement began with the intent of voicing the wrongs that had been inflicted on the workers and then, evolved into a mass movement to amend the injustices imposed upon the rest of the Polish society. Darton states, "Now it is assuming the dimensions of a movement for National liberation. At first, the nationalism was directed against the Communist Party and government, as surrogates for the Soviets. Mocking tee-shirts appeared proclaiming the wearer to be Element Antysocialistyczny (anti-socialist element)." The mood shifted and Polish Nationalism found its proper target, the Soviet Union, when Warsaw Pact troops began circling around the country as well as inside. After all, Government, Union, and Church were in this together.

Pride and Nationalism are two prominent Polish characteristics. Another characteristic which is pertinent to this case is the deeply rooted dislike and mistrust of authority. This distrust of authority is largely responsible for the failure of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the official name of the Communist Party, to penetrate the Polish society. The fact that Nationalism is a major force behind this movement means that the Communist Party is not just confronted with an uprising led by the trade union, which is 9.5 million strong, but must take into account that the whole population is involved. The strength and magnitude of this reform movement has made Poland one of the freest nations in Communist Eastern Europe. Today there are relatively few restraints on what is stated publicly and the restrictions on the content of publications has been reduced as well. "This is not so much the result of a new law limiting censorship—in which the greatest breakthrough is provisions for appeal from a censor's decision—as it is the effect of unremitting public pressure for unadulterated news and a flood of new publications." (John Darton, "Poland, One Year Later, Is a Society Transformed", *New York Times*, August 31, 1981)

Unfortunately, Poland is severely crippled economically, as it heads for a zero growth rate for the third year in a row. Due to the state of the economy the freedoms that the Solidarity movement is pushing for are hard to actualize. Food lines are growing and supplies, although better in the past four weeks, have been dwindling. Rationing has been implemented for all items in high demand, such as meat, butter, flour, cigarettes and alcohol. Ten years of mismanagement by the regime of Edwerk Gierek, Party leader from 1970-1980, has left Poland in debt to the West for a sum total of 2.7 billion dollars.

Solidarity, created and led by Lech Walsea, has unquestionably been the main force behind the attempts at change. After Union protests gained a five day work week, the precedent and Solidarity's support helped 3.5 million private farmers win the right to their own independent union, Rural Solidarity. University students also won the right to their own independent Students Association. The Student Association served as a connection between membership in Communist youth organizations and career advancement, formerly a major source of control by the PUWP.

In the coming months, Solidarity's demands and actions will determine whether Poland is capable of providing its 35 million people with bread and freedom while at the same time avoiding bankruptcy.

Solidarity, having just finished the second stage of their National Convention, with the re-election of Lech Walsea as chairman, is faced with what could prove to be some rough times. The movement must reach an agreement among the Solidarity factions on compromises of their present demands to the PUWP. At the convention union leaders backed down on their original demand to give the workers, through workers' councils, the right to appoint the manager of enterprises instead of the government. It should be noted that in practice these jobs are filled under a system known as nomenclature, which reserves key positions for party-approved personnel. Instead the union leaders compromised by allowing the government to keep this right if the regime granted the workers a veto power. The Polish government called this compromise "a step towards realism." Some of the delegates felt that the leaders had no right to reach such an agreement without the consent or approval of the Congress or at least the governing national commission. There were only four people, including Lech Walsea, who were involved in this decision. The more radical members in positions of leadership proposed their own compromise to the National Convention.

Solidarity's leadership is moderate at the top level, radical throughout the middle and mixed down at the lower levels. Despite these riffs, most members are still keenly aware that unity is paramount in maintaining support in the face of the miserable economic condition, as well as the warnings of the Soviet Union.

Another major contention the movement has with the government involves access to the State media. Although Solidarity has its own national weekly and over 280 local bulletins, its publications are not distributed through the state-owned outlets. As a result in order to get one of these publications the people have to go to the local Solidarity headquarters. Meanwhile, the population is exposed to a flood of distorted reports on the evening news. In a recent meeting with a group of workers Stanislav Kania, Head of the PUWP, brought up the issue of workers self-management. Until recently, this issue has been at the forefront of the union's demands. Not surprisingly, the notion of workers self-management goes to the heart of basic economic changes. Thus far, over fifty major enterprises have already instituted a form of self-management via workers councils. These are joined together in a loose organization called "the network."

Kania stressed the point that in a communist society it was appropriate for the party to control such an essential power center as the media. He stated furthermore that "the mass media cannot be apolitical." The Roman Catholic Church has sided with Solidarity in opposition to Kania on the nature of the press. In a message read in churches throughout the country, the conference of Bishops asserted, "It is inadmissable to limit freedom of expression merely because the views expressed contain truths that are inconvenient for or in disagreement with ideas of certain groups."

Along with public control over the media and an eventual end to censorship other demands were voiced at the union's National Convention which included a call for a democratic election to Parliament and Poland's entrance to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Solidarity movement also offered its support in the formation of independent trade unions throughout Eastern Europe. These demands infuriated Communist officials in all the Eastern-Bloc countries. The Soviet Union retaliated with a statement that suggested that "anti-Sovietism" was on the rise and something must be done about it.

. . . the PUWP sharply criticized and accused Solidarity of acting as a political opponent pushing Poland toward a "new national tragedy."

On September 8, in order to appease the Soviets, the PUWP sharply criticized and accused Solidarity of acting as a political opponent pushing Poland toward a "new national tragedy." The government also stated that it was prepared to take "definite measures that might become necessary for the defense of Socialism."

The PUWP is in a precarious position for on the one hand it must maintain a strong outward stance to appease the Soviets to prevent them from cutting off economic aid, which would devastate the country. It is also important to appease the Soviets in order to avoid an invasion, which would ultimately lead to the ouster of the present leaders. On the other hand, the Polish government must reach some sort of conciliation with Solidarity or it risks the threat of further strikes as well as economic setbacks which would only increase civil strife which is potentially more dangerous.

What are the chances that the Soviet Union would take direct military action against Poland? To most observers the chances are slim due to a number of reasons. Foremost of these is that the Poles, including a portion of the Polish army, would fight a Soviet military takeover. Furthermore, the drain of 85,000 soldiers in Afganistan and over one third of the Red army on the front of the Peoples Republic of China would engage the Soviet forces on three fronts. "There would also be severe ideological effects. Even if Moscow could keep its own citizens from comprehending that it was fighting the very masses in whose name it says it rules, the Kremlin's claim to legitimacy would be hollowed before the rest of the world." (Flora Lewis, *New York Times*, July 19, 1981) It would also destroy any hope of Soviet strategic arms limitations talks with the Reagan administration and ruin any immediate chances for detente. More importantly, a military invasion is not necessary. There is no immediate threat to the Soviet's strategic position, and no one in the Solidarity leadership is seriously questioning Poland's status as a Communist country or a member of the Warsaw Pact. The only tactic the Kremlin might use to keep the Poles in line will be reductions of economic aid as well as trade. The Soviets in late September threatened to cut vital supplies of petroleum, natural gas and cotton. This approach might bring about a more conciliatory attitude from the Polish government and make it easier for the hardliners to usurp power. On the other hand this type of maneuver could further aggravate the tense situation which could potentially lead to a civil war. At the same time the re-establishment of control would eventually require an enormous Soviet subsidy to rejuvenate Polish production. Meanwhile, the Soviet credit rating would suffer throughout the world leaving them in a new position of isolation due to their limited resources.

As for Poland's dismal economy, "Poland has the industrial capacity and the skilled labor force to come back quickly." In order to revitalize the economy the Polish government must be willing to implement social and political reforms. A reversal of this downward trend in the economy seems unlikely unless the economy collapses or a counter revolution of the same speed and magnitude is instigated. The Poles are faced with a tense and uncertain future; however, they are fighting for themselves and the future of their nation which demonstrates great strength and spirit.

TRUTH IN TESTING

BY LARRY KRONICK

Calling standardized tests "imprecise and open to potential misinterpretation and misuse," on July 13, 1979 New York Governor Hugh Carey signed into law the nation's most comprehensive piece of test disclosure legislation. The Governor signed the law despite what columnist Jack Anderson called "an intense well-financed campaign against it by the Educational Testing Service and its sister agency, The College Board." During the legislative struggle to enact the bill most of the debate focused on the industry's claims that Truth-in-Testing would destroy their tests' validity and would increase test fees by as much as $35.60. Today the discussion has shifted from these issues to the ambiguity and cultural biases of the actual items on these multiple choice tests.

Truth-in-Testing legislation was advocated by the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), an organization financed and run by students. NYPIRG became interested in testing after receiving repeated reports from students that their tests were improperly scored, reported or administered. Further research by NYPIRG staff revealed that although an enormous amount of emphasis was placed on these exams in the college admissions process, few admissions officials, and fewer students understood how the tests were developed or how scores should be interpreted and used.

Truth-in-Testing is primarily disclosure legislation requiring the testing industry to provide students and researchers with some basic information about how standardized tests are constructed and scored. Specifically, the law mandates that the publishers of college and professional school tests:

1. provide to test-takers, upon request, and at cost, a copy of the questions scored, their individual answer sheets and the correct answers;
2. file with the Commissioner of Education a copy of the test questions, the acceptable answers, and all studies relating to their tests' reliability, validity and possible cultural bias; and
3. inform test-takers of the purpose of the test, policies concerning scoring errors, length of time that test scores are kept on file, and the actual relationship between test scores and the performance they purport to predict.

ETS and The College Entrance Examination Board, the bill's major opponents, and their lobbyists argued that testing was a very complex technical issue that could not be dealt with through legislation. There were few, if any, problems with testing, they argued, so the legislation was not needed. When it became apparent that these arguments were prevailing, opponents of the legislation gave distorted accounts of its effects.

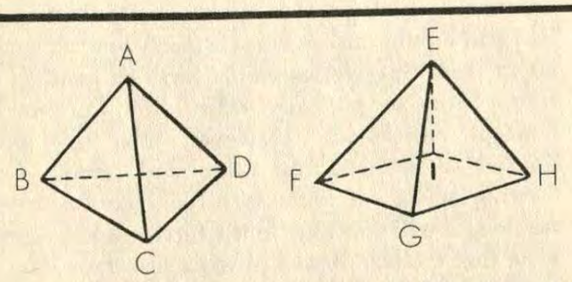
1. Mailgrams and letters were sent by ETS and CEEB to every high school principal and college president in New York, stating that the bill "would seriously disrupt equating procedures," when in fact questions used solely for equating were specifically exempted from the bill. (Equating is the process of making tests given at different times comparable to each other.)
2. An ETS "Memorandum-in-Opposition" was circulated to New York legislators and educators (May and June 1979) stating that the New York Truth-in-Testing bill would require public filing of "all statistical data and reports" by the testing companies including "confidential information . . . about test subjects," when in fact the bill mandated that no information identifiable with the test subjects be disclosed.
3. On June 13, 1979, the day before the New York Senate was to vote on the bill, ETS distributed another "Memorandum-in-Opposition" to all New York legislators. This Memorandum stated that the legislation would "drastically increase the cost of the test by as much as $35.60" because ETS would have to make up new test questions for each administration of the test. NYPIRG researchers countered this assertion in two ways: first, by forcing ETS to acknowledge that even without the Truth-in-Testing law 70 percent of the items were created for each examination; second, by distributing an internal ETS cost analysis which revealed that only 5 percent of student test fees were applied to writing questions.

ETS' and CEEB's distortion of the facts clearly backfired, for it enabled Truth-in-Testing supporters to illustrate graphically the need for disclosure legislation which in turn resulted in this law being enacted.

Instead of trying to make the law work, ETS and CEEB continued their efforts to undermine it. They made it extremely difficult for students to obtain materials made available by the law, requiring a separate request form to be filled out and charging those who requested the information an additional $4.76. In addition, they failed to adequately inform students or educators that additional materials were now available. George Hanford, president of the College Board, told *The New York Times* after the bill was enacted: "Why should we go out of our way to push something we don't think is useful?"

The reaction of the Law School Admissions Council (LSAC), sponsor of the Law School Admissions Test, was much more favorable. They broke with the ETS and the College Board policies and informed students of their rights and extended the benefits of New York's law to students throughout the United States. The Law School Admissions Council, initially enabled students to receive additional information free of charge, requiring those individuals who wanted the materials to check a box on the registration form.

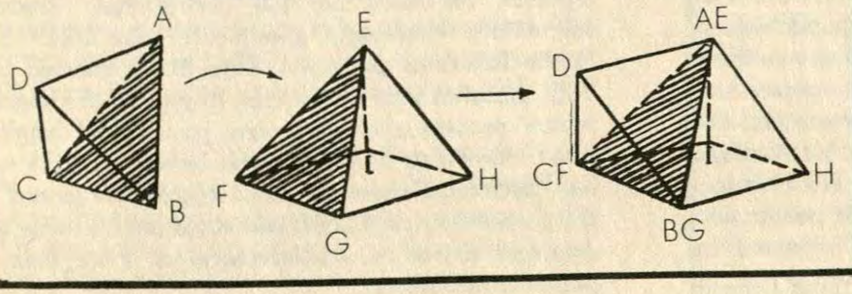
After 65 percent of those taking the May 1980 LSAT requested the information provided by the law, the LSAC in an effort to make compliance costs effective decided to make disclosure not only national but mandatory. Starting next year all test-takers will receive a copy of the questions scored as well as a copy of their answers. Bruce Zimmer, Executive Director of the LSAC stated: "The type of persons who apply to Law School are quite interested in their individual rights."



Depending on whether the faces considered are those of the original two solids or those of the combined solid, both choices (A) Five and (C) Seven have merit as correct answers. When the question was originally scored, only choice C was considered correct. Although seven of the original faces remain exposed, the solid that results if face ABC is placed on EFG contains but five distinguishable faces. Some of the faces of the original figures (for example, faces ABD and EGH in the diagram on the bottom) lie in the same plane and form a parallelogram when the solids are placed together. The diagram provides an illustration.

In pyramids ABCD and EFGHI shown above, all faces except base FGHI are equilateral triangles of equal size. If face ABC were placed on face EFG so that the vertices of the triangles coincide, how many exposed faces would the resulting solid have?

(A) Five (B) Six (C) Seven (D) Eight (E) Nine



Recent events have caused ETS and the rest of the testing industry to reevaluate their position with respect to compliance. Prior to the enactment of Truth-in-Testing in New York, students had little if any way of detecting or proving that there was any problem with test items or reported scores. In fact, ETS claimed that they were virtually infallible. Since the enactment of the law, errors affecting the scores of nearly one-half million students have been discovered. Six different categories of errors have been brought to light: administrative errors, factually incorrect questions, scoring errors, reporting errors, ambiguous questions, and biased test items.

The first error detected after the passage of the law was discovered by a Pittsford, N.Y., high school student. He wrote ETS pointing out that one of the test's reading-comprehension passages that dealt with how migrating birds navigate was incorrect. "Reading false statements does tend to jar one's senses," he said, "possibly causing errors to be made in answering the questions."

Next, Michael Simon, a recent graduate of Columbia University's Masters Program in International Affairs, who took the LSAT last summer wrote ETS that their computer had incorrectly marked a "no answer" in five places where he had entered a reply.

Similarly a graduate of Arizona University now a New York resident took the LSAT in February, 1981. Approximately three weeks later she received a score of 564 on a scale of 200-800. Several weeks later she received a copy of the questions scored, her answer sheet, and the correct answers to the questions. When computing her score from the information provided she found that her score was actually a 624, 60 points higher than the LSAT had reported. After several re-checks she phoned ETS, which acknowledged its mistake claiming a computer had erred. ETS then issued corrected reports to the law schools to which she had applied.

Without Truth-in-Testing, errors like these probably would never have been discovered. In April 1980 NYPIRG and the Committee for Fair and Open Testing in an effort to determine the frequency of such occurrences, sent questionnaires to the nine major testing companies asking for information. To date they have received responses from two agencies: the College

Board and the Graduate Records Examination Board. Both letters acknowledged the request and stated that further information would be forthcoming. Unfortunately NYPIRG and the Committee have received no further information.

The fourth error discovered got quite a reception, making the front page of *The New York Times* of March 17, 1981. Danial Lowen, a 17-year-old Cocoa Beach, Florida, high school student, proved that the correct answer to a question from PSAT of October 21, 1981, was inferior to another. Senior Vice President for Testing Programs at ETS told *The New York Times* that the question was "a lousy item." Why ETS and the College Board kept this error a secret for three months still remains unknown. Could it be that this information could have had a profound effect on pending legislation?

The October 1980 PSAT was the first PSAT ever released to the public. The release of the test was a result of a new College Board disclosure policy introduced due to the increasingly apparent success of Truth-in-Testing in New York and the impending threat of the passage of a similar bill by one of the many other states considering this type of legislation.

Mr. Lowen's discovery resulted in 240,000 students' test scores being upgraded, 60 additional students being awarded financial scholarships and over 100 additional "letters of commendation" being awarded by the multimillion dollar National Merit Scholarship Program who annually awards students with high PSAT scores.

In addition, the test Mr. Lowen had taken was made up of old SAT's. Robert Moultrop, ETS spokesman estimated that the scores of about 80,000 of the 316,000 persons who took tests using the "lousy item" in recent years should probably be raised by as much as 10 points. Their scores have never been corrected.

Mr. Lowen's discovery to quote a *New York Times* headline, opened a "Pandora's Box". The *Times* and the testing companies received a "deluge of letters" suggesting a variety of new answers to the same questions. E. Bevin Williams, Director of Test Development at ETS in response to queries on the legitimacy of alternative solutions presented in the correspondence said with a shrug, "It seems as if every answer was correct except ours."

Just one week later on March 23, 1981 the fifth mistake, discovered by Michael Galligan, was announced by ETS. Galligan, a senior at Clarkstown South High School in New City, New York, discovered the error on the October SAT. Again the public was not informed until well after the error was discovered and rescored. In a letter to ETS, Mr. Galligan pointed out that a question about intergers on the exam had two correct answers. Despite admitting that Mr. Galligan was correct, Ernest Kimmel, Director of Test Development for ETS, declared, "We know the people who chose C (the other correct answer discovered by Galligan) were less able: they skipped over the obvious answer."

As a result of Mr. Galligan's discovery about 16,000 of some 84,000 "less able" test-takers in New York State had their scores increased and several hundred thus qualified for state scholarships worth $1,000 over a four year period.

Mr. Lowen's discovery coupled with Mr. Galligan's caused quite a disturbance in the testing industry. Just three days later, the College Board Trustees, faced with convincing evidence that opening up the testing process had and would improve test quality, not to mention the effect these discoveries would have on pending legislation, voted to partially extend the Truth-in-Testing concept nationwide. However, their new policy is limited to selected test dates and, unlike Truth-in-Testing legislation, provides no concrete guarantees that disclosure will continue in the future. It is interesting to note that College Board officials just three days earlier testified against Truth-in-Testing in both Massachusetts and Florida.

Many things concerning the sixth and seventh mistakes which occurred on the GRE in advanced engineering and advanced psychology are still unexplained. Both questions, according to ETS, were not released by the GRE Board because of the possibility of the questions being reworded and used in future administrations of these exams. Who discovered the errors is also open to debate. Edward Fiske, *New York Times* reporter, on April 28, 1981 wrote that, "students successfully challenged questions on the GRE." ETS Public Relations person Marilyn Ballis claimed that both mistakes were discovered as part of the ongoing review process after they were printed and administered. Assuming Mr. Fiske was correct students who had discovered these mistakes would have gained no satisfaction, for the GRE Board voted not to change any incorrect scores unless differences of more than 10 points would result.

Ms. Ballis, in reference to the two errors remarked, "it was only a matter of 4 points" and "was not statistically significant." Robert Altman, acting Vice President for Higher Education Programs at ETS in defense of the Board's decision stated, "We continually tell colleges that it is dangerous to make judgments about students on the basis of 10 point differences. If we sent out corrections of this magnitude, it would contradict everything we have been telling them." When asked about the GRE Board's decision, Thomas White, President of the LSAS remarked, "I wouldn't want to apply the same logic to our test or to the SAT. There are instances, even if we do not consider them justified, in which 10 points can have an impact on a person's educational opportunities."

. . . Currently 25 states are considering a variety of forms of Truth-in-Testing legislation . . . ETS and CEEB have spent thousands of dollars on high priced lobbyists to prevent these states and Congress from extending the benefits of Truth-in-Testing to their constituents.

A recent FTC report entitled, "Coaching for Standardized Admissions Tests" reported that 42% of the private four year colleges and 37.9% of the public four year colleges responding (to their survey) indicated that they had minimum SAT score requirements below which applicants generally are not considered eligible for admission." In addition, although test-makers "discourage" the use of cut-off scores, preliminary selection for National Merit Scholarships are based on "cut-off" scores on the PSAT. Finally, according to Bevin Williams, the testing industry is not always aware of how test scores are used. He stated, "As long as there is any chance that not rescoring will affect any individual, then it is irresponsible not to do so."

Of the 23,200 students who took the February 21 administration of the LSAT, almost 22,000 had to have their scores changed. The eighth error was discovered by Christopher Laucks of Brookline, Massachusetts, when he realized that there were two possible answers to a geometry question on the exam (see diagram). The discovery resulted in 15,000 students' scores increasing, 6,600 scores decreasing, and 1,600 scores remaining the same.

Three days after the mistake was reported, the LSAC, which represents 171 law schools approved by the American Bar Association and is the sponsor of the LSAT, announced drastic changes in the structure and scoring of the LSAT. According to the Associated Press, beginning in the summer of 1982 students taking the SAT would no longer be required to correct ungrammatical sentences or solve geometry and other "quantitative" math questions. Also the scale used to report LSAT scores (200-800) would be replaced by a scale ranging from 10-50. Bruce Zimmer explained the council's actions are an effort to "discourage the use of small score differences to shape admissions decisions. "It is important to note that generally Law Schools place 60 to 70 percent of their emphasis in admissions on LSAT scores. Only 30 to 40 percent is placed on other criteria, like GPA and extra-curricular activities.

In the short period since its enaction in New York, Truth-in-Testing legislation has caused momentous changes in the testing process, but by no means is it the solution to the problem. Granted, there is now an effective law which guarantees that almost the entire testing process be open to public scrutiny, yet only test-takers in New York State can be sure that this disclosure will continue.

Currently 25 states are considering a variety of forms of Truth-in-Testing legislation and the U.S. Congress has recently completed two days of hearings

— How to Order Tests —

As a result of New York State's Truth-in-Testing Law, copies of actual standardized tests are now available to the general public.

• Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)—The four SATs disclosed in New York State from administration in the January-June 1980 period are available by writing to College Board Publication Orders, Box 2815, Princeton, N.J., 08541. Request a copy of *Four SATs* with $3.00 per copy prepayments.

• Graduate Record Examinations (GRE)—GREs may be ordered by using the order form in the Bulletin, which gives dates the tests will be available, or by letter to Graduate Record Examinations, Box 955-A, Princeton, N.J. 08541 for $2.00, prepaid. Also available in the same way—by order form or letter—are the two GREs disclosed in the January-June 1980 period, now published together for $3.00 prepaid.

• Law School Admission Test (LSAT)—May be ordered by writing to the Law School Admission Service, Box 2000, Newtown, PA 18940: Send $4.00 prepaid.

• Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT)—"By policy cf the graduate Management Admission Council disclosed tests are not available to noncandidates." (There are sample questions in the Bulletin; a full test is in the Guide to Management Education, available through bookstores at $5.00, or by order form in Bulletin or letter to ETS for $4.00; Graduate Management Admission Test, Educational Testing Service, Box 966-R, Princeton, N.J. 08541).

on the Federal version of the New York Truth-in-Testing law. ETS and CEEB have spent thousands of dollars on high priced lobbyists, to prevent these states and Congress from extending the benefits of Truth-in-Testing to their constituents. Testing lobbies in other states have continued their efforts despite the College Board's new disclosure policies presenting questionable arguments against the bills. For example:

1. they claimed that the New York law would be repealed, when in fact the legislature in New York never considered such action.
2. legislators in other states were told that Truth-in-Testing is really a federal issue; when at the same time ETS lobbyists were telling members of Congress considering the bill that the Federal government had no right to interfere in education; and
3. the cost of administration of the law would be in the area of 50,000 dollars when in fact the New York State legislature for the past two fiscal years has budgeted absolutely nothing for the law's administration.

The ultimate solution to the problem of disclosure is for the Federal government to enact a nationwide Truth-in-Testing law eliminating the difficulties the testing industry faces having to comply with a variety of forms of state legislation. However, statewide efforts should continue until a federal bill is enacted. In addition, with the apparent success of this legislation in dealing with standardized admissions tests it seems logical to extend the disclosure provisions to both elementary and secondary tests as well as licensing and employment tests.

A New Breed of Conservatives on Campus

by Bill Butterly

Typical of young conservative political organizations today is lack of the concerted, attention-getting activity that characterized the rebelliousness of the 1960's. While it would seem that student concern over major issues has decreased in recent years, that may not actually be the case. What has declined considerably, is the rabble-rousing public facade of rallies, speeches, demonstrations and sit-ins. The decline has occurred both on the left and on the right.

Among young conservatives, a certain maturity is observed which channels their action into quieter and more productive avenues of political activity. But, to understand the maturation process which today's young conservative has undergone and to make the comparison with the 60's era, one must first understand the setting within which young conservative political activity began.

Modern American conservatism, has its roots in the 1940's, during the immediate post-war period. At this time conservative intellectuals such as Russell Kuh, James Burnham, Richard Weaver and Les Strauss began to pen the polemics which would influence conservatives in the ensuing three decades.

It was principally William F. Buckley Jr., as a Yale student in the early 1950's, who began to shape the organizational structure of conservative youth politics. In his book *God and Man at Yale* he accused the Yale faculty, as well as college faculties in general, of adhering to a relativist philosophy. This belief in transcendental human rights separated the conservative student from the liberal majority on college campuses and continues to shape student political debates even today.

The first effective conservative student political organization was founded at Yale in the 1950's. The group came to be known as the Party of the Right and consisted of conservative Yale students who met to exchange ideas at social events, open discussions, and formal debates. The group, still active today, was dedicated to the development of the debating skills of its members as well as devotion, defense, and expansion of the principles of conservatism.

The Party of the Right, however, is not a political organization in the sense that it concerns itself with lobbying or organized political functions. The major function of the Party of the Right is to educate not only its members but individuals in the college community.

It was within this context that the principal conservative youth organization, Young Americans for Freedom, was founded. On September 9-11, 1960 several members of the Yale Party of the Right along with William F. Buckley Jr., M. Slanton Evans, Lee Edwards and others, formed the Young Americans for Freedom. They adopted a statement of principles expressing the *raison d'etre* of conservatism, and in order to broaden the base of the YAF set up an operational network utilizing as many outlets of academe as possible.

There were two prevailing points of view which reached a compromise during that September meeting. The story has never been verified, informed rumor speculates that one particular member of the Party of the Right—Richard Schumann, an initial founder of the

Young Americans for Freedom—had hoped to pattern the YAF after the Party of the Right and spread its influence throughout the United States.

The other approach was specifically political. Several conservative members of the Young Republicans had met in a midwestern hotel room to devise a scheme to end liberal domination of the Young Republicans organization. They planned to use a vehicle like the Young Americans for Freedom, as: 1) a means of recruiting new conservative, articulate leaders into their organization and 2) a separate vehicle of expression capable of commenting on the activities of the YR. Little hope was then given to the success of their long range plans, which included patterning a takeover of the entire Republican Party after the successful domination of the organization of the Young Republicans. The leaders of the pre-natal conservative youth movement have seen these plans successfully realized.

Although the thrust of the Young Americans for Freedom at the time was primarily educational, the liberal radical rebellion of the 1960's sparked a similar reaction to the issues of the day in the young conservative leaders. The focus of their concern was recruiting numbers of members, and in their immaturity the word "activist" became a measure of commendation. Young conservatives were enthralled with the idea of counter marches and counter demonstrations trying to battle the left on its own turf.

There was little hope of ever matching the ability of the left to arouse public attention. Demonstrations and similar forms of mass protest rarely attract the conservative student because disestablishment is basically inimical to a conservative's instinctive behavior.

With this background, then, the present young conservative organizations are operating on college campuses today. The foremost of these conservative youth organizations is the Young Americans for Freedom. Its present membership is over 88,000 in all fifty states. On August the YAF held their 11th annual national convention in Boston at the Park Plaza Hotel attended by over 500 delegates from local chapters across the nation. Speakers included former YAF leaders, William F. Buckley Jr., James Buckley, Lee Edwards and a number of the members of the Reagan administration, including Ray Donovan and James Watt. One of the principle attractions was special presidential advisor, Lyn Nofzigu. At the convention the delegates adopted a broad platform to supplement their basic statement of purpose originally adopted in 1960 and known as The Sharon Statement.

The organization works on a three tiered basis. There is a National Chairman, James Lacy, elected by the convention delegates, as well as a board of directors comprised of 25 members who are also elected by the convention delegates. The National Chairman appoints State Chairmen, whose primary purpose is the organization of local chapters. Chapters can be incorporated when five or more people agree to enroll in YAF in one locality, and they pay a three dollar membership fee to the National Organization.

Most of the YAF activity occurs at the local level. Local chapters organize activities for YAF members and the general public, including such activities that occur on a regular basis as films, speakers, debates and general recruiting activities. Members are encouraged to involve themselves in local issues through newspapers, radio stations, or local government.

College chapters dominate the local YAF organizations, and have been an effective voice on campuses—though in recent years internal squabbles in the YAF organization have acted as a restraint on the growth of the membership. Even so, the organization boasts 80,000 members nationwide. Contrary to the initial goals of the YAF, they now view the main objective of the group as providing a different perspective on current topics of campus discussion. Their perspective offers an alternative to the predominantly liberal view of the faculty.

An offshoot of the YAF was the Youth for Reagan movement. Early in 1980, the Reagan campaign was persuaded to put $300,000 into a youth movement which provided needed volunteer help. Veteran youth movement organizer, Morton Blackwell, designed the operation; and the former Committee for Responsible Youth Politics (CRYP) leader, Steve Antosh became the National Chairman of the effort. The Youth for Reagan movement was successful in organizing students for Reagan across the country and focused on student registration and mock elections where Reagan would win, primarily for media attention. The leaders of the movement have formed a Youth for Reagan alumna association again headed by Steve Antosh. Antosh contacts all of the members on a monthly basis, primarily to keep track of young political leaders for future campaign efforts.

. . . conservative students have moved away from the attention-getting activity of the 1960's to a more sedate, yet more effective, presence on the college campus.

The Committee for Responsible Youth Politics was organized several years ago by Morton Blackwell. Once a year, the CYRP holds weekend campaign schools in about ten different locations around the country. These campaign schools are intensive two-day seminars on how to organize successfully on college campuses. During the seminars, students with leadership potential are generally asked to work as a youth campaign organizers in various Congressional and Senatorial campaigns. CRYP has become a political arm assisting

campaigns and any of the recent victorious conservative candidates had the assistance of a youth campaign director. These schools are now run by the Leadership Institute, a non-profit foundation set up by the leaders of CRYP.

College Republicans, although not strictly dedicated to conservatism have also become an arm of the conservative youth network. The new Chairman, Jack Abranoff from Massachusetts, has been the instigator of a major membership increase, due primarily to improved organizing methods, increased donations and a changing opinion among students which has made organizations such as this acceptable.

The College Republicans have traditionally been responsible for political work on the campus and, although they perform activities throughout the year, they really 'come alive' between September and November, augmenting local Republican activities.

There is one principal organization dedicated to the greater discussion of conservative principles among students; the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. It was initiated in the 1960's primarily by the same conservative individuals mentioned previously. The ISI publishes two quarterly magazines: the *Intercollegiate Review* and the *Modern Age*. Each issue of the *Intercollegiate Review*, available free to any student, contains several articles concerning major questions of political theory. Some recent topics have been "Tocqueville and American Foreign Policy"; "Is More Economic Equality Better?" and "Language Liberty and Morals".

The *Intercollegiate Review* and *Modern Age* have been mainstays for conservative students, providing them with needed information to define their beliefs. Another journal similar to these is *The Free Man: Ideas on Liberty* published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education in New York. This publication includes articles in defense of classical economic theory. The Foundation conducts two seminars each year for selected college undergraduates, led by noted conservative economic theoreticians who impart to the student a greater understanding of classical economic thinking.

Finally, a new publication, the *Hillsdale Review*, was started by students for students. Contributors are generally conservative students from around the country. Their most recent quarterly was concerned with the attitudes of society on sex—not quite what one would expect from a conservative publication.

One can note from the above organizations and publications, that conservative students have moved away from the attention-getting activity of the 1960's to a more sedate, yet more effective, presence on the college campus. Conservatives are seeking to educate students, as well as expand their impact on campuses to insure that their message is there as an alternative to the left. Thus far they have been successful.

To Do is to Learn

by Senator Christopher Dodd

College presents the rare opportunity to study an academic discipline intensely. Whether you study biology or philosophy, a student leaves college at the end of four years not only with a diploma in hand but also with an understanding of his field. Yet a liberal arts education is, by necessity, limited. One can study political theory—but never have the chance to watch political decision-making in progress. Choosing to participate in a summer or semester internship can change that. An internship can help a student make the leap from scholarship to practice; it is an opportunity to do as well as to study.

Internships on Capitol Hill are much like the apprenticeships of old: a student through observation and practice can learn a particular craft. In this instance, it is the art of legislative procedure. Interns have a first-hand opportunity to witness and participate in the political decision-making of Congress.

The possibilities for an internship are many. A student's stay on the Hill can be with a committee, with a Member of Congress, or with any of the various political caucuses. Responsibilities, pay, and the length of an internship vary from office to office, depending on need and demand. Most Hill offices prefer to work with undergraduate students, although there are graduate students in some offices.

To obtain an internship on the Hill, you can either contact your Representative or Senator directly, or arrange to participate through a university-sponsored program. If your college does not have its own internship program, many other universities do, like the Washington-based American University. Ph.D.'s and mid-career employees can arrange to serve on an intern basis by applying to be a Congressional fellow. Fellows serve anywhere from nine months to a full year, usually researching a project that reflects their academic or professional expertise. There are a number of sponsoring agencies, including the American Political Science Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Pay is variable, depending on the available funds in each office. Funding is available for students wishing to work for a Member of the House through the Lyndon Baines Johnson fellowship. There is no similar program available in the Senate.

I have enjoyed having interns in my office, both when I served as a Representative and now that I am a Senator. They donate not only an extra set of helpful hands around the office, but also bring keen insight to relevant legislative issues. Young and energetic, they frequently provide me and my staff with fresh ideas. In fact, research done by one of my interns this summer has developed into legislation that I am planning to introduce before Congress this fall.

Interns in my office have a variety of duties. Generally college age, they split their time between working with a particular staff member and helping with routine office duties. We try to assign an intern to an area in which he is qualified: Foreign affairs majors, for example, will assist the legislative staff working with me in that area. An intern may help out by reading documents; by preparing memos for the staff and myself; by covering committee hearings; or by preparing a statement on my behalf to be inserted in the *Congressional Record*. The rest of their time is spent doing the valuable, yet inevitably mundane duties of an office: running errands, filing, and helping out with the incredible volume of mail that flows into the office daily.

From time to time interns come into the office wanting to assume substantive research duties without having to take on the responsibilities of day-to-day office work. Many will say to themselves: "Hey, I'm on my way to earning a college degree—why do I have to learn how to sort mail?" What a student does not learn in college is how to work in an office, and that is both the essence and the ultimate value of an internship experience.

Academic life and office life are two entirely different spheres of experience—a lesson that many of us have learned the hard way. In college, students can more or less set their own deadlines, and schedule their own time. In an office, you learn to abide by someone else's deadline as well as to work with a number of people—including your boss. Essential to performing well on a job is learning to manage the details of an office that form its structure—the filing, sorting, and typing that make an office run. Learning how to account for minor details—if not learning how to organize and manage those details—is a valuable learning experience for any student.

To do is to learn. As many current staff members on the Hill can testify, they learned the ins and outs of their current positions by serving as an intern. The internship experience serves as an important link between the academic world of the university and the practical world of business. It is an important link to utilize in today's competitive job market, as well as an opportunity that many of my staff would, from experience, highly recommend.

Interning for Senator Dodd

by Sue Rotatori

The month of January, 1981 was an exciting time to be an intern in Washington, especially in the office of freshman Senator, Christopher Dodd. My experience, as a result, was unique in many ways. Not every intern gets to help arrange the furniture in a Senator's office! But neither does everyone get a chance to attend Cabinet confirmation hearings and inaugural festivities.

I arrived in Senator Dodd's office on January 5, eager to begin my internship, which had been arranged through Connecticut College's Career Counseling January Internship program. I was confronted with a chaotic scene: family, friends and supporters in town for the swearing-in ceremony filled the office to overflowing; furniture, boxes and other evidence of the recent move from the House of Representatives were piled everywhere; press and television crews bustled around, documenting the scene; and above all, the telephone rang incessantly. My first impulse was to catch the first plane home!

The chaos of that first day gradually eased, as furniture was arranged (the interns really did help!), staff members hired, and boxes unpacked. For the interns, this meant the establishment of a somewhat more orderly, organized schedule. We learned the proper method of opening mail, as well as answering the phone (with twenty-four lines, it wasn't all that easy!). These are two of the responsibilities of any intern. While running errands, another key intern task, we discovered the intricacies of the Hill layout—the subway system, the tunnels, the various office buildings.

Despite the establishment of a schedule of routine intern duties, life remained anything but routine. Members of the press frequently came to interview the new Senator, playing havoc with the schedule. Also, this was the time of the confirmation hearings for President Reagan's Cabinet, and much controversy surrounded the nomination of Alexander Haig as Secretary of State. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee which conducted Haig's confirmation hearing, Senator Dodd was very much involved in this controversy. One particularly exciting and hectic day. Mr Haig came to the office to confer with the Senator.

Though not as controversial as the Haig hearing, the confirmation proceedings for James Edwards as Secretary of Energy were of equal importance for me. I was assigned to cover the hearings. This was one of the most rewarding of my task as an intern, for it gave me a real sense of responsibility and importance. I was the Senator's sole representative at the hearing.

Another job that I especially enjoyed was assisting staff members with research. In doing so, I learned the vast extent of the resources available through the Library of Congress, as well as how to take advantage of them. I became familiar with the Congressional Research Service (CRS), an invaluable aid to any Hill office and to an undergraduate social science major.

Letter-writing was another skill that, like most other interns, I developed during my stay on Capitol Hill. Members of Congress receive many requests from constituents, some routine and others quite unusual, and I was often responsible for trying to draft a reply. This might require writing about a particular bill to answer a constituent's question, or sending information on a certain subject to help a student's research.

Throughout my internship, I found the Senator's staff to be friendly, open and helpful. They gave the interns the chance to learn about the inner workings of a congressional office by candidly explaining their roles there, as well as any projects on which they were working. Staffers were always happy to offer their insight into current happenings, and would go out of their way to enrich the interns' experience by providing unique opportunities.

My experience as an intern in Washington was highly satisfying and quite rewarding. I gained a firsthand, behind-the-scenes look at the workings of the government at a truly unique and memorable time. The experience left me eager to return, and with the encouragement of Senator Dodd's accomodating staff, I was able to spend several more enjoyable and valuable weeks in Washington, during March break and part of the summer. These later stays not only increased my familiarity with and interest in the Hill and the way it operates, but also gave me the opportunity to see the government in action at a calmer, more normal time.

Internships in Retrospect

U.S. Probation Office: Washington

by Robyn Wilson

My internship was with the Federal Probation Office located in downtown Washington. I chose this internship in light of the fact that I am planning on attending law school and I have a particular interest in criminal law. This internship provided me with the exposure I needed to the workings of the judicial system. Furthermore, my understanding of the judicial system was primarily from what I had read and I felt it was necessary to complement my classroom work with practical experience.

While interning in Washington, I met and worked with quite a diverse group of people. My status in the Probation Office was that of an Assistant U.S. Probation Officer (AUSPO), consequently I was responsible for becoming familiar with the daily routine of such an officer.

Writing Presentence Reports, gathering a wealth of information concerning the lives of the probationers (i.e. vital statistics, family background, medical records, etc.), cell block interviews, field visits into the homes of the probationers, participating in Nutritional Food programs designed for the probationers were some of the items in the work load. Other aspects of the job which I became familiar with included attending drug abuse programs, work opportunity programs, psychiatric staff conferences, courtroom hearings, and meetings with F.B.I. agents and United States attorneys.

I maintained my own caseload, which consisted of approximately seven probationers. This entailed research on the lives of these people as well as probing into their likes and dislikes. Part of the job necessitated gaining the confidence and trust of these people if I wanted to be an effective part of the rehabilitative process.

The types of cases that come into the office vary greatly. In the past the Probation Office has handled such controversial cases as Abscam and Watergate. However, the majority of the cases that are reviewed come under the heading of street crimes specifically drug abuse, prostitution, rape, etc.

My co-workers were open to my questions and pleasant to work with. I attended AUSPO meetings where unit concerns were expressed. At these meetings I found that my co-workers were enthusiastic as well as receptive to any ideas and opinions that I offered.

The exposure to such a system was not merely a learning process. I realized that I had established contacts with people who are resourceful as well as influential and who could prove to be very beneficial in terms of future job possibilities. It was a learning experience I shall never forget.

Public Defenders Office: Maryland

by Laurie Finklestein

The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution states that "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right . . . to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense." Over the years, the U.S. Supreme Court has rendered several decisions regarding this Sixth Amendment right. The court's major concern in these decisions is the indigent defendant's right to legal services in order to insure a fair and just trial. Presently, every state is required to provide free legal services to all defendants who face the possibility of being incarcerated if convicted. This involves providing legal representation to those who cannot afford legal counsel in both felony and misdemeanor cases. Most states have met these constitutional requirements through either an assigned counsel system or a public defender system.

Prior to 1972, Maryland provided counsel to indigent defendants through the operation of an assigned counsel system. This system proved to be inadequate and, as a result, the Maryland General Assembly established the Office of the Public Defender through enactment of Article 27A of the Maryland Annotated Code. My internship was centered in the city of Baltimore, in the largest branch of Maryland's Public Defender system.

The primary goal of the Office of the Public Defender is to provide defendants with legal representation equal to the quality of representation available to those able to afford private counsel. Those who serve on internships with the Office of the Public Defender perform an important function in terms of meeting these goals.

The overall responsibilities of those who serve on internships with the Office of the Public Defender are varied. They include interviews with defendants (conducted in the office, in the various penal institutions, the courts, the police districts, and any

place else that necessitates action by the office); investigation and interrogation of witnesses when it is required; obtaining offense reports; getting appeal papers and petitions for reduction of sentence signed; and, finally, assisting the attorney in the presentation of his case. This may include preparing papers and reports, as well as attending conferences with other agencies within the legal system.

Initially internships are difficult to secure; however, once they have been attained there is a low turnover rate, especially in terms of summer employment. Initially I served a one month volunteer internship with the office. Subsequently I have worked for three summers on a paid basis. However, because the Public Defender's Office has been one target of the Reagan Administration's budgetary cuts, positions are now somewhat more difficult to secure. When available, however, the office generally offers a good, interesting internship program with varied responsibilities.

Common Cause: Washington

by Laurence Hirsch

In Washington this summer I happened to run into friends of mine, from school and elsewhere, who were interning on Capitol Hill. Our conversation would eventually reach this point, "Well, what are you doing for your Congressman?" Often the reply would be "I've got a lot of 'go-fer' work answering the phones, writing constituent mail, making copies, etc., to do and if I'm lucky I'll get an interesting project once in a while." Although the general consensus was that they enjoyed the experience, there was usually some disappointment that the work was not as interesting as they had expected. Many of these people suffered from the misconception that internships begin and end on "The Hill." While most internships do have a certain amount of "go-fer" work and some "Hill" internships are more interesting than others, if you explore Washington you will find many interesting opportunities for an internship. My internship at Common Cause was an excellent example of this.

Common Cause is a broadly-based, member-funded organization. Using its membership strength, 250,000 nationwide, Common Cause lobbies for issues it is concerned with. All of its influence stems from its membership. Among the issues this interest group lobbied for this summer were: The Voting Rights Act, The Freedom of Information Act and funding for Legal Services. The staff is working against the current bills to limit court jurisdiction on abortion and school prayer. Although it focuses on issues to make government more accountable, Common Cause was one of the leaders in Watergate, if the members request it, the board will work on such issues as defense spending or trucking deregulation. All issues are decided by the governing board based on recommendations from the membership.

Given the varied scope of operations, Common Cause offers many opportunities for an intern. The interns are divided into four areas. The first of these areas is that of the "field operators", and the majority of the interns are employed here. Their job is to keep in touch with the leading activists in the various states. The interns keep these activists up to date on issues as well as organize letter writing campaigns and local lobbying of representatives. In essence, the interns and the activists coordinate the activities for the members. These interns are always busy and usually the most up to date on issues.

The second group of interns assisted the issue development staff. This job is research oriented in that the interns have to provide the background information on the issues the staff is currently working on. These interns play a vital role in breaking new ground for investigations conducted by Common Cause.

The smallest group of interns are assigned to the press department. They help gather information which is used in the magazine published by the members of Common Cause.

Another small group of interns works for the legislation department. The principle aspect of this job is to assist the lobbyists by attending daily Congressional hearings that they could not frequent, and writing summary reports. This job is an excellent means of acquiring "on the Hill" experience, while still viewing how dynamic the political process is from the outside. This is where I spent my time as an intern. The job was constantly involving as we were either attending hearings or writing on them every day.

The esssence of Common Cause is teamwork. Nothing can be accomplished unless all parts of the operation are working together. The offices take up what is essentially one large room in a building. What this means for the intern is that by working in one department you are exposed to the other departments because you are surrounded by them. This enables an intern to see how political organization works, from cultivating members, to lobbying Congressmen. This also works out well socially because there are over forty interns working together, thus leading to a desire to do things together. On "the Hill" you are mostly tied to your office where there may be two or three other interns.

While no one can deny the attraction of working on Capitol Hill, there are many organizations like Common Cause which provide an exposure to the workings of the legislative process. Washington is a very rich town for somebody in search of political experience, as the business of government extends throughout.

United Nations: Italy

by Craig Lissner

Most domestic internship programs give the student the opportunity to enter an organization of particular interest, to become acquainted with it, the people, the policies, the character, and most importantly, the work. These programs provide the student with an opportunity to apply academic theory to practice. An international internship offers all of this, and much more.

I spent three months this summer interning at the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), located in Rome, Italy. I was placed in the Commodities and Trade Division. "Commodities," as it is commonly called by those working there, is responsible for constantly reviewing the economic state as well as outlook for all the main agricultural commodities, including basic foodstuffs, tropical beverages, and animal feeds. It identifies specific commodity problems and proposes international action to deal with them. Assistance, whether on a global, national, or regional basis, rests on the analysis of a vast amount of material provided by a continual review of the world market situation, both at the present and in the future.

Most of my time in Commodities was spent compiling food consumption and income data for fifty different countries. With the use of individual national surveys, I gathered and standardized data using a division computer. The next step involved working on an income elasticity analysis. The results of this will be used next year in a division publication called *Review of Household Consumption Surveys*. This data will be used, for example, in conjunction with crop shortage predictions to determine the areas that will be affected the most by the deficiency. I worked with people from all over the globe. Americans, English, Italians, French, and Indians were all represented. Most were friendly and eager to help whenever I needed it. The people with whom I worked were all serious professionals, who took the time not only to answer any questions I had about my work, but also to recommend operas, concerts, and other sights worth seeing.

An equally important part of my internship in Rome was my exposure to the Italian culture, lifestyle, and language. At FAO, as at most United Nations agencies, the professional staff members speak English. It was outside FAO where I was able to practice and improve my Italian language skills. Through friends and colleagues at FAO I met some Italian students like myself. It was with these people that I spoke Italian, went out at night, and spent my weekends. This is where I learned the Italian social customs, values, and traditions, which are all different from their American counterparts. It was outside of FAO where I saw my first Roman policeman asleep on the job, where I was taught to sneak on the public buses for a free ride, and where I learned to appreciate a full Italian six or seven course meal. This life in Rome, in a completely new environment, was as valuable an experience as my actual work at FAO.

What did I learn from my international internship this summer which might help to make yours a success? First of all, do not let any initial feelings of hopelessness get you down. These feelings are to be expected in a new country with different people and a foreign language, and will disappear as quickly as they arrived. Secondly, resist the temptation to meet and socialize with the other Americans in your organization. Resisting this at the beginning of your internship is crucial. A friendship with someone from the country in which you are interning will be an invaluable learning and growing experience, and it will give you a well-rounded exposure to the country and culture. Finally, try not to tie yourself down excessively. Some of the most memorable times during my internship last summer were spontaneous dinners with friends from work, late evenings at work one-on-one with my supervisor, and so on.

My international internship went very well. If approached enthusiastically and openly, such an internship will prove to be an invaluable and memorable experience.

Senators Home Office: Delaware

by Jan Kleinman

A summer job in a Congressman's office? Forget it, I thought! I wanted an ideal summer of living at home and working at a rewarding, challenging job where I could learn about our government. Newark, Delaware, is a two hour commute to Washington, D.C. My ideal summer seemed just too unrealistic, so I resigned myself to a summer of secretarial work. As I searched for that elusive clerical position in all of Wilmington's office buildings, I stumbled across Senator William V. Roth's office. I had never really considered that a Senator would hire students in his home office, but why not? I walked in and asked about an internship. Yes, the Senator hired paid interns for both his Washington and his Wilmington offices. I was given an application and an appointment for an interview with Senator Roth's Administrative Assistant, the man who runs the Wilmington office. I returned a few days later for the routine interview, filled out the application and continued my incessant visits to offices and agencies. I looked on my application for the internship as an exciting but extremely unlikely possibility.

To my surprise and delight, I got the job. In mid-June, I found myself seated behind my very own desk with my very own telephone. Senator Roth's Wilmington office had six regular full-time staff people and two interns for the summer. My fellow intern was also a college student interested in law and politics. The two of us shared a large back room as our "office" and were made to feel part of the "team".

My main job was casework in Senator Roth's home office. The office serves as a point of contact between him and his constituents. My job involved contact with the public, and assistance as a sort of ombudsman. The Senator receives calls and letters from a wide range of people throughout the state who have a variety of reasons for contacting him. Many call to express an opinion or to complain about local or state problems. There were people who called, voiced an opinion and then hung up within a minute or two, while others talked for a half hour or more, retelling personal problems or complaints and obviously glad to have someone who would listen. There was an individual who called two or three times daily to give a five-minute harangue about her views on the latest national news events. As it was my responsibility to keep myself informed, everyone on the staff was encouraged to read the newspaper every day. My other main task was to develop the skills of a good listener. At first I was hesitant about answering the phone, but after a few days I really began to enjoy hearing people's views.

Some people called Senator Roth's office with specific problems; quite a few had their Social Security payments cut off, and they could not understand why. Others had been denied Social Security disability benefits and had nowhere else to turn for advice. One man was retired, still employed part-time and could not understand the tax laws as they applied to him. One woman had lost her passport, and was panic-stricken because she had to leave the country in a few days. Others encountered a whole realm of difficulties concerning Railroad Retirement programs, housing, immigration, the Veterans' Administration and more. In these instances, my assignment required that I become familiar with some of the typical problem-solving procedures—how to apply for Social Security and for reconsideration of an application. I had to learn how to use the appropriate specialized departments of the government to seek out advice and explanations. I spent hours on the phone seeking solutions to the problems posed by callers. Only rarely did the person who answered the phone turn out to be the one who knew the answer; more often I ended up repeating my enquiry *ad infinitum* as my call was shuffled from one desk or department to another. I found this aspect of my job both rewarding and frustrating—rewarding in that I really could help people by explaining a procedure to them, and frustrating in that some people were in dire need of help, and yet had to wait through the normal back-up of months until an Administrative Law Judge could hear their request for a reconsideration of their application for Social Security benefits. Waiting on the phone and repeating questions was not overly frustrating because, in almost every case, I finally found someone who knew the answers to my questions and was willing to take the time to explain them.

Another type of case I learned to deal with was that of a constituent who called with a request or a question. Many requests were very routine—complimentary tickets to tour the White House or for copies of recent legislation in Congress. I made calls to the Washington office to book tours and to the Senate Library to request copies of legislation so frequently that I came to recognize voices and even know the names of people who worked at those places. Other requests were less routine and called for some digging. People wanted copies of government publications or wanted explanations of current legislation or the answer to some very specific question regarding a certain law or piece of legislation. In those instances I often had to make a series of calls to various Congressional committees and agencies in search of the one with jurisdiction over the issue at hand. I enjoyed these inquiries for their variety and for the imagination I had to use to find their answers: who would one call to get information about fighting brush fires in California?

I certainly did not come into contact with every kind of case in which Senator Roth's office was called on to help. I passed along many of the problems to the full-time caseworkers who had specific people to contact in different governmental departments. Often I simply helped one of the caseworkers, or looked over a shoulder to learn how a particular case was handled.

Of course, casework was not my only job. I helped update mailing lists, folded letters, sealed envelopes, clipped and photocopied statements Senator Roth made as recorded in the *Congressional Record*, sent news articles to his other offices in the state capitol and Washington, and did other odd jobs.

In my spare time I was asked to do independent inquiries and to research an issue that was relevant on the federal level and that had some particular significance in Delaware. I chose to investigate the situation of migrant farmworkers and the legislation that is currently affecting them. In contrast to research at school, I gathered most of my information through direct phone contact with farmers, people working at the Delaware Department of Labor, employment agencies that specialized in temporary farm labor, and farms in Delaware. Through this project and the casework, I discovered a valuable resource: working professional people. Such people are storehouses of information and many are happy to spend time responding to an interested inquirer. The information and assistance these people provided proved to be worth the endless waiting on the phone before being connected with the appropriate person.

Twice during the summer my co-intern and I went to Washington, D.C. We visited Senator Roth's Washington office, met some of the people we had spoken with so often on the phone, observed the Senate in session from the Gallery, and lunched in the Senate Dining Room.

We met Senator Roth on several occasions during this summer, but for the most part he spent his time in Washington. We had little contact with the law-making process itself, as we dealt mainly with the law's application and public opinion, but our work was valuable. Senators can take part in the law-making process only with the support they get from those he represents. I feel fortunate to have had a chance to see and participate in the most basic process of our system of government, which is the communication between citizens and their representative.

Private Development Organization: Washington

by Lucy Nunez

The experience of working with the Overseas Education Fund in Washington, D.C., a private development organization, provided me with an opportunity to encounter a variety of issues such as global interdependence, the role of women in development, as well as the various strategies of development. In addition to learning about these particular issues, I was able to explore a possible career by utilizing an insider's perspective as well as a general understanding of how an organization like OEF works.

During my eight-week internship I was faced with a variety of questions on the issues of development and global interdependence. What does development mean for women in the Third World? What kind of roles can women play in the development of their communities and their countries? How are the First and Third Worlds linked economically, politically, and socially?

Development and global interdependence were the primary issues explored and discussed at the Women and World Issues workshops held in five cities in the United States. The Overseas Education Fund, with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, sponsored the workshops in Austin, Texas; Phoenix, Arizona; Portland, Oregon; Los Angeles, California; and Rochester, New York. By means of discussion groups, panels, keynote speakers, and visual arts, men and women from these cities learned about development and global interdependence, exchanged ideas, and most importantly, established networks of concerned citizens interested in furthering this educational process in their own communities.

One of the goals of the Overseas Education Fund—especially after President Carter instituted the Commission of Foreign Language and International Education—is the goal of "development education." Learning about the cultures and peoples of the Third World, the problems they encounter, and how the lives of the First and Third Worlds are connected, is an important aspect of "development education." Citizens of the First World are becoming increasingly aware of the links between the two worlds through workshops like this one. OEF is dedicated to their goal of disseminating information.

The Overseas Education Fund is a Washington-based organization with projects in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Their approach to development is one of self-help, participatory, and income-generating projects designed to incorporate women in the development process. The emphasis on women emerged from a number of factors; in many developing countries women are responsible for growing the food, obtaining water for the family, and taking care of the children. An activity such as getting water may entail walking miles to the nearest well to obtain a daily supply. These activities are essential for the survival of the family. Through small local projects, which serve the purpose of improving the lives of women and children, OEF hopes that their efforts can produce an increase in participation on the part of both men and women. OEF tries to encourage and promote participation on the local level with the idea that this will continue on to the community and national levels.

One of the projects OEF is currently involved in is the building and establishing of a market place in Tarqui, Ecuador. It was discovered that the women of the low-income residential area of Tarqui had to walk miles to the nearest market to buy and sell their goods. The people of Tarqui are learning to organize and run this cooperative.

Before a project is implemented, OEF goes through a lengthy and thorough process of researching, and then designing the project to meet the needs of the local community. OEF has Field Directors in various geographical areas who are in constant contact with local groups, and who meet with local officials and mission directors of the Agency for International Development. By establishing local contacts, the Field Directors are well equipped to identify problems and needs of the local people. Once these needs have been identified and a local group contacted to assist in the implementation of the project, the OEF Field Director then writes an initial proposal, which is then forwarded to Washington. At the Washington office, the final proposal is written and the search for funding begins. If the project is funded, it then becomes a reality for the community.

The problems that private development organizations like OEF encounter are many, and their ability to overcome the obstacles are important in order to be effective. One of the major problems that an organiza-

tion faces is time. The time period between the initial step of contacting the local groups to finding the funds for the project may range from one month to years. During this time the local needs may change and the original proposal may not be appropriate. A private organization also experiences a great deal of turnover of staff causing inconsistency and changes in policies. Funding is a major problem for an organization like OEF; many organizations are dependent on funds from the Agency for International Development. Their funding comes from personal contributions and donations from the private sector. These types of sources are susceptible to change. In light of the reduction by the Reagan administration of aid to developing nations, the amount of funds allocated by Agency for International Development to private development organizations will be greatly reduced.

The future goals and policies of private development organizations will take on new forms in the coming years. OEF is already exploring new possibilities for funding and developing new strategies. OEF is looking toward the private sector for funds with the idea of a collaboration between the private sector and private development organizations. OEF hopes to establish new relationships with the private sector which should benefit both parties.

It is still too soon to examine what direction this new trend will take OEF in. Perhaps some questions should be asked regarding this relationship between the private sector and OEF. How will the people of the Third World react to the association of developing agencies and private businesses? Will the goals of the development organization change as a result of this collaboration? Lastly, will the strategies of development, the participatory model, change?

United Nations: New York

by Michael Bacon

This past summer I was an intern for eight weeks at the United Nations in New York City. I worked at the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs in the NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) section. This office reviewed the applications of non-politically sponsored groups who wished to attain consultive status with the United Nations. Consultive status would render the organization eligibility to send a representative to the General Assembly meetings, but they would not be given a vote. Article 71 of the Charter of the United Nations provides for the involvement and contributions of NGO in the work of the UN and this is reflected in the machinery for consultative status in the UN, as well as with specialized agencies.

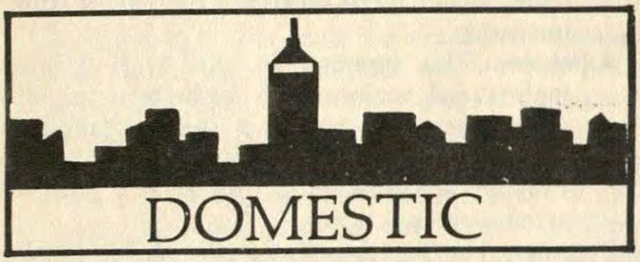
Part of the machinery of the UN and NGO is inevitably the organization of meetings, seminars, conferences and congresses to which other organizations are invited to send representatives. This process of consultation is fundamental to the fulfillment of the purposes of the individual organizations and thus, indirectly, of the UN Charter.

The Conference of NGO itself is not involved in substantive matters. On a voluntary basis, through the various committees, many organizations coordinate activities on issues in such areas as Development, Human Rights and Women and Disarmament. During the past two years, committees of the Conference have been active in bringing the concerns of the United Nations to the rest of the world by holding such conferences as "For Action Against Apartheid", "Disarmament", and "Indigenous Peoples in the Americas"; and by organizing a seminar on women "Preparing for the Eighties"; a symposium on Science and Technology for Development; and a conference in observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

However, from time to time individuals who are nominated as representatives by NGO to take part in conferences in various parts of the world are unable to fulfill their mandate because of the failure or refusal of the hosting country's government to grant a visa. This effectively undermines both the purpose of the conference, the work of the NGO and the objectives of the Charter.

The majority of my time here was spent reviewing various U.N. documents. However, during the week of the Israeli-Iraq conflict I was allowed to sit in on the Security Council meetings, which I thoroughly enjoyed. The practical experience of working with an institution such as the United Nations provided me with insight to the workings of the system, which complements my classroom studies. For the most part the work and daily activities were interesting and enlightening; the amount I learned from this realpolitik experience is immeasurable.

Internship Programs



The Drew University: Semester on the United Nations.

Institution: Drew University College of Liberal Arts.

Program: The curriculum of this program consists of the normal 12-15 credit hours, nine of which are devoted specifically to the United Nations. Students commute to the United Nations on Tuesdays and Thursdays on a chartered bus. There will be briefings and speeches by members of the Secretariat, the delegations, the specialized agencies and the non-governmental organizations represented at the United Nations. Students are also expected to conduct specialized research projects on subjects related to the United Nations. The choice of subject matter will be left up to the individual.

Admission: Placement in this program is open to juniors and seniors and to second semester sophomores with special permission.

Housing: Students enrolled in the Semester on the United Nations are housed in the dormitories on the Drew University campus.

Expenses: The fee is based on the regular tuition, room and board costs of Drew University and includes an additional charge for transportation and other services associated with the program. There is also a limited amount of scholarship aid available.

For more information:

write: Coordinator of Off-Campus Semesters
Ms. Bonnie H. Hayes
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey 07940
or call: (201) 377-3000

Business and Professional People For the Public Interest Internship.

Institution: Business and Professional People for the Public Interest.

Program: This public interest group provides the local organizations in the Chicago area with legal advice. Interns assist the staff members in the area of legal research as well as work in the areas of public relations, and development. This internship provides the student with practical experience which complements classroom studies. Business and Professional People for the Public Interest is a non-credit granting institution. In order to receive academic credit students must make arrangements with their specific college or university.

Admission: Internships are available to both undergraduate and graduate students. Applicants need not be political science majors, but some background in American Government would be preferable. The dates of the internship are flexible, but plan to spend three to four months on this program. Applications should be submitted two to three months in advance.

Housing: Students must arrange for their own living accommodations in the Washington area.

Expenses: There is no fee payable to the Business and Professional People for the Public Interest. Students are expected to defray the costs of room and board and travel expenses.

For more information:

write: Alexander Polikoff
Executive Director
Business and Professional People for the Public Interest
109 North Dearborn, Suite 101
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Mount Holyoke College: International Internship Program.

Institution: Mount Holyoke College.

Program: This program offers students an opportunity to intern for officials in the United Nations, the U.N.'s specialized agencies and inter-governmental organizations wherever they may be located. Students may also intern abroad for officials of foreign governments, officials of the United States Missions or Embassies abroad or leaders of lobbies or groups seeking to influence foreign policies. Students will be placed on this program according to their interests and training. The program is offered during the summer as well as the fall and spring semesters. Internships are available in the United States, Canada, Latin America, Western Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific countries.

Admission: The program is open to students who have had some background in World Politics. Qualified non-Mount Holyoke students are welcome to apply. Deadlines for applications are: Fall semester, December 1st; Spring semester, October 22nd; Summer program, October 22nd.

Housing: The internship office takes no responsibility for the arrangement of living facilities.

For more information:

write: Norma M. O'Meara
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts 01075

Boston University: Washington Legislative Internship Program.

Institution: Boston University, College of Liberal Arts.

Program: This program is designed to provide students with an opportunity to test their skills and capabilities in the world of practical politics. Typical internship placements include work with members of the House of Representatives, Senators, Congressional committees, and other related agencies and organizations. The curriculum for this program is the equivalent to four courses or sixteen credit hours. Students are expected to work approximately 30-35 hours a week in an unpaid internship. The internship program is designed in conjunction with a series of seminars in which the student will relate his/her work experience to the issues in the field. The topics discussed in the seminars will deal specifically with issues in Congressional policy-making.

Admission: Each semester (fall and spring) a limited number of internships will be available to students enrolled in other colleges and universities. These participants will be enrolled in Boston University on a full time basis. To be eligible for this program, students must have junior or senior class status and must have taken a course in American National Political Institutions or an equivalent. The application deadline for the fall semester is April 1st and for the spring semester November 1st.

Housing: Students are expected to make their own arrangements for housing. The University will be able to provide a limited amount of housing in dormitory facilities. They will also provide a brochure which describes the various housing options in the Washington area.

Expenses: Students participating in this program are charged the same rate as Boston University students, excluding room and board. This year's brochure lists the tuition fee at $2,360 a semester.

For more information:

write: Washington Legislative Internship Program
Office of the Associate Dean, Room 202
Boston University, College of Liberal Arts
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
or call: (617) 353-2408

Hamilton College Semester in Washington Program.

Institution: Hamilton College.

Program: The program is designed to allow students both to study the theory of American government and practice it at the same time. Hamilton's program is offered both in the Fall and Spring semesters. Students will participate in two consecutive six-week internships and will be asked to evaluate their internship experiences in a series of group discussions and papers. Participants are expected to meet in a weekly seminar in which they will relate their observations and experiences to theories of political behavior. Each student is expected to research and present an independent project on a problem related to a public policy issue. Each intern is expected to find his or her own internship.

Admission: This program is open to all Hamilton juniors and seniors with applicants from other colleges being accepted on a space available basis.

Housing: Students in the Washington Semester Program are expected to manage their own living arrangements.

Expenses: The fee consists of the regular Hamilton College tuition excluding room and board. Financial aid will be given to those Hamilton students on scholarships to help off-set the cost of living expenses.

For more information:

write: Dr. Channing B. Richardson
Department of Government
Hamilton College
Clinton, New York 13323
or call: (315) 859-4121

The Philadelphia Urban Semester

Institution: The Great Lakes Colleges Association.

Program: The Philadelphia Urban Semester is a program which complements a series of seminars with field study. Students will choose their own internship with assistance provided by the staff. This program is offered five times during the course of the year and is offered on both a semester and quarter schedule. Special summer and January term programs can be arranged. Participants on this program will be granted credit which is transferable to their own college or university.

Admission: Student applicants must have completed two years of undergraduate study and must be in good academic standing. This program is open to students regardless of their college affiliation. Applicants need not be political science majors but some background in American government is preferable.

Housing: Temporary housing can be arranged for the first week; however, students are responsible for finding their own living accommodations.

Expenses: Tuition is the same as the current list price for Hope College. Students will be billed through Hope College unless other arrangements are made with the Executive Director. Additional costs incurred are the responsibility of the student.

For more information:

write: Steven E. Brooks
Executive Director
Philadelphia Urban Semester
1227-29 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107
or call: (215) 574-9490

The Better Government Association Internship Program.

Institution: The Better Government Association (B.G.A.)

Program: B.G.A. is dedicated to exposing corruption in both local and state governmental agencies. Participants on this program will serve as junior investigators and will often be assigned undercover work which entails infiltrating suspect organizations. Students will be assigned a specific case and are expected to obtain evidence in support of their cause. In order to gather this type of evidence students must investigate organizations, locate and analyze documents, and conduct interviews. Internships are available during both the school year as well as the summer. B.G.A. is not a credit granting institution; therefore, arrangements must be made with the student's college or university.

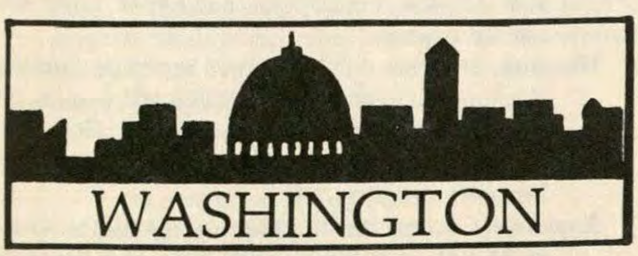
Admission: Internships are available for both undergraduate and graduate students. Priority is given to those students majoring in political science, journalism, economics, urban affairs or history. Students must find a professor at their college or university who is willing to oversee their internship. Applications for the summer program should be submitted three to four months in advance, and for the fall, winter, and spring terms applications should be submitted two to three months in advance.

Housing: Students are expected to make their own arrangements for housing in the Chicago area.

Expenses: Students will receive lunch and travel money, but are not salaried. It is up to the participant to take care of all other expenses incurred.

For more information:

write: David Protess
Research Coordinator
Better Government Association
230 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 1710
Chicago, Illinois 60601



Public Affairs Seminar-Internship.

Institution: Georgetown University.

Program: This program is a summer seminar which begins June 8th and will end on August 14th. The program is designed to combine a series of seminars in conjunction with an internship experience. Students are expected to attend class meetings and write a seminar length paper which should interrelate the internship experience with the academic literature. Participants in the program may seek internship placement under their own initiative; however, you may rely on the assistance of the professors. You may work with any of the following institutions: the Congress, federal agencies, interest groups, local government or political party organizations. The intern is expected to work a minimum of 12-15 hours a week at his or her specific job.

Admission: Enrollment in this program is limited to thirty undergraduate students with preference given to juniors and seniors. A good background in political science is expected and a grade point average of approximately 3.0 or better. The application deadline is May 30th with late applications being accepted on a space available basis.

Housing: There is a limited amount of housing available through the University. For more detailed information refer to the summer school catalogue.

Expenses: Tuition for this program is $125.00 per credit hour. For information concerning financial aid refer to the summer school catalogue.

For more information:

write: Professor John Bailey
Department of Government
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20057
or call: (202) 625-4521

American University: Washington Semester Program.

Institution: American University in cooperation with over 150 affiliated colleges and universities.

Program: This program offers seven different focuses: 1) American National Government, 2) Economic Policy, 3) Urban Affairs, 4) Foreign Policy, 5) International Development, 6) Science and Technology, 7) American Studies. This program is designed to combine a series of seminars in conjunction with an internship experience. Students are expected to attend seminars three days a week and to spend two full days a week at their specific internship. The curriculum is a full sixteen credit hours consisting of the seminar (two courses), a research project (one course) and the internship (one course). Students are responsible for finding their own internships; however, there is some guidance offered. This program is offered both the fall and spring semesters.

Admission: The American National Government component is only open to students from member schools. All other components are open to juniors and seniors with a grade point average over 3.0. The application deadline for the Fall semester is April 1st and for the spring semester the deadline is November 1st.

Housing: Participants in this program are housed in the campus dormitories and have access to the new library and recreational facilities.

Expenses: Tuition is paid through the student's own college or university; however, dormitory charges are payable directly to The American University.

For more information:

write: Dr. David C. Brown
Executive Director
Washington Semester Program
American University
Washington, D.C. 20016
or call: (202) 686-2368

Bureau of European Affairs of the Department of State Student/Intern Program.

Institution: Bureau of European Affairs.

Program: This program is designed to provide the student with an insider's view to the workings of a bureaucratic agency which handles foreign affairs. Interns will work under the supervision of a Bureau officer in an area of their choice. Students will come into contact with a variety of officers from several of the government agencies in Washington. The Bureau of European Affairs is a non credit granting institution; therefore, students must make arrangements with their own college or university in order to receive credit.

Admission: Applicants must be college juniors or seniors or recent graduates and have a grade point average of approximately 3.5. The applications must be accompanied by a statement which specifies the area of the Bureau the student would like to work in and any relevant job experience. The application must be approved by a member of the faculty at their home institution.

Housing: Participants must make their own arrangements for housing in the Washington area.

Expenses: Students must provide for their own room and board as well as travel expenses.

For more information:

write: European Affairs
EUR/EX
Room 9424 NS
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20502

Common Cause Internship Program

Institution: Common Cause

Program: Common Cause, based in Washington, D.C., is a citizen lobbying organization which employs interns as staff assistants and liaisons between the central office and the various other branch agencies. Interns may be assigned to litigation, legislation and other areas. Students are usually asked to do research projects and report drafting. This internship experience provides the participant with an understanding of the current issues as well as insight into the legislative process. Common Cause is not a credit granting institution. In order to receive credit for this internship students must make arrangements with their college or university.

Admission: Undergraduates as well as graduates are considered for admission. The application form should be accompanied by a cover letter, a resume, two letters of recommendation and writing samples. The application deadlines are as follows: Fall, August 15; Spring, December 15; Summer, April 1.

Housing: Students must make their own arrangements for their living accommodations.

Expenses: General expenses for this program include room and board and daily transportation costs.

For more information:

write: Allan Zendle
Director of Volunteer Services
Common Cause
2030 M Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mount Vernon College: Washington Semester in Public Policy.

Institution: Mount Vernon College.

Program: The internship assignments on this program are carefully matched to the interests of the participating students. Students may intern on Capitol Hill in congressional offices or with congressional committees, federal agencies, public interest groups, media organizations, and with national or international organizations. The fifteen week program consists of a curriculum of fifteen credit hours. Six of these credit hours apply toward the actual internship, another six apply toward the seminar in public policy and the final three apply towards the individual's research project. The seminars will cover selected issues of public policy including studies on the roles of major figures in the decision making process. An independent research project may be based on the work of the internship.

Admission: This program is designed for women undergraduate majors in political and social science. A student must have completed three semesters of undergraduate work and taken two courses in political science, economics, history or other social science courses.

Housing: Students will be assisted in finding housing in Washington near their internship offices or near the Mount Vernon campus. All college facilities will be open to students participating on the Washington Semester Program.

Expenses: Current literature lists tuition for the semester at $1,600, including course fees. This figure does not include the cost of room and board.

For more information:

write: Washington Institute for Women in Politics
Mount Vernon College
2100 Foxhall Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
or call: (202) 331-3418

Washington Center for Learning Alternatives: Full Time Academic Internships.

Institution: Washington Center for Learning Alternatives.

Program: WCLA participants will be placed in internships in which they will work four and a half days a week. Internships include work with Congressional offices, executive agencies, judicial organizations, public and special interest groups, national associations, and community programs. The internship program is designed in conjunction with a series of seminars. These seminars are designed as forums in which the student can integrate academic theory and practice. The seminars will meet once a week in the late afternoon or early evening. WCLA is not a credit granting institution. However, students participating in this internship program may receive academic credit from their home institution equivalent to a full course load. The program is offered during the following times: fall semester, winterterm, winter quarter, spring semester, spring quarter, and a summer session.

Admission: Applicants are admitted to this program on a basis of their stated goals, academic background, character, demonstrated maturity, and intellectual capacity. The application deadlines are as follows: fall semester: April 15th; winterterm: November 15th; winter quarter: October 15th; spring semester: November 1st; spring quarter: January 15th and the summer session: March 1st.

Housing: Accommodations are provided for WCLA interns through the organization. WCLA leases 10% of the Woodner Apartment Complex, so students will be living with other participants on the WCLA program.

Expenses: The expenses for the fall and spring semester including housing are currently $1,100; without housing, $575. The fee for the winter and spring quarter including room is $900; without room, $500. The fee for the winterterm including room is $345; without room, $190. Finally, the fee for the summer session including room is $975; without room, $500.

For more information:

write: Washington Center for Learning Alternatives
1705 DeSales St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
or call: (202) 659-8510

Mount Vernon College: Washington Internship Program (summer).

Institution: Mount Vernon College.

Program: This six week program offers students throughout the country an opportunity to spend part of their summer in Washington, D.C. interning for federal agencies, public interest groups, political party organizations or Congress. Students are expected to spend five days a week at their internship offices and to attend a three hour seminar that meets one evening a week. The seminar program will focus on public policy and will feature guest speakers discussing current political and social issues. Participants in this program will be granted six credit hours from Mount Vernon College.

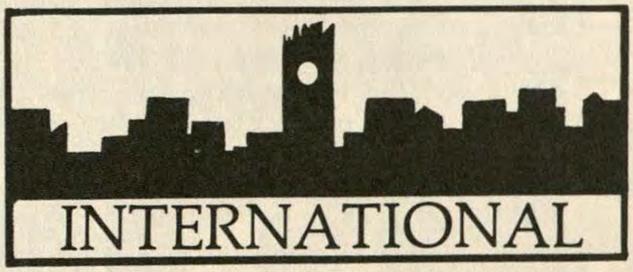
Admission: To be eligible for this program, students must have completed at least three semesters of undergraduate work and have taken a course in American Government. The application deadline for the summer program is March 15th.

Housing: Mount Vernon College does provide housing for participants on this program in the dormitories. In addition all campus facilities are open to the students.

Expenses: The tuition and room costs for this six week program is listed this year at $1,084. For those students who wish to live off-campus the tuition fee is $684.

For more information:

write: Mount Vernon College
Washington Internship Program
2100 Foxhall Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
or call: (202) 331-3418



The British Politics Semester.

Institutions: The University of Rochester.

Program: Participants work as research and administrative assistants to Members of Parliament, usually in the House of Commons. Tasks vary according to the needs of the M.P., but previous interns have helped with office work, speech writing, research, and press releases. Interns have also helped M.P.s prepare for talk shows and coordinated a constituents' visits. Parliament does not open until November each year, but the Rochester program is offered both semesters. The internship carries two course credits. Interns also take a British Politics course and an elective to round out the program.

Admission: Rochester accepts a number of students from other campuses each year. Applicants need not be political science majors but they must have had at least one and preferably two or more courses dealing with European or American politics. Applications for the Spring 1981 program were due on October 15, 1980. Begin planning accordingly for 1982.

Housing: Rochester in association with Educational Programs Abroad, Inc. of Brighton, England arranges housing in apartments, hotels, hostels, or with British families.

Expenses: $3,225.

For more information:

write: Study Abroad Office
Lattimore 312
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York 14627
or call: (716) 275-2354

Conference Group on German Politics: Internship and Scholar-In-Residence Programs.

Institution: Conference Group on German Politics.

Program: This is a work-study program which provides the student or faculty member with an opportunity to spend two or more months in a German government office. For the Scholars-In-Residence Program participants will benefit from an intensive contact with the operations of a German governmental office.

Admission: Student applicants for the program must have completed three years of undergraduate study and must be proficient in German. Faculty applicants for the Scholars-In-Residence program must have had several years' experience studying German affairs. Application deadline for both programs for the current year is March 15, 1982.

Housing: Participants on this program are expected to make arrangements for their own housing; however, the program directors will offer some assistance.

Expenses: There are a variety of stipends or grants available for both the Internship and Scholar-In-Residence programs. Support will range between $275 - $500 a month with travel subsidies ranging between $250 -$500.

For more information:

write: C.G.G.P.
P.O. Box 345
Durham, new Hampshire 03824
or call: Professor George K. Romoser

Law Internships, London.

Institution: Marymount College.

Program: Students intern with London law firms. Students may choose whether they wish to work with firms emphasizing civil or criminal law or legal aid. The Marymount staff works closely with the student in finding an appropriate firm. The internship counts as two course credits, and students round out their program with two courses taught by British faculty under the auspices of Educational Programs Abroad. The program is offered both semesters.

Admission: Admission is open to any interested student with good recommendations and a transcript.

Housing: Housing is a strong point in Marymount programs. The college offers central London housing in a resident hotel, plus assistance in making meal arrangements and securing a tube pass.

Expenses: $3,900.

For more information:

write: Mrs. Gloria Kenny, EPA Office
Marymount College
Tarrytown, New York 10591
or call: (914) 631-3200, ext. 343

Pressure Groups Internship, London.

Institution: Marymount College.

Program: Students intern with an English pressure group. The program's contacts allow a student to select among groups pursuing a wide variety of interests. The internship brings two course credits, and the student takes two other courses taught by British professors. The program is offered both semesters.

Admission: Admission is open to any interested student with good recommendations and transcript.

Housing: Housing is a special feature of the program. Marymount offers central London housing in a resident hotel and considerable help with meals and transportation.

Expenses: $3,900.

For more information:

write: Mrs. Gloria Kenny', EPA Office
Marymount College
Tarrytown, New York 10591
or call: (914) 631-3200, ext. 343

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