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# IN POLITICS

The Magazine for Students

Summer, 1981 \$1.25

## Is Reagan Cutting Your Education?

Finding The Right Internship

Turning An Internship Into A Job

Culture Shock: Radicals In A New Age

### Basic Grant Application Form

School Year 1981-82  
Read instructions as you fill out this form.

#### Section A Student's Information

1. Student's name

2. Student's permanent mailing address  
(see page 3 for State abbreviation)

3. Student's social security number

4. Student's date of birth

5. Student's State of legal residence

6. The student is  
☐ (a) a U.S. citizen  
☐ (b) an eligible noncitizen (see instructions)  
☐ (c) neither of the above (see instructions)

7. The student is  
☐ unmarried (single, divorced, or widowed)  
☐ married  
☐ separated

#### Section B Student's Status

8. Student's year in college during 1981-82  
☐ 1st (freshman)  
☐ 2nd (sophomore)  
☐ 3rd (junior)  
☐ 4th (senior)  
☐ 5th (undergraduate)  
☐ graduate or professional (beyond a Bachelor's degree)

9. Will the student have a Bachelor's degree by July 1, 1981?  
☐ Yes (see instructions)  
☐ No

10. If you answered "No" to all 6 questions in the gray shaded areas, you must fill in the gray shaded areas.


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Use this form to establish your eligibility for Federal student aid funds. You should know that any false statements or misrepresentations on this form are subject to a fine or to imprisonment or both, under provisions of the United States Criminal Code.

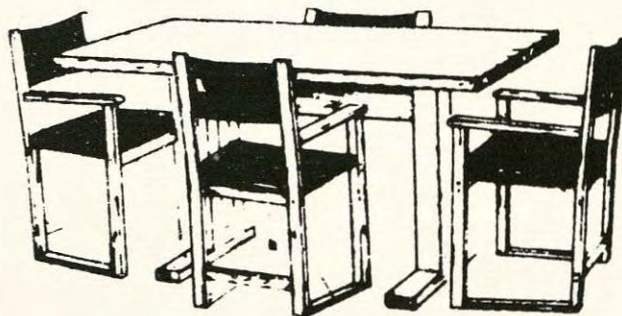
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## Publisher's Statement:

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*In Politics* is a magazine published by students for other undergraduate students majoring or merely interested in political science and government. Connecticut College students perceived an unfulfilled need by political science students for a magazine that would be exclusively devoted to them including information and enjoyable reading about their field. That's why *In Politics* has information on internships, how to get them and what's available, and on getting a job in Washington. *In Politics* also includes summaries of recent articles in major political science journals. The summaries can serve both as a quick way to view current issues and trends in the political science field and as a base for research and term papers. They can also help plan strategies for political action.

But *In Politics* also includes articles written by students on interesting and timely issues. Presently, all the articles are being written by Connecticut College students, but we would very much like to expand and print articles, letters, cartoons and comments by other New England college students.

Because we are a new magazine, we welcome any letters, comments, and opinions telling us what you do or do not like about *In Politics*, and what we can do to improve future issues.

Happy Reading!

Please send articles, letters, comments, etc. to:

*In Politics*

Box 1322 Connecticut College

New London, Connecticut 06320

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## Volume 1, Number 1

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# An Academic in Politics

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by Mark Hall

On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 10:20 a.m. and even earlier on Tuesdays or Thursdays, Bill Cibes emerges from the little door of the main building of Connecticut College. A student often at his elbow, he picks his way through the morning crowds to the campus post office, checks his box, then swings back to a rather battered 1968 Chevy covered with political stickers. Into the back he eases his briefcase next to some rather formidable looking government papers. Having got his car started another day, Mr. Cibes rolls down the hill to another job and another world. He is the 39th District's professor-legislator, embodying the academic and political worlds in one successful combination.

In the classroom, Mr. Cibes can teach anything from judicial affairs to international treaties, although his specialty is constitutional law. His popularity at the college for good instruction remains unabated despite his nascent political career. In fact, according to student evaluations, Mr. Cibes' performance may have even improved by the use of practical examples in theoretical discussion. His lectures can as easily incorporate property disputes over a local shopping center as it can fishing rights between countries or the regulation of war. Last summer, Mr. Cibes wrote a 100 page report for a state official on the same shopping center. Now he thinks of expanding it into a scholarly publication. Similarly the politician profits from his educational calling as he calls forth his academic background while serving on legislative committees.

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*"Less than flamboyant, Mr. Cibes projects an image of solid, dogged effort, impassioned and absorbed in his causes."*

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Connecticut's 39th legislative area comprises most of New London, an old, in part run down city of 32,000 trying to effect an urban comeback. A whaling port in another era, New London's now depends on nuclear submarines and a naval base for its economic life. A shell of a Democratic machine remains among the older ethnics, progressively enfeebled by incoming blacks and Puerto Ricans. Since the divisive 1960's, there has been some ill-feeling toward the "school on the hill," Connecticut College.

Such was the local picture Democrat Cibes faced in mapping out a strategy for the 1978 election. He had taught at Connecticut College since 1969, had served as Chairman of the New London Board of Education and as chairman of the college's Department of Government. He

had already lost one bid for the legislature due to a poor Democratic turnout. In the 1978 struggle he was pitted against both a Republican incumbent and a coalition of the fiscally concerned calling themselves the Alternatives' Party. To win, Mr. Cibes had to strike a prudent balance between groups, so often true of Democratic coalition building. Students at the college remembered his liberalism; the newer minorities were courted for their potential vote; ethnic party lever pullers stayed in line to support Cibes' fiscal policies. Campaign literature hardly mentioned his connection with the college.

On election day Mr. Cibes won handsomely, as he did again in 1980. The diverse and still potent Democratic, urban tradition had paid off. By running a non-strident campaign, keeping a low profile, sweeping in on the coat-tail pull of ticket leaders, Cibes found a recipe for success. *The New London Day* had endorsed him both times.

As Mr. Chips had gone to Washington, so Mr. Cibes now goes to Hartford. His classes in the morning, the legislature in the afternoon, he travels from one setting to another. An hour's drive from the college brings him to the colossal statehouse in which he has a tiny open cubicle for an office.

Garbed in either collegiate corduroy or sporting polyester, Mr. Cibes mixes as easily in capitol corridors as academic ones. He is a large and genial man, with an intellect that seemingly inhales information. One campus rumor claims his familiarity with almost every Supreme Court case ever heard. Another is that he can walk into a class of 50, ask everyone to say his or her name once and he never forgets them.

Other legislators respect his good humor and work. *Connecticut* magazine rated him in the upper third of the representatives, not bad for a politician of only three years. Less than flamboyant, Mr. Cibes projects an image of solid, dogged effort, impassioned and absorbed in his causes. Surprisingly the 38 year old legislator gives few hometown speeches, as a more ambitious figure might, but he attends a sufficient number of Irish wakes.

One reason Mr. Cibes' balance of electoral forces in New London works, may be his moderate position. The formula of social liberalism and pecuniary prudence claims many adherents today. Although concern for individual rights was only awakened in him during the 1960's, Mr. Cibes' thriftiness may have deeper roots.

Born of German ancestry in rural Kansas, young William Joseph Cibes learned the limits of finance and of farm life. "Money ought to be wisely spent" was firmly inculcated at home by conservative Lutheran and Baptist parents. His role models were teachers, and to that profession he gravitated, but it was only an arduous course at the University of Kansas that really interested him in constitutional law.



The Kennedy assassination and Goldwater nomination turned his head to social injustice; graduate school at Princeton offered encounters with other ethnic groups. When Mr. Cibes switched parties, converted to the Catholicism of his wife, and spoke out against Vietnam, a total turnabout with his past and the Eisenhower philosophy of family seemed nigh. Yet the old fiscally-cautions streak crept in anew when the professor was brought face to face with the budgets of the New London school system. He dealt with them not with a fanatic zeal for slashing budgets, but with the simple belief that money should be spent, but spent wisely.

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*“Perhaps not so surprisingly, Mr. Cibes observed that state politics operates on a far more ‘rational’ plane than its college faculty counterpart.”*

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Even more pronounced is his commitment to the cause of cities in general and New London in particular. His principal concern now lies in staving off Governor O'Neill's program cuts to urban areas. Additionally, Mr. Cibes fears his district might lose money in the Republican version of the Education Equalization bill. It is a fallacy, the professor-legislator maintains, that poorer metropolises do not try to help themselves. Local revenues, in fact, are higher than elsewhere, and though spending is hardly extravagant, less seeps back to the taxpayer than in richer towns. Mr. Cibes' feathers begin to ruffle when he recounts one comment by a Greenwich representative to the effect that cities “waste” tax dollars. The payments from an average household never pay for a child's instruction in school, he retorts angrily, and furthermore “Why should we have pumped bucks into south and southwest America during the years people were in need there, and now turn our backs on the urban places?”

Cities are instrumental for the republic's health, he believes, and he has turned against party leadership, if it has been necessary, to advance their cause. His position on the powerful Appropriations and Education committees enables him to back his concern for cities and education with a most effective voice.

If any public figure provided him inspiration, it was Justice John M. Harlan who served on the Supreme Court from 1877-1911. Justice Harlan frequently dissented with conservatives' rulings on civil rights and the income tax despite tremendous public pressure. Yet by carving out such an identity, Mr. Cibes may be ruling himself out for further political posts. One intimate noted that it might prove difficult should the representative try for state senator, a district including many rural interests besides New London. For now, Mr. Cibes insists, he is fully content with the present office.

In the meantime though, speaking from the perspec-

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*“Garbed in either collegiate corduroy or sporty polyester, Mr. Cibes mixes easily in Capitol corridors as well as academic ones.”*

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tive of one who studies political behavior, Mr. Cibes has not found its practice much different from what he thought. Too many legislators, he's noticed, supplant their district's interests with their own prejudices. According to Cibes, even if they acted as trustees for the state as a whole or simply as party-men, nothing could be quite as bad as following personal whims. Moreover, some vote not on the merits of the case, but as a favor to the Speaker or a friend. The former becomes especially crucial as the Speaker of the Connecticut House exercises more of a grip than in the decentralized Congress. Perhaps not so surprisingly, Mr. Cibes also observed that state politics operates on a far more “rational” plane than its college faculty counterpart. In sum, his perception as a scholar has been immeasurably enlightened by his participation in state politics.

If “public life makes for the more moral, the more complete being in the classical sense, then politics is worthy of everyone.” Mr. Cibes as political animal seems to carry out that ideal.

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*Mark Hall is a Senior government major at Connecticut College who is interested in political campaigns. He held an internship with the League of Women Voters of the United States last summer. To supplement his interest in campaigns, Mr. Hall collects political buttons.*

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## Bills To Watch Bills To Watch

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**H.R. 1864. Research.** A proposal to provide tax credits for contributions to institutions of higher education for research. Introduced by Representative Shannon (D-Mass).

**H.R. 1904. Department of Education.** A proposal to reestablish the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, sponsored by Representative Erlenborn (R-Ill) and 28 other members.

**H.R. 2001. Minimum Wage.** Introduced by Representative Simon (D-Ill) to allow employers to pay less than the minimum wage to workers under the age of 19 and to full-time students.



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# D.C.: An Insider's View

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by Linda Tuerk

Internships offer undergraduates unusual opportunities for political insight, and in the judgment of a former White House intern, President Carter's downfall came because he wasted too much time on details and at first allowed every member of his Senior Staff direct access to him.

At Connecticut College, Bob Ruggiero is a senior government major specializing in international affairs. However, through his luck at having been in the right place at the right time, he became a White House intern in the summer of 1979 and again in 1980. Both times, he says, he was an aide in offices designed to "sell the White House and Jimmy Carter."

Ruggiero first spent the summer of 1979 in the Office of the Assistant to the President for Public Affairs, Anne Wexler, former editor of *Rolling Stone* and an original aide to Carter in the 1976 campaign. The office was designed to coordinate briefings with various groups, ranging from unions, to church organizations, to the Young Farmers of America.

Ruggiero, as an administrative aide, compiled guest lists for various briefings with the President and performed other tasks that were more organizational in nature. There were twenty staff members and five interns in the office.

In the summer of 1980, Ruggiero was the only intern in an office with a staff of seven. This time he was an aide to Dr. Stephen Aeillo, Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs. Dr. Aeillo, former president of the school board of New York City, headed an office dedicated to improving the White House's relations with the approximately 80 million Americans who fell under the heading of "ethnic."

Ruggiero explained the organizational structure of Carter's White House staff. Five assistants to the President, including Anne Wexler and originally Hamilton Jordan, were on an equal basis with each other. (Later, the need for streamlining became obvious and Hamilton Jordan was elevated to Chief of Staff, through which the other assistants were channeled.) In addition, there were four Special Assistants whose offices were basically autonomous. These Special Assistants dealt with, respectively, Consumer Affairs, Blacks, Hispanics, and Ethnic.

Therefore, the term "ethnic" encompassed all minorities other than blacks and Hispanics. The first, second, and third generations of the Slavs, Italians, Greeks, Irish, Japanese, and Chinese Americans, among others, were the primary concern of the office. Once past the third generation, they were not considered "ethnic." Jews were under the office of another Assistant to the President.

The underlying goal of the ethnic office was to unify these diverse groups into one cohesive constituency while at the same time promoting ethnic pluralism. The office attempted to reverse what Ruggiero calls the "melting pot phenomena"; in other words to make the communities

realize their common concerns and still keep a strong sense of identity. Aiello also ran the ethnic campaign for Carter. Ruggiero points out that 50% of the population in the 100 largest cities is comprised of minorities.

Because of a campaign law passed in the aftermath of Watergate, the White House staff was required to work on the campaign during off hours. Ruggiero did not notice that the office itself worked any more diligently during the campaign year, but that the campaign was certainly an influence on the agenda. No long term goals received much attention, whereas short term goals showing obvious results became the primary concern.

During this campaign summer, Ruggiero coordinated briefings for the Ethnic Affairs Office. He also planned a long term (three months) outreach program: having determined which states (mostly Democratic) already had ethnic offices, he helped organize an interstate network. Once this network was developed, Ruggiero helped with the compilation of lists of top priority issues and kept close contact with the state offices. Ruggiero pointed out that the importance of this project was to let these offices know that the White House office existed and that they had counterparts in other states.

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*"Ruggiero remembers that staff members would argue over the reservations about the [tennis] court, and Carter himself would step in as mediator."*

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In both the Public Affairs and the Ethnic Affairs offices, contacts were most important. Both Wexler and Aeillo were given their positions because of contacts, and Ruggiero points out that these very same contacts were instrumental in "getting the job done." In Aeillo's office, Deputy Special Assistant to the President Vicki Mongiardo impressed Ruggiero with her contacts. She had been a Catholic nun before this assignment and had worked in social services for the past twenty years. Her contacts with leaders of various ethnic communities allowed her to do an exemplary job.

From his assignments Ruggiero gained an overview of the workings of the presidential office. The senior staff met early every morning, after which the top aides would meet with the President at 9:00 a.m. to brief him on issues of major concern. The previous arrangement allowing top aides immediate access to the President had proven costly in presidential time, and the need for some sort of hierarchy



resulted in Hamilton Jordan's promotion to Chief of Staff. Ruggiero says that was a major mistake. Jordan was a strategist, not an executive: he was excellent as an ideas man, but as an administrator he failed. Ruggiero remembers that Jordan was rarely punctual, and very remiss in returning phone calls. Jack Watson replaced Jordan when he resigned to be Carter's campaign strategist. Watson proved to be a better details man, but Ruggiero feels it was too late to save Carter. Another example of mishaps concerns the White House tennis court. Ruggiero remembers that staff members would

argue over the reservation of the court, and Carter himself would step in as mediator.

A great deal of in-fighting occurred between the staff and also between staff and cabinet. In essence, it was as if there was one Chairman (Carter) and two boards. The Assistants were physically closer to the President, and competition for the President's attention was often heated. National Security Council competed with the State Department, and Ruggiero believes the fighting brought great waste of effort. Streamlining the administration is of most importance.

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*Linda Tuerk is a Junior at Connecticut College majoring in government. Miss Tuerk is also interested in film and is an executive on the Film Society board at Connecticut College.*

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**News Bits News Bits News Bits News Bits News Bits News Bits**  
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#### **A Renewed Effort by Senators for Tuition Tax Credits**

Republican Senators Bob Packwood from Oregon and William V. Roth from Delaware and Democratic Senator Daniel P. Moynihan from New York have introduced a new measure designed to establish credits of up to \$500 a year for families who must foot tuition bills.

The tax credits could cover 50 per cent of tuition payments, that is, up to the \$500 maximum. The cost of the bill has been estimated to be about \$4.3 billion by the Senators who proposed it.

#### **87 Per Cent Compliance Rate Shown by Newest Draft Figures**

Officials from the Selective Service System have stated that 87 per cent of those who were supposed to register in January did. The men who registered for the draft in January were all born in 1962. Officials say that less than 1 per cent of the 1.7 million men who most recently registered did so under protest, as compared to 1.8 per cent last summer.

#### **State Department Lifts Visa Restrictions for Iranian Students**

The State Department has lifted its special visa restrictions against Iranian students so that, once again, students from Iran can study in the United States.

A department spokesman gave the reason for the lift as a review of U.S.-Iran relations since the release of the hostages in January.

#### **Freshman Applications for Next Fall Increase by 13 Per Cent**

Freshmen applications at four year colleges and universities have increased by 13 per cent from 1980, according to a survey by *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, as of December 31. Private colleges had 7 per cent more applications this year than they did at the same time one year earlier. The increase at public colleges and universities was even greater with applications up by an average of 16 per cent.

#### **Library Network in Canada and U.S. Agree to Share Resources and Services**

A Canadian and an American computerized library network system have agreed to cooperate and share resources and services. The Research Libraries Group, located in Stanford, California, based the agreement on: sharing data bases; coordinating on service to member libraries; exchanging development on computerized library systems.

#### **Student Service Council Is Formed by Higher-Education Groups**

A council has been formed by twelve higher-education associations to help improve the quality of student services. These services include career planning, counseling, housing, student orientation and student-affairs programs. The new organization is called The Council for the Advancement of Standards for Student Services/Development Programs.



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# Is Reagan Cutting Your Education?

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by Ellen Boyle

The principal thrust of the Reagan budget plans for higher education is to cut programs that have benefited the students of middle- and upper-income families. To do so, President Reagan is calling for a major retrenchment in aid to higher education and for a drastic reduction in aid to middle-income students. Such a retrenchment in aid would affect a variety of federal assistance programs from the guaranteed loan programs for both students and their parents, to the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant program, recently renamed the Pell Grants, for Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island for his work on the Education Amendments of 1980. Also hit are Social Security benefits paid to college and university students. With such plans, Mr. Reagan proposes to end the federal government's previous role of supporting middle-income students and now plans to provide assistance only to the "truly needy" under a new, and smaller, federal budget.

With the proposed \$41.4 billion package of budget cuts, the Reagan Administration is considering "alternative possibilities" for reorganization of the federal education bureaucracy. Secretary of Education Terrel Bell predicts a reduction in unnecessary regulation of colleges and universities under the new Administration. He also admits that the main priority of the Reagan Administration is the nation's economy and warns that a focus on the troubled economy may have serious implications for higher education in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

What does President Reagan mean when he says he hopes to "arrest what has heretofore been an unfortunate national drift towards the universalization of social benefits"? How will this attitude affect higher education and the individual college student? Until details of the Administration's proposed reductions are completed, neither government or college officials can predict the full impact of the suggested changes.

However, the cuts already proposed by President Reagan have evoked an outpouring of speculation and criticism from higher education officials. Secretary Bell has repeatedly disputed the claims of higher education leaders who estimate that hundreds of thousands of students nationwide would be forced to drop out of school, while a similar number of students would be prompted to change their education plans and attend lower-cost institutions, under the Administration's plan.

Are such estimations completely imaginary? Or can these numbers be projected from the President's proposals? Even with the complications and uncertainties, it is still possible and beneficial to examine the President's plans for higher education, and specifically to consider his proposals for student aid programs and their consequences for the higher education system.

## Guaranteed Loan Program

The guaranteed student loan program has grown at such a rate that experts saw it on the verge of revolution-

izing the financing of higher education in this country. But the Carter budget called for major cutbacks in the program and it appears that President Reagan has similar plans for the loan program. The current Administration has identified the guaranteed loan program as a prime target area for cutting federal education spending.

The guaranteed student loan program, created by the Higher Education Act of 1965, was originally intended to assist students of middle-income families to meet the rising costs of a college education. Through this program, the federal government makes loans of \$2,500 available to undergraduate students at lower-than-market interest rates. Additionally, the federal government pays the full interest while the student is in school and supports the loan by financing the remaining difference between the market-value interest rate and the interest rate paid by the student-borrower when he completes school. The recent lower-than-market interest rate has been running about 7 percent. Consequently, the government's costs have grown greatly as interest rates have soared.

The Reagan Administration is opposed to the involvement of the federal government in supporting these loans. The Middle Income Assistance Act of 1978 removed the previous family income ceiling of \$25,000 on eligibility for the guaranteed loan program. With this legislation, Congress chose to expand the loan program to middle-income students rather than to adopt a tuition tax credit program designed to assist the same group. It is financial support for middle-income students, particularly in the form of guaranteed loans, to which the President is opposed.

Currently, the cost of this single program exceeds most other federal programs for higher education. The

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*"Campus aid officials suggest that affluent students should be barred from receiving federally guaranteed loans as an alternative to President Reagan's plan to cut back loans to college students in general."*

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total federal cost for the guaranteed loan program, including administrative costs, is approximately seventy-nine and a half cents on the dollar borrowed. The annual volume of new loans has more than tripled in the last three years, reaching \$4.8 billion. Officials estimate that the combined borrowing of students and their parents



under the guaranteed loan program in fiscal years 1981 and 1982 would exceed \$18.8 billion, almost the total amount that students have borrowed under this program since its inception in 1966. Many say the program has become too "appealing."

- Families can now borrow up to \$5,500 per year; students may borrow \$2,500 and their parents may borrow \$3,000 at no more than 9 percent interest.

- State guarantee agencies receive federal cash, insurance premiums, cost allowances, and a "re-insurance" policy that relieves them of the ultimate responsibility for covering a bad loan.

- The lender-bank has competitive interest rates and a convenient "secondary market" in which loans can be sold.

Both Presidents Carter and Reagan have attempted to slow the drain on the Treasury by the guaranteed loan program. The Carter budget had called for cutbacks in the program by restricting federal interest subsidies, limiting the amount that students may borrow, and cutting back on payments to lending banks. Critics of the Carter proposal warned that such measures would essentially kill the program, but the Reagan Administration plans similar, if not stronger, changes for the program.

President Reagan, like Carter, hopes to trim down borrowing for this year and next to \$10.8 billion. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) documents follow the Carter plan rather closely. By basing the amount students may borrow on their demonstrated financial need and by reducing federal subsidies for loans to both students and their parents, the cost of the program could be reduced by \$138 million in fiscal year 1981 and by \$878 million in fiscal year 1982, according to Administration estimates. The Reagan Administration is certainly expected to call for an end to the current policy of backing loans to students regardless of their family incomes. President Reagan's loan reform plan would reduce federal policy of paying the interest on loans while students are in college. Mr. Reagan also plans to cut costs by increasing the interest charged on loans from the current 9 percent to existing market-values.

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates that by cutting federal subsidies for guaranteed loans as President Reagan suggests, demand for the loans would be reduced by 25 percent in the first year alone. CBO also predicts that the federal government could save \$5.56 billion over the next five years if it stopped paying the interest on guaranteed loans while the student attends college.

Even with plans to restrict eligibility and to "tighten-up" the loan program, the Administration predicts that the number of students participating in the program will continue to grow. Proposed figures show an increase of almost 1 million students from fiscal year 1981 to 1982 participating in the program. Officials further warn that the rate of expansion would be significantly greater if the Reagan loan reform package is not approved by Congress.

Congress had tended generally to cut budgets over which it had direct control, leaving automatically-triggered or "entitlement" funds, like the student loans,

relatively safe. Thus, last spring for example, Congress slashed proposals for the Pell grants by \$140 million, while simultaneously appropriating an additional \$650 million for the guaranteed student loan program. But it is a new atmosphere now, and the State Budget Committee has lined up with President Reagan, cutting back the guaranteed loans. The Budget Committee also told the Committee on Labor and Human Resources to find ways of saving \$566 million in the loan program for the next year.

College officials have seen the guaranteed loan program as a mixed blessing for years. Many colleges and universities, particularly private institutions, are extremely dependent upon these guaranteed loans as an indirect source of income. Students graduate finding themselves saddled with excessive debts. An undergraduate can borrow up to \$10,000, and additional funding is available for graduate education. But these worries are cast aside quickly, as leaders of higher education rally to support the overall program.

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*"College representatives warn that students from poor, black, and blue-collar families would be the ones hardest hit by proposals to eliminate Social Security benefits for students."*

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According to E.K. Fretwell, Chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and Chairman of the American Council on Education (ACE), the cumulative effect of Ronald Reagan's proposal would be to "effectively shut down the guaranteed loan program as a means of financing higher education."<sup>3</sup> The National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators estimates that 80 to 90 percent of the students now receiving guaranteed loans would be excluded from the program if Congress: eliminates interest subsidies now provided while students are in school; bases loans on a student's demonstrated financial need; and raises the interest charged in the loan program for parents from the current 9 percent to the prevailing market rate. Further, the Association contends that banks may be less willing to make loans under these conditions, because their profit margins will be too low and their administrative costs will be too high on the smaller loans for which most students would be eligible. Dallas Martin, Executive Director of the Association, warns that restrictions on student loans would be particularly hard on private colleges where students rely heavily on borrowing to finance their education. In his words, retrenchment would have a "devastating effect" on graduate and professional schools as well, whose students make up 25 percent of the program's borrowers.<sup>4</sup>

Many question the actual cause of the growing costs of the guaranteed loan program. Steve Leifman, national director of the National Coalition of Independent College and University Students (COPUS) contends that the primary reason for the four-fold increase in the cost of the guaranteed loan program in recent years is not that more students sought loans, but is "the skyrocketing interest rates and the high cost of money, to which the program is tied." Special allowances paid to lender-banks to make



such loans available have increased by more than the cost of interest subsidies paid on the loans.

Many, if not most, colleges and universities have set their tuition and other costs assuming that the loan program would exist. This is a program that truly reaches all types of students at all kinds of institutions. Because of this shared interest, the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators, under the direction of Dallas Martin, has proposed an alternative loan reform program to the House Budget Committee. Campus aid officials suggest that affluent students be barred from receiving federally guaranteed loans as an alternative to President Reagan's plan to cut back loans to college students in general. Martin's recommendations for the guaranteed loan program would restrict loans to student-borrowers from families with annual incomes less than \$30,000 to \$35,000. The plan further calls for: reducing the amount that self-supporting students may borrow; increasing the interest charged on loans to parents; and providing new incentives to students to repay their loans quickly. These and other less drastic changes would save \$625 million in the guaranteed loan program, while the Reagan plan would save an approximate \$730 million.

family, thus reducing the amount of federal aid for which students are eligible, and decreasing the federal expenditures for this assistance program. The program calls for:

- an increase from 14 percent to 20 percent in the required family contribution to a student's education costs.
- an elimination of provisions allowing families to deduct state and local tax payments from their incomes.
- a required annual student contribution of \$750 to his college expenses.
- new restrictions on expenses for calculating college-related costs.

Most savings in the Pell Grant program would be realized by requiring families to contribute more money towards their children's education. Under existing law, families earning less than \$25,000 are required to contribute up to 14 percent of their disposable income towards college expenses.

#### **Pell grants**

Carter asked:	\$2,752,000,000
Reagan proposes:	2,486,000,000

#### **Guaranteed Student Loans**

Carter asked:	\$2,346,000,000
Reagan proposes:	1,839,000,000

#### **Direct Student Loans**

Carter asked:	\$286,000,000
Reagan Proposes:	215,000,000

#### **Social Security Student Benefits**

Carter asked:	\$2,400,000,000
Reagan Proposes:	1,650,000,000

#### **Vocational Education**

Carter asked:	\$779,241,000
Reagan Proposes:	623,000,000

#### **National Endowment for the Arts**

Carter asked:	\$175,000,000
Reagan Proposes:	88,000,000

#### **National Endowment for the Humanities**

Carter asked:	\$170,000,000
Reagan Proposes:	85,000,000

#### **National Science Foundation**

Carter asked:	\$1,353,500,000
Reagan Proposes:	1,115,000,000

#### **Health Professions Education**

Carter asked:	\$169,584,000
Reagan Proposes:	120,000,000

#### **Institute of Museum Services**

Carter asked:	\$16,937,000
Reagan Proposes:	—0—

#### **College Housing Loans**

Carter asked:	\$14,550,000
Reagan Proposes:	—0—

Source: Office of Management and Budget

#### **Pell Grant Program**

President Reagan is calling for a plan to cut our middle-income eligibility for the Pell Grant program. Pell Grants are awarded according to a student's demonstrated financial need, the cost of his education, and his status as either a full-time or a part-time student. The awards range from \$200 to \$1,900 and unlike loans, the grants do not have to be paid back. The Reagan proposal outlines modifications in the method of calculating a student's financial need. An increased share of a student's education costs would be borne by the student and his

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) predicts that such changes would eliminate 100,000 students from the Pell Grant program in fiscal year 1981. And the Budget Office also estimates that 575,000 fewer grants will be awarded in fiscal year 1982 under the proposed eligibility requirements. The Office of Management and Budget predicts that the Reagan changes would reduce by 40 percent the amount of a Pell Grant awarded to a student with a family income of \$20,000. This plan calls for an average grant of \$560, as opposed to the previous average of \$1,011.

The American Council on Education (ACE) estimates that new requirements would effectively limit eligibility



to students from families earning less than \$19,000 annually. E.K. Fretwell of ACE suggests that the Reagan plan "would have the effect of repealing the Middle Income Student Assistance Act of 1978," which raised the income limit for Pell Grants to \$25,000.<sup>6</sup> Others have criticized President Reagan's plan to drop the cost-of-living increase in the Pell Grant program. In the opinion of Dallas Martin, of the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators, this would be a "regressive" move because inflation would erode the resources of poor students more than it would affect the resources of middle-income students. But Mr. Martin does agree with the proposal to require families to pay a proportionately larger percentage of their disposable incomes towards a child's education costs. Mr. Martin hopes for a reform package that would pare federal spending on grants and loans, while avoiding the inequities and disruptions that he believes are created by the Reagan plan.<sup>7</sup>

### **Social Security Benefits Paid to College and University Students**

The Social Security benefits paid to college and university students is the third, and final, area of student assistance that President Reagan plans to modify. Currently, the Social Security program provides more than \$2 billion in benefits to approximately 800,000 students between the ages of 18 and 22 years.

Unmarried, full-time students between the ages of 18 and 22 are eligible to receive Social Security payments when a parent who has worked long enough receives retirement or disability benefits, or has died. Mr. Reagan opposes such payments because they are made without any regard to financial need or college expenses; he contends that these Social Security benefits are unfairly distributed. David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, further contends that this Social Security program has outlived its original purpose now that other sources of student aid exist.

The Reagan Administration thus proposes to end Social Security payments made to college students. Student aid is an "inappropriate and inefficient" use of Social Security funds, according to the administration. Mr. Reagan has recommended that no new beneficiaries be allowed to enter the program after August 1981 and that payments to the approximately 800,000 students now receiving aid through the program be reduced by 25 percent annually until recipients reach the age of 22 years. By cutting off Social Security benefits to college students, it is estimated that the federal government could save \$8.0 billion through 1986.

In recent years, 84 percent of the recipients of Social Security benefits have come from families earning less than \$20,000 per year, according to the American Association of State Colleges and Universities. The General Accounting Office seems to concur in this estimate, predicting that one half of the student beneficiaries were from families with annual incomes of \$8,000 or less. College representatives warn that students from poor, black, and blue-collar families would be the ones hardest hit by proposals to eliminate Social Security benefits for students. The difficulty of this situation would be further compounded if other sources of financial aid were also cut back by the Reagan Administration. Critics of the Reagan plan to eliminate Social Security payments for students contend that this proposal would

harm the classes of people, the "truly needy", that the President said would be protected from his budget cuts.

### **Tuition Tax Credits**

As a response to the cuts proposed for student aid programs, President Reagan has suggested creating a national tuition tax credit program. Although tuition tax credits were not included in Mr. Reagan's tax cut package in his address to Congress, he indicated that tuition tax credits were among other measures he would pursue in the future. Mr. Reagan has made his support for tuition tax credits, at least at the elementary and secondary school levels, public on many occasions during his political career.

The tuition tax credit issue came up in 1978, when proposed legislation carried price tags ranging from \$1 to \$6 billion annually. President Carter firmly opposed the concept and threatened to veto such legislation if it passed the Congress, but twelve bills have now been introduced that would give tax breaks to parents who pay tuition for their children's education at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions.

Higher education associations are split over such proposals and fear that enactment of such credits would erode support for existing student aid programs. In general, opposition for similar tax credit programs is expected from public education groups. Prospects for passage would be expected to improve if tuition tax credits were included as part of Mr. Reagan's comprehensive plan to reduce federal taxes.

Representatives of independent colleges and universities disagree over whether tax relief plans would offer additional aid to students or threaten existing forms of financial assistance. At its annual meeting, the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, reaffirmed its position that tuition tax credits "present a number of serious concerns," and should be considered only "as a supplement to adequate funding of existing grants, loans, and work programs."<sup>8</sup> Opponents of tuition tax credits argue that with the current pressure to cut federal spending, Congress might try to balance out revenues lost with tax credits by reducing spending for other education programs, specifically programs such as Pell Grants and Guaranteed Loans which students at private institutions rely on heavily.

Many independent schools see tuition tax credits as politically inevitable, and therefore they are not taking a strong stand against them. But these programs could undermine the ability of private colleges and universities to attract students. Such proposals would provide proportionately more relief to students who attend low-cost institutions than to those at higher-cost ones.

The American Association of State Colleges and Universities also oppose tuition tax credits, stating that they discriminate against lower- and middle-income and minority students, with the largest tax breaks tending to go to wealthier students attending high-cost colleges. Tuition tax credits would take money, in their opinion, now targeted for the most needy students and shift it to an across-the-board assistance program that would benefit more students.

In reviewing the Reagan plan for reducing student aid programs, it is essential to consider both the short term and the long term effects. In order to be successful, the Reagan plan must reach a careful balance between long



and short term consequences and it must find a workable progression from the existing aid programs to the newer, streamlined ones.

To begin the analysis of the Reagan plan for student aid programs it would be wise to return to the initial purpose of the proposal, a drastic reduction of aid for middle- and upper-income college students. With this plan, the President proposes to end the federal government's current role of supporting middle-income college students and to focus assistance programs exclusively on the "truly needy". This is clearly a major change in emphasis in the federal government's policy toward student assistance programs. Until this time, there has been a deliberate and recognized policy of providing financial aid for students of middle-income families. The Middle Income Assistance Act of 1978 is a clear example of this federal policy.

Is Mr. Reagan's goal of eliminating aid to middle- and upper-income students a reasonable one? Or is there a true need for assistance for college students from middle-income families? It is possible that the answer to both of these questions is yes. In this case, a tentative balance will have to be found between the two in order for the Reagan plan to be a true success.

One might question whether the Reagan proposals actually attempt such a balance. Certainly in the short run, the Reagan plan will have its advantages. It will clearly reduce the amount of federal money that is being spent on student aid programs. Such reductions in federal spending can be viewed as a positive move. But at the same time, estimates suggest that hundreds of thousands of students will be forced to change their education plans and to attend lower-cost institutions. But one might ask if our society should support students, in some limited manner, while they are in school. This concept does not appear to be a totally disagreeable one.

There might be a need for some type of income restriction, or displayed financial need, in the federal assistance programs. In times of economic hardship, there is a need to both limit federal spending, while also providing necessary services and support for certain segments of the population. In the case of student aid, these two concerns become quite apparent. There probably exists, as with other numerous assistance programs, room for "tightening up" in the federal student aid programs, but we must view such measures carefully. We must consider how these changes will affect both the whole population, the individual students and their families, and to complete the cycle, the society again. Eventually the changes that affect individual students and their educational plans will affect the country as a whole. Society does not advance without the continued, and improved, education of its youth.

Now, we must also examine the other side of the Reagan proposals, the plan to provide aid for the "truly needy" college students. This certainly seems to be a responsible, and essential task for the federal government to perform. Although the Reagan plan proposes to provide such assistance, many have criticized its ability to do so. With the reduction of Social Security payments for students between the ages of 18 and 22 years in particular, it appears that the traditional forms of student assistance for the needy will be removed and no alternatives are being proposed. Again, this measure will

have various long term effects for both the individual student and for the nation as a whole and these must be carefully considered before formal action is taken on the Reagan plan. With the elimination of such aid, higher education will depend more fully on an individual's personal financial situation, a dependence which will bring further economic restrictions on educational opportunities in this country.

In conclusion, it appears that Mr. Reagan's plan has many, yet unconsidered, facets to it. Its initial purpose is a respectable and, most likely, a necessary one. But these changes will not prove to be truly successful unless long term considerations are taken into account in designing a new student assistance program.

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*Ellen Boyle is a Senior Urban Affairs major at Connecticut College. She hopes to go into politics and has an internship with Speaker Tip O'Neill's office this summer in Washington as a start down the political road.*

<sup>1</sup>Janet Hook, "Bell Picked by Reagan for Education Post says Agency May Become Independent Unit," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 12, 1981, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup>Janet Hook, "Reagan's Budget Proposals: Drastic Retrenchment in Aid to Students, Arts, Humanities," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 23, 1981, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Janet Hook, "Reagan's Cuts May Force 750,000 Students Out, Add to Huge Jump in Mail Costs, Colleges Warn," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 2, 1981, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>Fields, Cheryl M., "Cuts in Aid Threaten Tenure, AAUP Fears; Colleges Weigh Other Effects of Reagan Plan," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 9, 1981, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup>"Reagan's Cuts May Force 750,000 Students Out, Add to Huge Jump in Mail Costs, Colleges Warn," p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>Janet Hook, "Aid Officers Suggest Alternative Budget; Plan Includes Ban on Loan to Affluent," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 23, 1981, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Janet Hook, "Private Colleges Eye Tuition Tax Credits: a Boom or a Threat to Existing Aid Plans?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 17, 1981, p. 9.



# Reagan's Cuts: Financial Aid and You

by Lawrence G. Hirsch

One of the most controversial of Ronald Reagan's budget reductions has been his proposed cuts in aid to college students. The two major programs under debate are the Guaranteed Student Loan program (G.S.L.) and the Pell Grants for needy students.

The budget cutters see these programs as inefficient and too costly to the government, while educators see them as necessary to keep private institutions running at a high quality level.

## Guaranteed Student Loans

Under the Guaranteed Student Loan program a student can borrow up to \$2,500 per year to finance his education, paying no interest while in school and only a fraction of the rate upon graduation. The government makes up the difference between these rates and market rates of interest. The program, which started in 1966, has undergone a great expansion in recent years to the point where over two billion dollars is borrowed on it annually, because there is no need requirement.

Without a need requirement, the program has left itself open for many abuses. Upper and upper-middle income students have been borrowing money as a matter of convenience and investing it in Money Market funds or other interest-earning assets. The Reagan administration would require need to be proven under a complicated formula involving earned income, plus other assets. The federal government also wants to charge the student discounted interest rates while he is in school, which will accrue and be payable after graduation in addition to other interest charges. The federal government would continue to pay the difference between the discounted rate and market rate of interest.

While most college administrators admit abuses in the system, they also feel that Mr. Reagan's cuts would, in the words of Harvard's financial aid coordinator Richard Black, bring about "uniform disaster" to the college community.

Ms. Marcia Gardiner, the Director of Financial Aid at Connecticut College, spoke of various complications arising out of the process for determining need. She sees the process proposed as inefficient "because it would create a new and complicated bureaucracy in each state having to determine this need." Instead, she suggests a more efficient system which takes into account a family's income, the number of children in college and other special circumstances.

Mr. Black of Harvard mentioned a proposal offered by the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators, (NASFAA), which would define the criteria for need in the following manner. First, families with an annual income of under \$35,000 will be able to receive some form of their loan if they can demonstrate

sufficient need. Most administrators see some sort of compromise on the horizon regarding this issue.

The \$35,000 figure is widely accepted as an income cap to determine need in various compromise proposals. Above this figure, a student would have to prove financial need in order to get a Guaranteed Student Loan.

According to Ms. Karen Tatro of Smith College's financial aid office, some kind of compromise will come out of Congress, because "most Congressmen have college age kids" and constituent pressure. Without a compromise she sees a "good possibility" of students leaving Smith. Even with a \$35,000 income cap, some Smith students may be forced to leave. Sixty percent of Smith's Guaranteed Student Loan recipients come from families with income between \$40,000 and \$75,000, the group hardest hit by Guaranteed Student Loan restrictions.

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*"Without a need requirement, the Guaranteed Student Loan program has left itself open for many abuses. Upper and upper-middle income students have been borrowing money as a matter of convenience and investing it in Money Market funds or other interest-earning assets."*

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Ms. Anne Zartarian of Trinity College's financial aid office sees the problem as more long-term than short-term. She stated that people currently in school will not transfer out, but loan reductions might have an effect on incoming freshmen.

Financial aid officers see the question of interest payments while a student is still enrolled as even more crucial. Under the new proposals, according to Connecticut College's Ms. Gardiner, while a student is still enrolled, the bank making the loan would receive only the difference between the discount rate and the market rate. Thus making little profit, many banks might choose to dis-



continue participation in the program. For example, if the Treasury bill rate was fourteen percent and the interest rate charged the student was nine percent, then the bank would only be collecting five percent on the loan while the student is in school. Although the money would be paid back after graduation, inflation over four years would decrease its value. These rules, according to Ms. Gardiner, could lead to termination of the Guaranteed Student Loan program.

Ms. Zartarian of Trinity mentioned a compromise proposal: students who can demonstrate need will have the government subsidize their interest payments while they are in school. Those who cannot would still get the loans at the discounted rate, but the interest would accrue over the college years. Students who aren't considered "needy," would then have the option of paying the interest while in school or waiting until graduation.

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*"Mr. Reagan's cuts would, in the words of Harvard's financial aid coordinator, Richard Black, bring about 'uniform disaster' to the college community."*

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This compromise would lead to fewer loans to people who don't need them and the interest would be guaranteed on most loans as would the bank's margin of profitability. Smith's sixty percent figure is proof that upper and upper-middle income students use a lot of the loan money. If the share of the loans these people received were cut down, more needy students would receive the loans and there would be less abuse of the program.

Both Mr. Black and Ms. Gardiner see the ending of the loan program as a catastrophe for most private colleges and universities. At Connecticut College, for example, where annual charges approach \$10,000, G.S.L.'s are offered as part of the overall financial aid package given to students in need. Without them other forms of financial aid would have to be found. Faculty salaries, building construction and other projects would be hurt greatly, as endowment money would have to go to financial aid. The schools would, in the words of Trinity college's Anne Zartarian, "not have as much of a cushion to afford the luxury of having money for last minute aid adjustment."

Reagan has proposed restoring one hundred million to the National Direct Student Loan, (N.D.S.L.) fund. The N.D.S.L. is a fund which gives money to schools so they can lend it to needy students at low rates. The hope is that this money will perpetuate itself and the government role will be phased out. Ms. Gardiner sees the N.D.S.L. as inefficient because, banks run the business of lending money better than schools, and there are many defaults on payments under the N.D.S.L. program.

Here the income group most likely to be hurt are the people making from \$35,000 to \$50,000 per year. For this group, the \$10,000 many private institutions now charge for a year constitutes a significant hardship. Students

from these families do have enough money to pay the bill directly, but would have to sacrifice a lot. Without the \$2,500 G.S.L., most of these families would be forced to send their children to public institutions. College officials do not see why a family should have to change its lifestyle in order to send a child to college.

Guaranteed Student Loans are one of the major forms of financing a student's education. With inflation pushing energy, faculty and other college costs up at record rates, tuition and other charges are skyrocketing. Since this country is dedicated to equal opportunity, a program such as G.S.L. is necessary for each student to receive the education for which he is most qualified. The abuses in the program must be corrected, but not at the cost of removing the program from those who do need it. The most likely result is that these qualified students will leave independent schools for public institutions, many of which are already overcrowded and heavily subsidized through state and local funds. This is an odd result for a program of an administration which is dedicated to minimizing government's role in our lives.

### Pell Grants

The Pell Grants are not loans, but outright grants to support students in higher education. The amount of the grant varies according to a formula which determines what a family can afford to contribute. The formula takes the family's income, subtracts income taxes and a living allowance, and then sets the family's expected contribution as a percentage of the remainder. Earlier legislation had held that a family should be expected to contribute 14 percent of the remainder towards college costs, but Congress last year lowered the level to 10.5 percent. The major change proposed by the Reagan administration is the restoration of the 14 percent level. Compared to the G.S.L. program, fewer students receive the Pell Grants, and the amount of the individual grant is well under the \$2,500 loan. Consequently, the administration's proposals for the Pell Grants will not have effects on the colleges as pronounced as those anticipated from modifications in the G.S.L. program.

The Congressional Budget Office predicts that 100,000 grants will be dropped in 1981 and over 500,000 in 1982. Also, the average Pell Grant is expected to drop from \$1,000 to \$560. It is estimated by the American Council on Education that the Reagan changes would limit eligibility for the grants to people making under \$19,000. The limit is currently \$25,000.

The group of students most likely to be affected by these reductions are those from families making between \$20,000 and \$25,000 per year. These students normally receive grants of about \$300 to \$500 per year, and these would either be reduced or eliminated.

A majority of the offered grants would be affected by the new restrictions. At Connecticut College, for example, sixty-two percent of the students who receive Pell Grants fall into the affected higher income groups.

Administrators, while concerned with the Pell Grant reductions, do not see the same drastic effects from them as from the G.S.L. cuts. First, the cuts will be under a thousand dollars for any student who receives the loan. Second, the amount of money which would be lost would be minimal compared to the G.S.L. losses, so the schools



will be able to adjust their aid packages more easily. They do not expect as many students to leave private colleges as under the G.S.L. cuts. However, taken with severe reductions in the G.S.L. program, Pell Grant cuts would aggravate the disaster private colleges would face.

Federal money is essential to the aid programs for most private colleges and universities. Costs for such staples as energy, faculty and other essential services are increasing rapidly. Reagan Administration officials contend that the long run benefits realized by the control of inflation will be worth any short-term hardships. Financial aid administrators do not see this result however. They see the above costs, especially energy, continuing to increase. The increasing costs will keep tuition rising markedly. Without federal money the higher rates may be too much for most college families to bear. The administrators see whatever damage which may occur in the short run as probably irreparable.

Some restrictions are needed to correct abuses in the

aid distribution. The idea of an income cap should be given due consideration. If the compromises proposed by aid officers can be accepted, the programs could be saved without any great political problems for Ronald Reagan.

But if the President's program goes through without modification, the major result would be, according to Ms. Tatro from Smith, "some needy people will not get the required money and will have to leave private colleges and universities." The denial for these people of the education they are most qualified for is contrary to all American principles of advancement.

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*Lawrence Hirsch is a Junior economics major at Connecticut College. He became interested in working for this magazine because of his interest in the writing field. Mr. Hirsch also enjoys politics and worked full time last year from January through the summer for the Democratic Convention.*

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# Culture Shock: Radicals in a New Age

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by Carole Rulnick

A prevalent belief among today's psychologists is that psychopaths usually lose their more dangerous anti-social traits after the age of forty. Once psychopaths reach middle age, they often burn out. The media of the 1980's assumes that a similar fate has fallen upon the former leftist radicals of the 1960's. As example, the press points out that many of the leaders of the sixties' New Left have entered the very Establishment that they tried to tear down fifteen years ago. In direct contradiction to the values which they espoused in the 60's, the middle-aged ex-radicals have become preoccupied with money and power.

Jerry Rubin, a former Yippie leader, who in 1967 dropped three hundred one dollar bills on the New York Stock Exchange to protest the ethics of America's capitalist system, has recently joined an investment firm on Wall Street. Tom Hayden, a chief organizer of the 60's New Left, has plans to run for Senator of California in 1982, and maybe even the Presidency. Even Abbie Hoffman, the Yippie leader who merged theatrics with politics and designed the character of the Movement, has given up his fugitive life and now faces the courts of the Establishment on cocaine charges.

The media, however, overemphasizes the conservatism of the former radicals. In its anxiousness to portray the leaders of the New Left as betrayers of their own ideology, the media has placed undue significance on the ex-radicals' change in lifestyles. While the former leaders

of the sixties' protests have undeniably mellowed their extremism, the values which they advocated in the 60's have not been lost in the wake of their transition to middle age.

On July 30, 1980, Jerry Rubin wrote a letter to the *New York Times* announcing that he had accepted a job on Wall Street with the investment firm John Muir & Company. His position is that of a security analyst, who will "find, analyze, and develop financing and marketing plans" for small independent companies.<sup>1</sup> Rubin explains that his transition from radical activist of the 60's to financial planner of the 80's has occurred because of his constant desire to be in a position where he can have an impact on American society. Knowing that in the 1980's radical outsiders have little influence over policy-making, Rubin has decided that he can change the system only by joining it.

*As the 80's dawned, I found myself becoming bored with the mobility and personal freedom that I had cherished for the last 20 years. I felt separated from power. Raising money for projects in the last few years, I have learned that the individual who signs the check has the ultimate power. Money is power. If I am going to have any effect on my society in the next forty years, I must develop the power that only money can bring.<sup>2</sup>*



Rubin emphasizes however, that although he has accepted a position on Wall Street, his values and criticisms have not radically altered. He is still troubled by the wide disparity between the "enormous wealth" and the "mass poverty" that exists in the United States, but believes that such problems could be alleviated if little companies had access to the same "financial rights and opportunities" as the large corporations. In his job as security analyst, Rubin hopes to pass along information about finance, which will place only "socially aware risk-takers" in a powerful position. His underlying assumption is that once huge organizations are de-emphasized, capitalism "will work for everyone."<sup>3</sup>

Rubin's letter elicited a surprisingly hostile response from the readers of the *New York Times*. Many liberals, who had admired Jerry Rubin in their youth, felt betrayed by his acceptance of the Establishment. Conservatives also wondered how Rubin could justify his new job of promoting American capitalism, when he had spent his youth seemingly attempting to destroy the capitalist system.<sup>4</sup> One *New York Times* reader suggested sarcastically that the New Left set up "a pension fund for its activists emeritus," so that "such persons" as Jerry Rubin "would be spared the indignity of having to take degrading and even deleterious employment in their dotage."<sup>5</sup>

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*"In direct contradiction to the values which they espoused in the Sixties, the middle-aged ex-radicals have become preoccupied with money and power."*

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What is surprising about these criticisms is their unanimous misinterpretation of Jerry Rubin's role in the 60's. While Rubin had stood out in his own words as a "crazy, violent, face-painted, screaming, angry . . . revolutionary, a theatrical amalgam of Lenny Bruce and Che Guevara," this person had only been an image created by Jerry Rubin and the media.<sup>6</sup> According to Rubin's autobiography, the real Jerry Rubin "was always more sane and middle class than [his Yippie] image."<sup>7</sup> Hence, the wide disparity that his critics see now, between the revolutionary who wanted to destroy the system and the security analyst on Wall Street, does not exist, because the extremist radical had never been real. The creation of a "mystical existence" was an outrageous tactic used by Rubin to fulfill the non-radical aim of steering his generation away from conformity and toward open-mindedness. As an "image of total permission," Rubin saw himself as a catalyst, which "enabled people to redefine the possibilities for their lives."<sup>8</sup>

Jerry Rubin began his career of a sixties radical as a leader of protests against the Vietnam War. A member of

the Vietnam Day Committee, a Berkeley teach-in inspired by the Free Speech Movement, Rubin organized a march which attempted to shut down the Oakland Army Terminal which supplied Vietnam with war materials. Although Rubin was not successful in disrupting the Oakland Army Terminal, he was rewarded for his efforts by a free trip to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in August, 1966. A cunning manipulator of the media, Rubin captured the nation's attention when he attended the House hearings dressed as an American revolutionary soldier and handed out copies of the Declaration of Independence. Although he was not called on to testify, Rubin was arrested for causing a disturbance in the House.<sup>9</sup>

In 1967, Rubin made an unsuccessful attempt to run for mayor of Berkeley under slogans advocating black power and the legalization of marijuana. Later that year, he was recruited by David Dellinger, head of the National Mobilization to End the War, to help organize a march on the Pentagon in protest of the Vietnam War. In front of one hundred thousand demonstrators, Rubin announced, "We are now in the business of wholesale resistance and dislocation of the American society. We, the American people, are going to have to close down the Pentagon, the universities, the banks."<sup>10</sup>

On New Year's Eve, 1967, Jerry Rubin joined two of the most imaginative leaders of the New Left, Abbie Hoffman and Paul Krassner, to create a new organization which would protest the Democratic Convention in August, 1968. While on an acid trip, the three of them invented the name YIP or Youth International Party, whose members would be called "Yippies." A Yippie, as Abbie Hoffman explains in his autobiography *Soon to Be a Major Motion Picture*, is "a political hippie . . . a flower child who's been busted."<sup>11</sup>

What began as an hallucination in Hoffman's apartment turned into a political reality in Chicago that summer, when five thousand Yippies came to protest the Democratic Convention and the Vietnam War. That the demonstrations became no less than a chaotic war between the Yippies and Mayor Daley's police, is partially due to Jerry Rubin and his fellow leaders, who were instrumental in provoking the conflict. By encouraging Yippies to stay in the park illegally, the protest leaders set them up for a conflict with the police. Mayor Daley and his police reacted with more violence than even Rubin expected. They attacked the unarmed Yippies so violently and indiscriminately that they fulfilled the role which Rubin and the other radicals had set up for them: they became "pigs."<sup>12</sup>

Following the Democratic Convention, Rubin became one of the Chicago Seven, when he and his fellow protest leaders were indicted for conspiring to riot. After a five and a half month trial, they were found guilty of crossing state lines with the intention to riot. This verdict was overturned in an appeals court, which convicted Rubin for contempt, but did not sentence him to jail.

A flamboyant leader of the radical movement, Rubin gained publicity from the Chicago Seven trial and from his book *Do it!*, published in 1970. However, as he traveled across the country on speaking tours, Rubin became disillusioned with the movement. He experienced symptoms of "depression, low energy, and loss of ambition," resulting in a withdrawal from public life and the beginning of self-analysis.<sup>13</sup> Part of this withdrawal



from his Yippie existence stemmed from Rubin's unwillingness to sacrifice his personal life in order to maintain his public role.

*There were many things I refused to see in the sixties because I hid behind the radical leader image; my personal life was at the service of a public existence. As long as I had an investment in being Jerry Rubin the image, I could not grow. I had to free myself from my self-image, my public image; I had to kill Jerry Rubin to become me.<sup>14</sup>*

Another reason for Rubin's refusal to maintain his radical image was his realization that the movement was effectively over. With an end to the war in Vietnam, and the exposure of Watergate, the New Left found its reservoir of indignation drained. What was left of the movement quibbled over whether violence should be the next tactic, while Rubin was deciding that "to change the system," he needed "money to survive and create energy."<sup>15</sup> Although he still wanted to be politically active, he was no longer willing to be personally unsatisfied.

In 1981, Jerry Rubin at age 43 is still active in promoting his values, although he is now a private reformer. He has narrowed his attempt to change the world to aiding small, promising businesses. Yet, it is certainly possible that he will do more there to benefit his past liberal causes than he would if he continued dancing in the streets. His ability to adapt to the changing times has shown him to be more mature than his liberal and conservative critics, who insist on stereotyping Rubin "as an image frozen in the painted faces of the 60's."<sup>16</sup>

Another former revolutionary of the sixties, who has long passed what the movement once took as the age of being trustworthy, is Tom Hayden. Co-founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, Hayden wrote the first draft of the Port Huron statement in 1962. Considered to be one of the first radical documents of the 60's, the Port Huron statement attacked the complacency of American politics, as well as the American bureaucracy, the arms race and racial discrimination. Although he consistently stressed the use of nonviolent tactics, Hayden nevertheless became an influential leader of the New Left, a movement Norman Mailer describes as

*generically socialist, believing in a politics of confrontation, intelligent programmatic warriors, positivists in philosophy, educational in method, ideological in their focus — which is to say a man's personality was less significant than his ideas.<sup>17</sup>*

Hayden was also a member of the Chicago Seven trial along with Rubin and Hoffman, although unlike his more media-conscious fellow leftists, Hayden had no appreciation for the theatrical antics which his colleagues had staged for the trial and which brought it so much publicity. Hayden emerged from the proceedings with the same verdict as his co-defenders, guilty of crossing state lines with the intention to riot and contempt of court. By 1973, the riot convictions and most of the contempt charges had been overturned. The last Appeals court declined to pass sentence. Tom Hayden meanwhile

continued to work against the United States involvement in Vietnam as late as 1973. At the same time, he married actress Jane Fonda, and entered a new phase of his political life.

Withdrawing from the movement in the early 70's, Hayden was the only prominent leftist leader to enter the mainstream of Democratic politics. In 1976, he ran unsuccessfully in the California primaries for the U.S. Senate. Following this failure, Hayden and Fonda founded their own organization, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), a grassroots group promoting candidates and causes. Worthy causes in Hayden and Fonda's view are virtually anything which is anti-corporation, including rent control, public ownership of utilities, and a gradual phase-out of nuclear power. Although CED has not gained a significant public backing, Hayden and his wife still persist in frequent, widespread speaking tours. Undoubtedly, Hayden also hopes to gain publicity through CED for his campaign to run for the U.S. Senate in 1982. Hayden has also talked privately of running for President.<sup>18</sup>

In his quest to become a respectable politician, Tom Hayden is quick to deny, or at least minimize, his radical past. A few years ago on "Meet the Press," Hayden claimed that "he had never been . . . a revolutionary."<sup>19</sup> Remarks such as this one have led to virulent criticism of Hayden by his former co-workers. In his autobiography, Abbie Hoffman described the new, conservative Hayden as a betrayer of the New Left. He says, "I have nightmares in which he and Prosecutor Foran, from the Chicago Seven trial, share a bottle of scotch and reminisce about those 'scummy faggots' who had no respect for the system."<sup>20</sup>

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***"With an end to the war in Vietnam, and the exposure of Watergate, the New Left found its reservoir of indignation drained."***

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Although the more radical section of the New Left thinks of him as the movement's Richard Nixon, Hayden does not believe that his goal of a leadership position in the United States government is in any way a betrayal of his liberal values. He sees himself as a "crusader" and publicizes a "high-profile utopianism" image, inspiring one journalist to call him and Jane "the Mork and Mindy of California politics."<sup>21</sup> Although Hayden holds to the same ideals that he advocated in the sixties, he, like Rubin, now claims the right to reform the system from within.

While men such as Tom Hayden organized the demonstrations of the 1960's, the movement's satirical character originated through the humorous leadership of Abbie Hoffman. An early civil rights activist and spokesman against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Hoffman had already received a thorough education in the art of protest by the time the Vietnam War had become an issue. Although he joined the pacifist protesters, such as David Dellinger, in the march on the Pentagon in 1967, Hoffman felt uncomfortable with their tactic of



nonviolence. According to Abbie Hoffman, "violence and the threat of violence have a good track record when it comes to changing the minds of people in power."<sup>22</sup>

As the hippie culture developed, Hoffman realized that another policy, the tactic of theatrics, would be equally effective in educating the public and politicians on the evils of American society. An unlimited source of inspiration, Hoffman designed increasingly outrageous ways to mock the system. By dropping dollar bills on the New York Stock Exchange, Hoffman rejected a culture which values money at the expense of mass poverty. By attacking Dean Rusk and his tuxedoed followers with water pistols, he brought the ugliness of war closer to home. Unlike Rubin, who says that his revolutionary front was only an image, Abbie Hoffman insists that he "never performed for the media. I tried to reach people. It was not acting. It was not some media muppet show," he claims.<sup>23</sup>

As a chief organizer of the Yippie protest of the 1968 Democratic National Convention, Abbie Hoffman merged his two political tactics of theatrics and violence. By staging a nomination ceremony of a pig and by spreading rumors that the Yippies were planning to dump LSD in the city's drinking water, Hoffman and the protest leaders put Mayor Daley and his police on the defensive. By allowing the demonstrators to stay in the park past the city's curfew, they were deliberately confronting the police and anticipating violence. This strategic combination of tactics succeeded in making the demonstrator-police conflict the dominant issue in the media and in the convention hall itself, far overshadowing the nomination of the Democratic Presidential candidate, Hubert Humphrey.

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*"An unlimited source of inspiration, Hoffman designed increasingly outrageous ways to mock the system. By dropping dollar bills on the New York Stock Exchange, Hoffman rejected a culture which values money at the expense of mass poverty."*

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Following the Democratic Convention, Hoffman joined Rubin and Hayden as a defendant in the Chicago Seven Trial. Despite his ceaseless verbal attacks on Judge Julius Hoffman, Hoffman received the same verdict as the other leaders.

Although the trial and his leadership of the Chicago demonstrations brought him tremendous publicity, Hoffman refused to take advantage of his many possibilities to become an instant millionaire. He turned down such commercial ventures as a laughing box with his name on it, and an Abbie Hoffman doll, as well as three

advertising agencies who wanted to hire Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin.<sup>24</sup> Remaining loyal to his goal of frustrating the Establishment, Hoffman published in 1971 *Steal this Book*, a handbook which detailed the many ways of ripping off the system.

Unlike Rubin and Hayden, Abbie Hoffman did not face a mid-life crisis in the 1970's. Part of the reason for his lack of an identity problem is that in 1973, Hoffman was arrested for allegedly trying to sell cocaine to undercover police officers. In 1974, he jumped bail and became what *Time* magazine called "a flamboyant fugitive."<sup>25</sup> After reporting himself missing to the New York City police, Hoffman appeared in many public places during his seven years on the run. On publication of a new book he honored himself at a party in a Manhattan restaurant, and he attended the inauguration in 1977. After traveling to Mexico, Canada, and Europe, Hoffman finally settled down in Fineview, New York, a town with a population of under one thousand.

Instead of hibernating in his small farm house, Hoffman, under the alias of Barry Freed, became involved in the political life of Fineview. Once again fighting the United States Army, Hoffman helped a Save the River Committee, which stopped the Army Corps of Engineers from destroying several islands in order to improve navigation in the winter. For his Save the River campaign, Barry Freed became a public figure, addressing Rotary Clubs, giving newspaper interviews, and even testifying before Congress. After a session before a Senate Subcommittee, the audacious Freed huddled for a photograph with Senator Moynihan. New York Governor, Hugh Carey, praised "his keen public spirit,"<sup>26</sup> and in 1979, Freed was appointed to a Federal advisory commission on the Great Lakes.

After his success of changing a policy through traditional protest, Hoffman realized that "there is absolutely no greater high than challenging the power structure as a nobody, giving it your all, and winning."<sup>27</sup> Although he had never renounced his radical values, Hoffman had protested without relying on his past tactics of theatrics and violence. In September, 1980, Hoffman re-entered American society when he surrendered to New York City police. When asked why he chose this time to face his 1973 cocaine charges, Hoffman replied that he was constantly scared of being caught. He also felt that his trial would be more fair in the 1980's as cocaine is no longer equated with hard drugs like heroin. "The times are a little more sophisticated," says Hoffman.<sup>28</sup>

Hoffman was released on his own recognizance on September 5, 1980, because of his strong community standing in Fineview. Showing no fear for his upcoming trial, Hoffman told reporters he wanted to maintain a national career as an advocate for a better environment and against nuclear development.

Although it has been argued that the radicals of the 1960's have betrayed their previous values by entering the Establishment of the 1980's, this viewpoint is based on a shallow analysis of the position that the former revolutionaries are in today. While it is true that Jerry Rubin is working on Wall Street, that Tom Hayden is edging himself into traditional Democratic party politics, and that Abbie Hoffman has stopped running, none of these three leaders of the 60's New Left has repudiated the values which they advocated fifteen years ago. What these former revolutionaries have changed is the method



which they use to alter the system. Rubin, Hayden, and Hoffman have discovered that while a theatrical, violent confrontation produced results in the 60's, working within the system, instead of as an outsider, is necessary to affect United States society in the 1980's.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Jerry Rubin, "Guess Who's Coming to Wall Street," *The New York Times*, July 30, 1980, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *The New York Times*, August 16, 1980, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Jerry Rubin, *Growing (Up) at Thirty-Seven*. (New York: Evans, 1976), p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Congressional Reports*, September 26, 1968, p. 28653.

<sup>11</sup> Abbie Hoffman, *Soon to be a Major Motion Picture*. (New York: Perigee, 1980), p. 137.

<sup>12</sup> Theodore White, *The Making of the President, 1968*. (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 287.

<sup>13</sup> Rubin, *Growing (Up)*, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>16</sup> Rubin, "Guess Who's Coming to Wall Street."

<sup>17</sup> Norman Mailer, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago*. (New York: New American Library, 1968), p. 134.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Parker, "Radical Soap Opera," *The New Republic* November 17, 1979, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Hoffman, p. 210.

<sup>21</sup> Cheryl McCall, "Strange Bedfellows: Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda make Passionate Politics on a Grassroots Crusade," *People*, October 15, 1979, p. 146.

<sup>22</sup> Hoffman, p. 83

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> "A Yippie Comes in from the Damp," *Time*, September 15, 1980, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Hoffman, p. 297.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Kihss, "Hoffman Surrenders on Cocaine Charge," *The New York Times*, September 15, 1980.

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# Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch

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**H.R. 89. Tuition Tax Credits.** A proposal to allow income tax credits for tuition expenses at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary educational institutions. Introduced by Representative Ashbrook (R-Ohio). A similar bill has also been proposed by Representative Luken (R-Ohio), and thirteen other members.

**H.R. 92. College Tax Credits.** A proposal to allow income tax credits for tuition expenses at institutions of higher education. Introduced by Representative Ashbrook (R-Ohio). Similar bills have been sponsored by Representatives Collins (R-Texas), Duncan (R-Tenn) and Roe (D-NJ).

**H.R. 1500. Selective Service.** Bill introduced by Representatives Montgomery (D-Miss) and Holt (R-Md) to amend the Selective Service Act which would require registration and classification of young men for the draft, and authorize the induction of 200,000 men a year for training and service in the Individual Ready Reserve and the Army Reserve.

**S. 417. Veterans.** Bill introduced by Senator Cranston (D-Cal) to establish a new program of education assistance for veterans of the armed forces.

**S. 443. Education Department.** Bill introduced by Senators Danforth (R-Mo) and Hatch (R-Utah) to clarify the limits of the authority of the Department of Education.

**S. 550. Tuition Tax Credits.** Introduced by Senator Packwood (R-Ore) to provide tax credits for tuition expenses at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions.

**S. 348. Minimum Wage.** Bill introduced by Senator Hatch (R-Utah) to allow employers to pay less than Federal minimum wage to full-time students and workers under 20 years of age.

**S. 807. Federal Assistance.** A bill to coordinate and simplify the management of Federal assistance programs and requirements. Sponsored by Senator Roth (R-Del).



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# Finding the Right Internship

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by Leslie Pedler

Internships can be an effective vehicle in orienting the college student toward a career, as well as a supplement to the traditional classroom studies. Internships provide the student with practical experience, which can be an access to a permanent position. Several offices use the internship programs as a means of evaluating potential employees. And most significantly, internships provide the student with an opportunity to apply academic theory to practice. There are a wide variety of accredited internship programs available to undergraduates, but it is always possible to design your own internship. However, before you rush into any of the existing internship programs, or design your own, there are several aspects which should be carefully considered to ensure a worthwhile experience.

## Where to Look:

The first decision you may face is whether to participate in one of the existing organized programs or to design your own. An organized internship program has several advantages over the individually designed programs. An organized internship which is affiliated with your college or university facilitates the acquisition of academic credit as well as providing you with an organized framework as a means of guidance. Many of these programs have also designed a series of seminars or lectures in conjunction with your working experience.

If you should decide to design your own internship, it is imperative that you establish an agreement with your school concerning academic credit and requirements before you go. Designing your own program of study entails a good deal of research and effort on your part. It is also important to note that many offices hesitate to take on interns that are not affiliated with a specific program. In effect if you do decide to design your own internship, you may limit your possibilities.

The prospective intern faces a wide variety of programs, both domestic and international, from which to choose. Obviously, any number of personal preferences will bias your decision of where and when to go. It is important to remember that what you might want may conflict with what is available. Therefore, it is essential that you research several potential programs so that you have some alternatives.

Many colleges and universities are affiliated with organized internship programs; therefore, information concerning these programs is readily available to you through contact with your deans or advisors. If your school has no program such as the "Washington semester", there are a number of internship guides, which publish a listing of agencies and offices willing to employ interns. One such guide is *Jobs in Social Change* which is put out by the Social and Educational

Research Foundation (SERF), 3416 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104. SERF is an independent public interest group whose focus is on basic and meaningful social and cultural change. These guides should be available in your college library or placement office. An alternative to the guides lies with the fact that several universities open up their Washington semester programs to students enrolled in other institutions; however, these are limited in number and there are several restrictions. If you should decide to participate in a program affiliated with another institution, you must make sure your own college will accept credit as well as research the necessary financial arrangements and requirements.

## What to Look For:

In your research you should consider the nature of the work your prospective sponsor may assign. It is also important to construct a realistic set of goals and expectations in order to avoid dissatisfaction and problems with your internship. You must plan ahead to allow yourself the time needed to make the right decision. It is also wise to apply to a number of programs in order to give yourself a degree of flexibility in case the internship at the top of your list does not come through.

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*"Do not get discouraged if you are not working directly with the Senator or business tycoon; a lot can be gained by keeping your ears open and talking with everyone you meet."*

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An internship involves a commitment to the policies and views of your sponsor. Therefore, in order to protect yourself, it is wise to research the organization or individual for whom you will be working. If your internship entails working with a congressman there are several useful publications, like the *Almanac of American Politics* or the *Congressional Quarterly*, from which you can gain some insight on his or her viewpoints and stands on certain policies. If your internship entails an affiliation with an organization in Washington, information is readily available in the *Government Organization Manual* or Ralph Nader's *Working on the System*. These two publications provide information on the nature and functions of various private organizations.



The quality of your internship experience may be dependent on the nature and function of the work you will be doing for your sponsor. The more responsibility an intern is given on the job, usually the better is the experience. In general, working in a small office or on a one-to-one basis provides an atmosphere that is potentially more rewarding. In a large organization, you might end up playing the role of gofer. If you are considering an internship with an office that hires interns on a regular basis, it might be wise to ask them how they have used their interns in the past. Contact a few former interns, if at all possible. This will give you some insight into the nature of the work you would be asked to do, as well as enable you to construct a realistic set of goals and expectations.

#### **Application Procedure:**

Once the decision of where and when to apply has been made, the application process begins. You must sell yourself to your prospective sponsor and remember the initial contact is most important. The initial contact is usually in the form of a letter, which should be typed and written in the style of a formal business letter. It would be wise to include such things as why you are interested in working in that particular office, as well as specific dates when you will be available. As in applying for any job, you must include a description of your qualifications, which can be in the form of a formal resume. It is also important

to include a statement concerning the academic requirement which you hope to meet through the internship. Let your sponsor know what responsibilities this entails for him or her.

There are several other elements which should be taken into consideration during your application process. To begin with, flexibility in regard to dates and times makes it easier for you to fit into the schedule of your prospective sponsor. Another element to note is that if you approach your sponsor with only a vague idea of what you want from your internship, you might find yourself left out in the cold. A well defined and thought out proposal can prove to be quite impressive.

Once the offer of an internship has been extended to you, both you and your sponsor should have a good idea of what to expect from each other before you accept. This understanding can prevent, or help alleviate, some of the problems which might arise during the course of your internship.

While it is unlikely that all of your work during your internship will be challenging and exciting, it is important to adapt to your circumstances. Establishing a good relationship with your supervisor will help you to weed out any of the problems you may encounter. Do not get discouraged if you are not working directly with the senator or business tycoon; a lot can be gained by keeping your ears open and talking with everyone you meet. An internship is not just another job, but can prove to be one of the most rewarding experiences in your college career.

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## Now That You're an Intern . . .

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by Leslie Pedler

Finding the right internship program is only half the battle. Once you have been accepted into one of the various programs, you are faced with an entirely new set of questions. Several interns who have recently returned from Washington met to volunteer some helpful advice in answering such questions as: Where can I find housing? What kind of arrangements can I make concerning food? How much will this cost me? What is the social life like? And how can I get around in Washington? Answers come from recent participants in the American University, Boston University, and Hamilton College programs in Washington.

**Housing.** The former interns reported a wide range of housing available in Washington from dormitories to cooperative apartments. The general consensus was that living accommodations were not very difficult to find. But not all the Washington programs provide housing for you. If yours does not, then before you decide on an apartment there are four points you should consider: location, availability of cooking facilities, price, and how the

apartment you are considering compares generally with others available.

In your search for suitable housing, you should pay close attention to the location. Accessibility is of major importance in making your final decision. It is imperative that you choose a house or apartment that facilitates easy access to your internship offices. If you want to live farther out in the suburbs (generally less expensive), make sure that public transportation has routes that will get you in to the business districts. Most students have opted to live in the northwest or southwest sections of the city.

The cost of housing in the Washington area varies considerably for identical facilities, so shop around. Dormitory facilities are available for approximately \$125 per month. The cost of apartments will vary depending on the location, size and number of people living there. In the newer buildings you should be able to find a two bedroom furnished apartment for three people around \$125 a month per person, for only two people be prepared to spend \$150 or more.



In determining your expenses make sure you take into consideration expenses for phone and utilities.

Prices vary in the Washington area, with accommodations near the Hill being more expensive than those farther out. If you choose to live farther out in the suburbs, the extra commuting costs can be as much as \$40.00 per month, a figure which you should add to the rental cost to compare it with the cost of an in-city location.

The final element you should take into consideration is all of the options that are available to you. It is interesting to note that Washington is considered a high turn-over city. Therefore housing is available to you in a variety of forms. One option that is available, is the use of dormitory facilities of a few of the universities based in the Washington area. The American University program provides facilities for participants of their Washington Semester Program. During the school year, most D.C. colleges are short on housing and reserve it for their own students. However there are two exceptions: Mount Vernon College and Trinity College. Another option is that apartment complexes will often rent to student/interns. The Washington Center for Learning Alternatives rents out 10 percent of the Woodner Apartment Complex to provide participants of their program with housing accommodations.

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*"The general consensus is that you will spend twice the amount in a semester in Washington than you would in a semester at school."*

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The Washington area is full of co-op housing, and there are many people, including students, at the various universities who are looking for roommates. Pick up a copy of the *Washington Post* and sift through the classifieds to see what is available. Other places to look are the bulletin boards outside the House and Senate office cafeterias. The carry-outs in the Hill area all have bulletin boards with this type of information. The various college housing offices are often willing to help non-students. Boston University provides a two-page listing of available rooms for rent. George Washington University offers the most extensive listing for non-students. This group of interns suggests that you go down a week early to give yourself ample time to secure some sort of housing arrangements.

**Transportation.** According to this group of former interns, none of whom had cars, the Washington public transportation system is very good. The system includes subways and buses, and, according to one student, "will get you anywhere you want to go." The metro system does close at midnight, but the buses run later and the taxis are relatively reasonable. A taxi ride which could run you \$4.00 in Manhattan might be only \$1.55 if you stay within a single zone in the grid by which the fares are calculated.

A bit of advice: "Do not bring your car with you!" It is more economical for you to rely on the public transportation, and your car may prove to be only an inconvenience. The parking in Washington, as in any major city, is hard to find and very expensive. And, says one student, "The Washington police are very efficient in their towing capabilities." You would also have to purchase a residential parking sticker for the area in which you will be living.

You can purchase monthly bus passes in the business district, at any commercial bank, or at any metro office. These offices also provide any information that you might need to get you just about anywhere.

**Eating in Washington.** Eating can be very costly during your internship, because you will find yourself eating out for the majority of your meals. Washington provides you with a variety of foreign and domestic restaurants with a wide range of prices. The government cafeterias are convenient establishments which serve food to government employees and visitors. Most are not open on the weekends and do not serve dinner, but they are perfect for the lunch hour. The Senate cafeteria is located in the Dirksen office building, the House cafeteria is located in both the Rayburn and Longworth buildings. There are also snack shops at the Supreme Court and Library of Congress.

One piece of advice from these returning interns is that you should try to find housing with a kitchenette. However, remember to buy your food in the suburbs because the interns agreed that they "rob you blind in the District." If you can't get out to the suburbs and are living in the Capitol Hill area, it is always possible to go to the university school stores.

**Expenses.** In preparing your budget, you must plan for housing, transportation, food and of course "entertainment." According to these interns, be prepared to spend money. The general consensus is that you will spend twice the amount in a semester in Washington than you would in a semester at school.

**Entertainment.** Washington, as any city, provides you with a wide variety of museums, monuments, music, night clubs, etc. The Kennedy Center is a focal point for entertainment and has student rates. Students will receive as much as thirty percent off on the majority of the events at the Kennedy Center. The museums in the Washington area are free and as one student says: "I went back to the National Gallery ten times!" The National Gallery and the Smithsonian are just two of the museums you can visit, as well as numerous monuments throughout the Washington area.

For those of you who like to swing a little, this group has suggested the names of a few bars you might wish to visit. On the Hill the "Dubliner" and the "Tune-in" are two that provide entertainment as well as alcohol. According to one student: "If you really want to slum it go to A.U.'s (American University) bar, or if you prefer a place with a little more class try either the 'Duponte' or the 'Apple Tree'." But remember that the drinking age for beer and wine is eighteen, while for alcohol it is twenty-one.



**Helpful Hints.** All the interns agree that "the people are really friendly and willing to help out, especially on the buses." Said one, "It reminded me of a Southern city," which is of course just what Washington has a strong claim to being. Added another student, "If you run into

any problems or need some advice, contact your Congressman. Since most of the programs insist that you find your own internship in Washington, a good place to start is with your Congressman." According to one former intern, "they bend over backwards to get you an internship."

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*Leslie Pedler is a Junior at Connecticut College majoring in Government. She is not only an adept writer, but she is also an editor on the magazine. Ms. Pedler is interested in the publishing field and will continue her work on the magazine next year.*

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# Turning an Internship Into a Job

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by Susanna B. Erlich

So, you are about to graduate from college and you have landed a summer internship on Capitol Hill, but you really need a full-time, permanent, and most importantly, a salaried position. Don't despair, at least not yet. With some planning, ingenuity and an element of good fortune, internships can lead to permanent jobs.

Most interns are undergraduates who seek alternative learning experiences to complement their classroom work. The great advantage of an internship for you is that it offers you the opportunity of gaining some practical, marketable experiences which will set you apart from the swarms of eager, recently-awarded B.A.s — the competition.

As you start your internship, one of the first things you will notice about congressional offices is that they tend to be very open and friendly places. Permanent staffers often welcome a new face and an extra, energetic person to help with the daily routine and the occasional crisis. And, whether you are a legal resident of the member's district, or are the off-spring of an old friend — or that of a friend of a friend — the Congressman or Senator will probably have time set aside to treat you to an early breakfast, or to discuss several major issues with you while posing for pictures which will be sent to your hometown newspaper.

This openness can be of great benefit to you as you learn the tasks of the office and search for work. Members and staffers alike are invaluable sources of information. Staffers particularly can teach you the fundamentals of the legislative process from their viewpoint. Just learning the terminology and accepted jargon will be helpful. Staffers can teach you research techniques and office writing style (every staffer is a ghost writer). You can learn from them how to respond to a constituent who disagrees with a vote the member cast, and how to sift through a long-winded, handwritten letter that is semi-

incoherent to identify legitimate problems that a congressional office can help solve. The more you learn now, the more you can offer a prospective employer. So, don't hesitate to learn anything and everything about the running of the office.

Try to view every task you perform for the office as a potentially insightful experience. This perspective will help to make the onerous jobs more palatable and will sensitize you to this new and very hectic environment. Therefore, when on occasion you are called upon to be the office go-fer, use this time to learn your way around the Hill. (Finding an exit in the Rayburn building or learning the tunnel system is perplexing for many people.) And, as you run errands you will be able to compare offices and meet new people.

Going out of your way to meet people is worth the extra effort. Jobs may be offered on the basis of education, talent and ability. But, a key element always is whom you have met. It's through contacts that you learn of jobs and are recommended for positions. The "old-friends" network takes time to develop, but the sooner you begin meeting new people, the more pleasant this new environment will become, and the greater will be the chances of hearing of a job opening.

During the summer a favorite pastime for Hill staffers is the softball competition. (For some it is the only reason for enduring the sweltering weather, with humidity of almost one hundred percent.) If you have any athletic talent at all, join a team. It's an excellent way of meeting people from other congressional offices as well as getting some exercise.

As an intern you will have access to a host of activities designed especially for interns. Many of these activities will be educational; others will be social. The orientations and lectures are usually superb and well worth the time. The social activities are fun.



After several weeks of enjoying Capitol Hill and being an intern, it will be time to begin the task of serious job searching.

You will need to identify what kinds of positions interest you, and given your credentials, what kinds of positions you can reasonably expect to be offered. The very broad functions of each office break down into several categories: legislation; casework and grants; and, press relations. There are also internal administrative responsibilities and support activities. An individual's actual responsibilities often include a combination of these functions. However, this tends to be more customary in the House than in the Senate.

Be honest with yourself as you undertake this evaluation. If talking to the press makes you uncomfortable, or if tracking legislation and trying to defend seemingly inconsistent voting patterns is too tedious for you, then admit it now. You'll be sparing yourself frustration and disappointment later.

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*"Whether you are a legal resident of the member's district, or the off-spring of an old friend, the Congressman or Senator will have time set aside to treat you to an early breakfast . . ."*

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At this stage you will also need to consider the various environments in which you would like to work. If you have a strong allegiance to one political party, then don't waste time knocking on the doors of members of another party. Further, you will need to remember that every congressional office — all 535 — are different by virtue of the constituency they represent, the member's political views, key responsibilities and ambitions, staff composition and a variety of other factors. As you explore offices, be alert to these differences. They will determine the nature of the office and the issues which consume the majority of its time and energy. In some offices the overwhelming concern may be with farm subsidies. In another the major issue may be school desegregation. Each member is required to be informed of all issues before the Congress, but each office truly reflects the constituency. So, if you stay to work on Capitol Hill, you will find that while you are physically living in the metropolitan Washington area, you will also feel as if you are residing in the congressional district itself.

Take time with this evaluation process. There are many publications which analyze congressional districts and the politics of each member. There are also numerous interest groups which rate members based upon issues of importance to them. If you read widely in these guides that are in most offices, you will gain a good sense of each member and each congressional district.

Your ultimate objective at this point is to develop a range of options for yourself, including the types of

positions you would find exciting, the kind of activities you would like to be involved with and the politics that interest you. The more flexible you can realistically be, the greater your chances of being offered a job.

With this clarification of what you would like to find, you need to begin to identify job openings. Learning about them is never easy, but one of your best sources will be the office in which you are working as an intern. Let the staff know you are seeking a permanent position. Ask for their help, suggestions and to keep you in mind should they learn of any leads. Of course, having a senior staffer place a few calls to some of his or her friends is extremely helpful. And, never hesitate to meet someone who may not have a job opening at the present time, but who is willing to take a few minutes to talk to you. Should something become available, you will be remembered.

Talk to those in your office who are in a position to hire. Ask them how they conduct interviews, what specific questions they usually ask, what qualities they look for, which skills they consider to be essential and whether they put candidates through any formal tests. They may even be willing to conduct a simulated interview with you.

Resume writing is a true art. Everyone has a different theory about format, style, length, type and color of paper, and how it should be reproduced. Ask people for their preferences and the reasons for their preferences. Look at as many different resumes as possible, and decide which ones project images you like. You can modify yours accordingly. Have other people critique your resume. Finally, you may want to consider writing two or more different resumes if you are interested in a variety of positions.

Most Capitol Hill job hunters distribute their resumes by dropping them off at the offices while inquiring as to whether there are any openings. Some offices are truthful about openings, others will always deny they exist as a means of curtailing the inevitable massive flow of interested candidates. If you hear of a job possibility, try to get beyond the first person you meet as you enter the office in order to learn the truth about your lead. Find out who hires and try to talk to that person directly, either face-to-face or over the telephone. If you know someone who has a friend in the office, try to verify your information that way. Within reasonable bounds, do whatever you can to fully utilize every lead that interests you.

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*"Jobs may be offered on the basis of education, talent, and ability, but a key element always is whom you have met."*

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If you are interviewed for a job that truly interests you and if the office seems to respond equally favorably to you, follow up the interview with a phone call thanking them for their time and indicate your interest in the position. If the office continues to indicate a strong







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# Internship Programs

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## Washington Internships

### **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

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### **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

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### **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

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#### **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

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#### **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

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#### **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

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**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

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## Domestic Internships

**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

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## International Internships

**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

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#### **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 was March 15, 1981.

**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

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#### **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

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#### **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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#### **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



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# A New Wave of Student Protests in China?

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by Christine Burke

Although student protests have only amounted to sporadic incidents over the past five years, the potency of university activists has not been forgotten. There is no accurate way to predict the likelihood of student unrest in China, but it is correct to say that the possibility of forceful student protests exists as much now as it did during the Hundred Flowers Movement and the Cultural Revolution.

Student activism in the People's Republic of China has never been known for its spontaneity. In a society in which the consequences of expressing political dissent are so grave, students have rarely taken the initiative to offer controversial opinions or criticize official policy. However, students in China have never been a passive or indifferent group, and upon occasion they have demonstrated a great ability to organize quickly and effectively. In the history of the People's Republic there have been two movements in which students have played a dominant role: the Hundred Flowers Movement and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Student participation in both movements was vigorous and powerful. China's current leadership is mindful of this legacy of student activism.

The first wave of student dissent occurred during the Hundred Flowers Movement of 1957. Students and intellectuals were encouraged to speak their minds about the Communist Party and the political system. Mao Tse-tung announced a general relaxation of the political supervision of the intelligentsia in order to enlist the help of the intellectuals to route out bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism within the Communist Party. Mao promised the intelligentsia and the students better research and academic facilities and the freedom of independent thought, debate and criticism.

Students were at first very skeptical of the newly delegated freedom, and accordingly, they were reluctant to respond to Mao's call for "blooming and contending." The past bitter experiences of the intelligentsia and the limitations on freedom of criticism expressed in speeches of party leaders and editorials of the *People's Daily* caused the students to wait almost one year before airing their grievances. Students eventually began to participate in the campaign in May of 1957. A group of Peking University activists put up the first tatzupao (big character wall poster) with a message attacking the party's treatment of intellectuals. News of the student activities in Peking spread quickly to other major universities.<sup>1</sup>

The outburst of the students was full of resentment and frustration over the privileged position of the Communist Party in Chinese society. At Peking University, posters were placed all over university walls

and buildings criticizing almost every aspect of the party's rule in China. Another forum for voicing criticism was the open air meeting. One of the small plazas on the Peking campus became the center of political life. The sentiment of these open meetings was intensely emotional as evidenced by emphatic, theatrical gestures, tears and shouts.<sup>2</sup>

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*"Red Guards often tortured and physically abused professors, and in some cases, the students forced family members to witness the beatings. Professors had little rest and were forced to sleep apart from their colleagues."*

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A central theme of the student attacks was the over bureaucratization of the party leadership. Students requested that party committees be stripped of their regulatory powers in matters of curriculum and education. Students also objected to party personnel controlling university administrations. Very often party secretaries lacking scholarly qualifications held positions of power and sometimes lectured. Although "ideologically reliable," the party members were usually incompetent scholars.<sup>3</sup>

The student protests of 1957 were far from spontaneous. But the fact that the protests were prompted by a directive from above becomes almost insignificant when compared to the intensity of the student activism. Clearly the university based campaign challenged party legitimacy to such an extent that the pendulum swung swiftly from freedom for students and intellectuals to new and confining rules and regulations. The directive for protest was given by the top echelons of China's leadership, but once the students responded, they did so in uninhibited and vituperative fashion. This is the essence of student activism in China. Given the opportunity to rebel, youth will do so with remarkable intensity. The momentum of the activists reaches such an enormous peak that a



reversal of policy becomes necessary to bring the students under control. Such was the case during the Hundred Flowers Movement. Mao was so struck by the scathing criticisms of the student activists that he brought the movement to an abrupt halt. Students returned to the classrooms, their criticisms ignored and their actions condemned as "rightist."

The most volatile demonstration of university activism occurred during the Cultural Revolution. Schools were the battleground for Mao's 1966 campaign against elitism, special classes, the loss of revolutionary zeal among the intellectuals, and bureaucratic stagnation. Students were mobilized to censure "capitalist roaders," especially the "bourgeois academic authorities."<sup>4</sup> Mao threw his support behind the newly organized revolutionary youth, the Red Guards. The Cultural Revolution was to be a mass movement for the creation of proletarian culture, society, and body politic, and student Red Guards were to launch that revolution.

Throughout China, universities closed their doors and student Red Guards poured into the streets and clamored for the purification of Chinese socialism. University administrators and faculty were usually the victims of the unremitting attacks by the youths. Students stormed into homes of professors and destroyed furniture, clothing, jewelry, books and any other possessions which represented bourgeois materialism. General school meetings were also held during which teachers made self-criticisms and responded to accusations by the students. These meetings were always very tense. Students forced professors to wear caps and collars with mottos like, "I am a monster."<sup>5</sup> Classes reviled faculty members with slogans, accusations, and injunctions to reform their bourgeois ways. Red Guards very often tortured and physically abused professors, and in some cases, the students forced family members to witness the beatings. Professors had little rest and were forced to sleep apart from their colleagues.

According to a biography of one student Red Guard, he and the other activists experienced little remorse over the teachers' treatment. While the students had respected the professors before, they felt it was their duty to treat the faculty as "monsters and ghosts." The students trusted the party and did not believe the leadership could have made a mistake. The students' former respect for their mentors was quickly replaced by a new feeling of intense hatred.<sup>6</sup>

Eventually the Red Guards splintered into factions and their repeated violence threw Chinese cities into chaos. Mao became disturbed by the increasingly uncontrollable nature of the revolutionary youth, and called on the People's Liberation Army to restore order. Army officials assumed control and millions of urban youth were sent to the countryside.

The Red Guards were indeed one of the mightiest revolutionary forces in the world. But their revolutionary zeal must be placed in the context of Chinese society. Given the encouragement to rebel, the Chinese students were often violent and destructive of the socialist principles they were defending. A certain pattern emerges from the experiences of the Cultural Revolution and the Hundred Flowers Movement. Although one might expect that student rebellions in China would be forced or contrived, such is not the case. The opportunity to rebel or protest provided students with the chance to vent a great

deal of criticism, hostility and frustration. It is not surprising then that the opportunity to rebel or express a dissenting opinion will lead to excesses in such a repressive society. The rebellious actions of the students stemmed partly from their commitment to socialist principles, but mostly from the energy of the movements themselves.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the Red Guard movement is the current attitude held by many Chinese toward the student radicals. It is difficult to ignore the fact that students destroyed academic buildings, research facilities and instruments. It is also difficult to vindicate the students for their cruel and merciless treatment of the professors. However, many Chinese believe that the Red Guards cannot be condemned for their actions. They see student activists as participants in a disastrous nationwide experiment. The students of the Cultural Revolution decade are not to take the blame for what most Chinese consider a very sad and unusual event in the history of the human race. Student activists of the revolutionary decade are considered innocent youths who were caught in an intense and frenetic nationwide movement.

As part of the move to purify Chinese socialism, student Red Guards were encouraged to impose quick and drastic solutions for the problems of inequality in education. However, the educational reforms of the Cultural Revolution decade confused academic achievement with intellectual elitism. Although the New Left in the United States hailed the egalitarian programs of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's war on academic competition as "de-schooling of society," higher education in China was virtually destroyed.<sup>7</sup> Catalogues were locked away, research projects were discontinued. Professors were ordered to the countryside for thought reform and manual labor. Without a solid faculty, adequate journals and modern education facilities, there was nothing in China as of 1976 that could be called higher education.

Recent trends in education are distinctly different from the innovations of the Cultural Revolution. New theories of education emphasize the importance of student discipline and superior teaching. It is in this context that we must judge the future of student radicals and their potency as a political force.

Higher education in China is quickly being rebuilt and expanded. There is a new stress on quality education and the reinstatement of banished academicians. Academic competition has returned and students are admitted to the universities according to their performance on the national examinations. China also instituted a program which will depoliticize research and award academic excellence. The Chinese Academy of Social Science, an institution dedicated to the fields of economics, philosophy, education, history, sociology and law, is awarding fellowships according to intellectual ability rather than political commitment.

Peking University's class of 1979 was the last product of Mao's radical innovation to simplify education and make it more practical. Teng Hsiao-ping is committed to a more conventional, academically oriented system. This broad shake-up to restore respect for academia is part of Teng's much larger plan to carry out an extremely ambitious modernization program.

However, the policy to return to academic competition is not without problems. Educational investment is again concentrating on urban schools and this will



certainly widen the gap between city and countryside, worker and peasant, and manual and mental labor. The eighty percent of the population that lives in the countryside will be denied the opportunity for mobility as mobility depends largely on academic achievements. Students also question the university system itself. There is a temptation to think that the new quality education will lead China toward greater freedom. Students will also expect to have good job opportunities, but the economy will not be able to absorb all university graduates. What then will be the future of student dissent in China during the nineteen eighties?

The toleration for political dissent in China reached a high point in 1978-1979. As would be expected, student protests since that time have been sporadic. This does not mean, however, the universities have been immune from incidents of unrest. It appears that during the past two years students have protested government control over curriculum, social life, and living conditions. The following accounts of student protest reveal that the students are indeed an expressive group in Chinese society.

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*"The opportunity to rebel or protest provided students with the chance to vent a great deal of criticism, hostility, and frustration. It is not surprising that the opportunity to rebel will lead to excesses in such a repressive society."*

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In October of 1979, 2,000 Peking University students held a protest march and sit-in in front of Communist Party headquarters and demanded the withdrawal of an army artillery unit from campus. Wall posters also appeared throughout the university protesting campus living conditions. The Peking students sent an open letter to the University's administrators alleging poor cafeteria, bath-house, and dormitory conditions.<sup>8</sup> Campuses during the Fall of 1980 also witnessed demonstrations, hunger strikes, and "live-ins." Students at the Peking Forestry Institute, for example, were protesting poor housing and research facilities. Clearly the students of both institutes were affected by the sense of rising expectations. With the stress on modernization, more food, and more consumer goods, the students were demanding what they felt was their fair share.<sup>9</sup> The only incident reported having to do with a political issue occurred during the Fall of 1980 at Hunan Normal University. Eighty students participated in a hunger strike and 5,000 other joined them in demonstrations at Communist Party headquarters in Chansha. The protest was over alleged govern-

ment interference in an experimental local election.<sup>10</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain whether this trend of relatively few and isolated campus incidents will continue. Teng's programs have raised expectations. The leadership is making more promises and producing fewer results. Concomitant with these unfulfilled promises is a calculated move on behalf of the leadership to suppress protest politics and any form of dissent. It is doubtful that Chinese university students have been lulled into a false sense of security.

The protests of the 1979-1980 period are relatively minor compared with earlier upheavals. Some of China's most sweeping social changes originated on the campuses. Certainly the students of the present decade are far removed from the history of the Hundred Flowers Movement and the Cultural Revolution, and accordingly, they have not participated in the revolutionary experience of the People's Republic. However, given the innumerable ideological contradictions inherent in following a plan of modernization in a Communist country, the possibility of a resurgence of sustained student activism does indeed exist. Radicals might object to the reversal of Mao's alternative route to socialism or the compromising of Communist values altogether. Other students, having flirted with Western ideas, might demand more access to Western culture.

In addition to these ideological reasons for student activism there are a number of reasons that explain student activism on a very practical and human level. Living conditions for most Chinese are quite poor. China is faced with a host of seemingly insurmountable problems. Students are acutely aware of these problems on both the micro and macro level. They experience results of the devastating Cultural Revolution on a day to day basis. Despite marked improvements, most university facilities are still inadequate. Libraries lack important journals. University housing is scarce and what few buildings still stand are quite deteriorated. As a result of university conditions there is a very perceptible lack of initiative to learn. Students are afflicted with the familiar "Why should I work so hard?" syndrome.

According to one professor from China, the most sensible way to restore the students' motivation is to raise the level of morale. If China is indeed to overcome its backwardness in economic development and production, Chinese students must not retain the hopeless and depressed outlook which has developed. Chinese students need to look to the best in their tradition to rekindle morale lost during the Cultural Revolution. In that professor's judgment, unless students are given the chance to strengthen human relationships, and maintain an optimistic outlook, not only is the modernization program doomed to failure, but the likelihood of violent student protests is certain to become a reality.

To be sure, the risks of expressing distant views in China are enormous. Despite these risks, however, the foundation for an explosive situation has been established. Given the enormously repressive nature of Chinese society, if given the chance, students of the nineteen eighties will most likely rebel with the intensity and fervor that characterized the students of 1957 and 1966. Students will perhaps not take the initiative to express their dissent, but given just a small amount of leeway,



university activists will be vigorous and unrestrained in their protests.

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#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Rene Goldman, "The Rectification Campaign at Peking University: May-June 1957," in Roderick Mac Farquhar, *China Under Mao: Politics Takes Command*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T. Press, 1966, p. 258 (Goldman was a student at Peking University at this time.)

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* p. 259.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 260-261.

<sup>4</sup>Susan L. Pepper, "Education and Revolution: The Chinese Model Revised," *Asian Survey*, September 1978, pp. 847-850.

<sup>5</sup>Gordon A. Bennett and Ronald N. Montaperton, *Red Guard: The Political Biography of Dai Hsiao-ai* (New York: Doubleday, 1980) p. 38.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 38-39.

<sup>7</sup>Fred M. Hechinger, "In China the Pendulum is Swinging," *New York Times*, July 17, 1979.

<sup>8</sup>Fox Butterfield, "2,000 Students in Peking Protest Army's Use of Campus," *New York Times*, October 11, 1979.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>Fox Butterfield, "A Student Protest Reported in China," *New York Times*, October 15, 1980.

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## News Bits News Bits News

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### China Begins New Campaign To Redevelop Teaching Profession

China has begun to rehabilitate the teaching profession five years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, during which many secondary and university teacher's jobs vanished. The government is carrying out the campaign by regularly praising teachers in newspapers and speeches. Teachers also have had their salaries raised and their classrooms rebuilt.

Chinese officials say that it may take a generation or even more to right the wrongs of the Cultural Revolution. It will require a huge financial investment and a change in the public perspective, according to one Chinese official in the Ministry of Education.

Teachers are now being urged by the government to join the Communist party of which only 4 percent of the population belongs at this point. Membership is considered a privilege in China which gives prestige and possibilities for advancement.

### China Conducts First Large-Scale Student Health Survey

China has recently completed its first large-scale survey of student's health and general condition.

Comparisons with smaller studies suggest that young Chinese people from ages 7 to 25, have gotten taller and heavier in the past few years. The survey also found wide differences in the physical health and fitness of students in different parts of China. Educators have thus decided to further develop recreational facilities at China's schools, colleges and universities.

## Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch

**H.R. 1183. Research.** A bill introduced by Representative Shannon (D-Mass) to allow Federal income tax credits for certain expenditures for research and development.

**H.R. 1299. Charitable Contributions.** Representative Conte (R-Mass) has introduced a bill to amend the Federal income tax law to increase the deduction allowed for charitable contributions for research and educational institutions.

**H.R. 1309. Land-Grant Colleges.** Representative de la Garza (D-Tex) has introduced a bill to provide aid to land-grant colleges in order to strengthen their capacity to conduct agricultural research.

**S. 605. Social Security.** Senator Wallop (R-Wyo) proposed amending the Social Security Act to eliminate benefits for youths aged 18 to 21 attending post-secondary institutions.

**S. 793. Defaulted Loans.** A proposal to facilitate the collection of defaulted loans under the National Direct and Guaranteed Student Loan programs. Introduced by Senator Domenici (R-NN).

**S. 24. Education Savings.** A bill to allow taxpayers to deduct from their taxable income amounts that they have deposited in education savings accounts. Introduced by Senator Dole, (R-Kan), and co-sponsored by five other senators.



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# The Harvard Model U.N.: Can Consensus Work?

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by Gregory P. Taylor

## Consensus Politics at the Harvard U.N.: One Delegation's Experience

Consensus politics was the theme at this year's Harvard Model United Nations. While it was an interesting exercise, it did little good for Namibia.

The Harvard National Model United Nations Conference is one of many simulations of the United Nations that are held across the country every year. The conference allows college students the opportunity to realistically act out the everyday workings of the U.N., and to gain insight into the important system of international politics.

The conference structure mirrors that of the real U.N. The large body of delegates are divided into two general bodies: the General Assembly (GA) and the Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC). The functions of these groups are to adopt or reject resolutions that have already been debated and amended in smaller committees. The bulk of the everyday work is performed in the subcommittees of the two larger bodies. The General Assembly has six committees, and the Economic and Social Committee has four. Delegates to the GA and ECOSOC all have positions on one of the committees. By maintaining this structure, the Model U.N. assures the proper participation of all delegates in worthwhile and productive debate.

The main activity in the committees takes the form of speech making. If a resolution has been introduced to the committee, the chairman allots a certain amount of time to speakers from nations who are either in favor of, or opposed to, the resolution at hand. In this manner, an effective argument evolves which is hopefully supported by many nations.

The ultimate goal of the committee is to produce resolutions that gain wide support among nations, for only through broad support can resolutions pass the main body; this is consensus politics. This year, the Harvard conference emphasized this style of consensus bargaining to produce effective work.

In an opening address to the assembled body, the Under Secretary General, Miss Aprille Murphy of Harvard, stressed the necessity of give and take between nations in dealing with international problems. Richard Weitz, also of Harvard, and Chairman of the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, stated that "Consensus is necessary for success in the international

arena" and that "consensus is possible in the international arena."

However, there are some serious flaws in the consensus approach that must be examined. If a resolution is to be widely accepted, it must often take a rather ineffective middle-ground so that it does not offend anyone. Resolutions that contain condemnations and provisions for use of force, or calls for economic sanctions, have a great degree of difficulty in gaining wide support.

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*"All of this points out a singularly important flaw in the United Nations today: the lack of any substantive judicial body to enforce the resolutions that are passed."*

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According to consensus tactics these resolutions with limited support should be rejected, because it is believed that the few nations backing the resolution will not carry enough force to see that its provisions are carried out. The reverse situation is a resolution which is so flaccid that many nations cannot help but support it, because there is nothing to disagree with. All of this points out a singularly important flaw in the United Nations today: the lack of any substantive judicial body to enforce the resolutions that are passed. Subsequently, resolutions of substance are rarely passed and implemented. A close analysis of how the consensus policy difficulties arise can be shown in the actual proceedings of the Harvard Model U.N.

One of the six committees of the General Assembly is the Political and Security Committee. This delegate represented the sovereign nation of Zimbabwe on that committee. The topic areas for discussion were: Namibia; Afghanistan; and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

We began the three day conference with the topic of the Namibia question, and finished with exactly one resolution on that topic three days later. Chairman Frank



Hacklander of Harvard set out to show the committee that the consensus policy could produce effective resolutions. Mr. Hacklander periodically offered words of encouragement, which frequently lapsed into an esoteric oratory on consensus policies. Needless to say, this encouragement did nothing to speed up the committee in making an effective resolution.

One resolution was finally produced though that was the culmination of many hours of work. In order to fully understand the problem of consensus in terms of the Namibia question, it is worthwhile to provide a historical background of the U.N.'s efforts in Namibia to date.

Namibia (formerly South West Africa) was originally occupied by her neighbor, South Africa, during World War I. After the Second World War, the nation was to be transferred to the United Nations under a trusteeship. South Africa refused to recognize the U.N.'s demand, and has retained possession of the state to this day, ignoring U.N. resolutions on Namibia's right to self-rule.

In 1973 the General Assembly recognized the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) as the only official representative of Namibia. South Africa, however, did not recognize SWAPO but began backing other separatist groups within the nation in a long range plan for home rule. This apparent stalemate was rectified through the use of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to oversee elections targeted for December of 1978. Objections from both sides ensued about the fairness of various election procedures. When the internal elections finally took place, SWAPO and other groups boycotted them. This has left the U.N. in a weakened position. It cannot seem to drum up effective support for its Western Plan for elections, nor can it enforce the old and ineffectual demand upon South Africa to release their control over Namibia.

The Namibia question at the Harvard conference was divided into two strategies, both aimed at the independence of Namibia. One was a resolution which would carry the force of a condemnation, demanding the use of UNTAG and setting a date for free elections. This resolution also carried a provision for the use of economic sanctions against South Africa.

The alternative course was one which advised elections by a certain date, but without any forceful penalty involved to ensure free elections. These two

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*"To say that this ineffectual model mirrored the actual United Nations may be quite correct."*

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resolutions represent the dichotomy of consensus politics. The first resolution outlines definite, concrete steps to be taken, but cannot be enforced because of weak international support. The latter resolution is weak and general to the extent that it does not force South Africa to comply to the provisions contained within it. The weak resolution was the one adopted.

The Harvard Conference saw each committee struggle with problems similar to the one above. Though each topic's historical situation may not have been so detailed as that associated with Namibia, each delegate and committee had to come to terms with the problems involved with consensus policy making. To say that this ineffectual model mirrored the actual United Nations may be quite correct. As a functional body, the U.N. has become a mere sounding board for nation's individual gripes.

The potential for successful work to be produced by the U.N., the ever-ready ability to effectively deal with and provide solutions to problems, has been dramatically undercut by an absence of power and an ability to enforce its own resolutions. Despite this apparent powerlessness of the real United Nations, the Harvard Model U.N. remains a valuable tool for college students to gain experience in international relations and consensus political debate.

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*Gregory Taylor is a Senior at Connecticut College majoring in government. He is interested in political philosophy and international law. Mr. Taylor founded the Model U.N. club at Connecticut College and hopes to pursue international law when he graduates.*

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## Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch Bills To Watch

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**H.R. 1360. Student Aid.** Bill introduced by Representative Bedell (D-Iowa) to increase Pell Grants by \$500 for members of the National Guard and the Reserves.

**H.R. 1662. Testing.** A proposal to require the disclosure of certain information about standardized educational tests. Introduced by Representative Weiss (D-NY) and co-sponsored by eight other members. A similar bill was introduced by Representative Gibbons (D-Fla).

**H.R. 2890. Education Savings Accounts.** A proposal to amend the Internal Revenue Code to establish education savings accounts. Introduced by Representative McGrath (R-NY).

**H.R. 2899. Tuition Tax Credit.** A proposal to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide a Federal income-tax credit for tuition. Introduced by Representative Solomon (R-NY).



Few students of political science take full advantage of the many periodicals, abstracts, and indexes available in their college or university libraries. Perhaps you are intimidated by the great number of resources, or maybe you simply do not know what is available.

In this first issue of *In Politics* we focus on the six journals produced by the national and regional political science associations. All are quarterlies, and each issue carries reports of new research which may be of great help to students in politics. Interns and campaign workers can gain insights on their jobs and suggestions for winning strategies.

*The American Political Science Review* is the publication of the American Political Science Association, the national association of political scientists with its headquarters in Washington, D.C. *Polity* is published by the Northeastern Political Science Associations, while *The Journal of Politics* is put out by the Southern Political

Science Association. The Western Political Science Association, Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, and the Southern California Political Science Association cooperate to produce the *Western Political Quarterly*, and the Southwestern Political Science Association and the Southwestern Social Science Association produce a similar collaboration, *Social Science Quarterly*. The Midwest Political Science Association produces the *American Journal of Political Science*.

The summaries here are but a sampler of the wealth of new material in each issue. Needless to say these articles and their footnotes can be valuable resources in planning term papers and research projects.

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# Summaries of Political Science Articles

Fred J. Evans, "Toward a Theory of Academic Liberalism," *Journal of Politics*, 42 (November 1980) 993-1030.

Academics exalt the open mind and free enquiry, yet as several surveys have found, professors, notably those in the social sciences, are predictably "left" or "liberal" in their politics. Why? Professor Fred J. Evans of California State University at Los Angeles offers an answer.

Standard explanations for this liberalism have emphasized the professor's role as critic (Joseph Schumpeter) or the academic's task as an innovator or creator of knowledge (Seymour Martin Lipset and Everell Carl Ladd). Professor Evans concludes there are two possible causes of academic liberalism: the role of the academic as a type of intellectual and academic status incongruence.

Status consists of many elements, and when some are out of phase with others, one speaks of status incongruence. He uses the example of a "janitor with a Ph.D." (p. 1000) Those faced with status incongruence will be insecure and seek to eliminate bothersome aspects of the incongruence. One would eliminate, if possible, the incongruent factors, avoid people who react to those factors, or, if neither of those options is possible, criticize the reaction.

Evans finds just such an incongruence in survey data on social scientists. While the public in general sees the title professor as carrying high prestige (about on the level of a U.S. representative), the role of social scientist is held in significantly lower esteem. And thus emerges a "possible status incongruence." (p. 1003) The same pattern characterizes those in humanities and the fine arts as well. So situated, the social scientist becomes the social critic.

A further explanation for the status incongruity of the social scientist is to be found on the campus itself. He suggests two distinct orientations or traditions to which academics adhere: "cognitive rationality" as represented by the scientist and "evaluation and prescription" as represented by the Sage. Scientists back their conclusions with scientific data, while the Sages, a category including social scientists and humanists, lack such data. Again social scientists are faced with status incongruence. Evans writes that the status situation of these Sage social scientists is a key to understanding academic liberalism. Social scientists tend to be "the primary bearers of the political traditions of the academic community," but the degree to which they influence their colleagues in other departments depends on the "salience of politics." That salience varies considerably through time and between disciplines.

Essentially, academic liberalism contains a duality: a repudiation of "the legitimacy claims to high status of the dominant groups in society" and a legitimization of "academics' own claim to high status." (p. 1029) Evans quotes Pierre van den Berghe stating academics "can have their cake, eat it, and yet pretend not to eat it." (p. 1029).

In sum, Evans offers a new and valuable assessment of academic liberalism beyond the explanations of other analysts, emphasizing the importance of socioeconomic status as an indicator for political attitudes and behavior.

—Barbara Scott

Keith T. Poole, "Dimensions of Interest Group Evaluation of the U.S. Senate, 1969-1978," *American Journal of Political Science*, 25 (February 1981) 49-67.

Which senators and representatives are most likely to aid a group's cause? Are the ratings of one watchdog group likely to prove valuable to another group planning its own strategy? Keith T. Poole of the University of Oregon argues that interest groups, though varying in their ideologies, do agree on the placement of senators along a liberal/conservative spectrum. From this pattern, Poole concludes that senators must be reacting to issues consistently over time, creating and maintaining their positions on this spectrum.

Poole explains the interest group rating system. The groups review the senators' voting records on selected issues. Senators then receive a rating according to the way in which they voted. The ratings increase the more the senators' votes comport with the ideological preference of the group.

By choosing issues which clearly reveal an ideological position, the different interest groups tend to locate the senators along the liberal/conservative spectrum with only slight variations. Poole points out that moderate senators may have their positions misrepresented because there are no centrist interest groups to help place them accurately.

Over a period of time, Poole concludes, senators vote in keeping with their rated positions, but during the two years before an election their voting consistency declines as they attempt to blur and moderate their positions in the eyes of their constituents. Finally, Poole adds, 68 percent of the senators base their votes on an ideology 70 percent of the time, 16 percent hold to an ideology 50 to 70 percent of the time, and only 16 percent vote along ideological lines less than 50 percent of the time, thus supporting his earlier conclusions.

—Margot L. Moser



Stephen D. Shaffer, "A Multivariate Explanation of Decreasing Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1960-1976," *American Journal of Political Science*, (February 1981): 68-95.

Professor Stephen D. Shaffer of Mississippi State University offers an explanation of decreasing voter turnout in presidential elections. His conclusions and techniques may nonetheless be useful to students planning campaign strategies and analyzing returns at many levels. He attributes the declining turnout between 1960 and 1976 to four factors.

The first and most important factor is the changing age composition. Voters under 28 years old and voters over 76 years old are least likely to cast ballots. This is especially significant since the number of people in these age groups has increased since 1960.

Second, the proportion of Americans with a feeling of high political efficacy has diminished. People believe that public officials are indifferent about voter opinion and that they as individuals have little say in government decisions. The strength of a feeling of political efficacy is directly related to voter turnout, and since voters' belief in their own political effectiveness is decreasing, voter turnout is declining.

Third, a decreasing reliance on newspapers and increasing reliance on television for campaign information also contributes to a declining voter turnout. Newspapers, in his terms more "intellectually demanding" (p. 92), contain more in-depth reporting on candidates and issues and present more partisan bias than television reports. Since 1960, people from different demographic groups and varying educational backgrounds have begun to rely less on newspapers and more on television for campaign information. This decreasing reliance on newspapers accounts for part of the declining voter turnout.

Fourth, diminished partisan identification contributes to the decreasing turnout. Strong party identifiers are more likely to vote than independents, and since 1960, the number of independents has increased.

—Marylin Sternlieb

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Norman H. Keehn, "Liberal Democracy: Impediment to Anti-Inflation Policy," *Polity*, 13 (Winter, 1980), 207-229.

Norman H. Keehn blames the failure of the federal government's anti-inflation policies on the liberal-democratic ideas that have been so influential in American socioeconomic tradition. He argues that the traditions of laissez-faire economics have given private business so much self-autonomy, that the government becomes limited in its effectiveness to form anti-inflationary policies.

Private industry has had many reasons not to comply with the government's regulation policies: it may not be in the individual business's best interests to adhere to guidelines (such as wage-price controls); administration policies are often made to benefit only a small number of interest groups; the business lobby has become one of the most powerful in Washington, so private businesses often have the money and resources to combat what they feel are unwise policies.

Prof. Keehn also argues that political values have inhibited anti-inflationary policies. For example, "zero unemployment" policies have been politically popular, but economically impractical. Budget cutting, on the other hand, is one form of alleviating inflationary pressures, but has shown to be politically harmful because of the power of interest groups affected by the cuts.

Thus the liberal-democratic traditions of American society and government have allowed private business to make the ultimate economic decisions, while the federal government has had little or no power to enforce economic policies. Anti-inflationary policies have been made under great political pressure, and have therefore proved to be very impractical.

For effective anti-inflationary policies to overcome these traditional liberal restraints, politicians and public leaders must risk their political and social status in taking unpopular stances. Whether such stances are possible, given the political climate as it stands today, remains to be seen.

—Christopher Hamblet

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David R Morgan and John P. Pelissero, "Urban Policy: Does Political Structure Matter?" *The American Political Science Review*, 74(December 1980), 999-1006.

Using a time-series analysis approach to urban policy and reform movements, Profs. David Morgan and John P. Pelissero, both of the University of Oklahoma, hypothesize that reforms in city government structure have had a negligible effect on urban fiscal policy. To do this they studied twenty-two cities, eleven of which experienced reforms between 1948 and 1973. The other eleven were used as control cities. Each reforming city was matched with a control city sharing basic physical characteristics, and then each pair was studied over an eleven year period encompassing the year of the reform and the five years preceding and following the reform. The study compared levels of general revenue, general expenditures, police expenditures, fire expenditures, highway expenditures and parks and recreation expenditures.

In analyzing the results of this study, the researchers concluded that political structure has very little, if any, impact on urban fiscal policy in terms of spending levels. There were several variable changes, but these balanced each other out to the extent that no general trend could be shown to exist. The study supported neither the theory that reform was brought about by a middle class seeking lower tax and spending levels, nor the theory that the lower classes caused reforms to increase tax and spending levels: generally, the results were ambiguous.

While most studies on this subject have been cross-sectional in nature, this study attempts to emphasize changes made over time within the same city by various reform plans. It concludes that reforms have had no impact on urban centers in terms of fiscal policy. Unfortunately, the study does not consider changes made within spending areas (i.e. types of police and fire spending, etc.) This may be a serious deficiency, and should also be studied before further conclusions can be drawn about the impact of urban political reforms on urban policy in general.

—William H. Field





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