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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT GOLDWIN
FROM: JERRY H. JOHNSON
SUBJECT: Activity Report

Your memorandum to the President of May 19 on the above subject and the attached memorandum have been reviewed and the following notation was made:

-- Fine report. Keep it up. Talk with Paul
Theis and speechwriters on West Point speech
on point of "dying in vain" and morality of war.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.

cc: Don Rumsfeld



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.....

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN... *RF*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1975

RF

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *RG*

In the press conference of Secretary Kissinger on April 29, he was asked, "Looking back on the war now, would you say that the war was in vain, and what do you feel it accomplished?"

In your press conference on May 6 you were asked a similar question: "Even though the war is over, sir, there are many Americans who must still live with the agonies that it caused them. I speak primarily of those wounded and crippled and the families of those who died. In very human and personal terms, how would you speak to them about the sacrifices that were made?"

In your reply, you said, among other things, "We have an unbelievable commitment to them in the future." I think that is the best possible line of answer to take and that it can be amplified in an effective, meaningful, and inspirational way, either as a portion of a speech, or in answer to the same question on a subsequent occasion.

The question, "Did they die in vain?" has a familiar ring. It is the question that President Lincoln asked and answered in the Gettysburg Address, the most famous speech any American ever gave. His argument was that the question of



whether a soldier's death is purposeful or in vain is not settled by the military outcome of the battle. The question can be settled only by the living and by the way they conduct themselves after the battle is over. On the basis of that reasoning, President Lincoln called on all Americans to resolve that "these dead shall not have died in vain." And it was on the basis of that reasoning that he called on all Americans to help bring about "a new birth of freedom."

The real answer to the question lies with us and our ability to regain a national sense of purpose, a new commitment to liberty and the principles of self-government.

Whether our soldiers died for a purpose is still to be settled, by us, the living. The test is whether we are determined that we will not live our lives in vain.



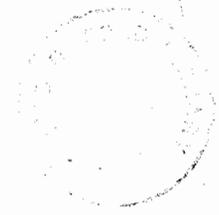
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bob Halloran

Fine report.

Keep it up.

Talk with Paul
This & speak writers
on West Print speech
on point of "doing in vain"
& monthly of man.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *RG*

SUBJECT: Activity Report

May 20th marks the end of the fifth month since I was sworn in as Special Consultant to the President. Because my duties were not originally fully foreseeable, and because they have developed more clearly in the intervening time, now seems a good moment to report to you on my activities to date, and to consider some proposals for the future.

From the outset, my understanding was that my duties ought to be shaped in action, as I went along, more than by pre-conceived notions. Within flexible guidelines, my responsibilities have developed so as to emphasize the seriousness and thoughtfulness of your approach to long-range problems, and to communicate your attention to education, the arts, and the humanities.

Communication and Liaison with Academic People

Perhaps my most important responsibility has been to assist you in arranging meetings with thinkers and experts on various topics. Four "seminars" have been held to date (one every six weeks or so) covering a wide range of topics such as higher education, crime, welfare, the bicentennial, and the world food problem. These meetings were designed to give you the opportunity to discuss important matters with interesting and



informative people who would not otherwise have had occasion to be in the White House and available to you. (A list of the participants in the seminars is located at Tab A.) These first meetings were, in part, a search for the best format.

The last meeting, on the world food problem, convinced me that the best approach is to choose and concentrate on one broad, but well-defined topic. Earlier seminars were wide-ranging discussions, and generated a number of good ideas, but in my opinion the most productive one was the well-focused meeting on the food problem.

I propose, therefore, that future seminars concentrate on topics such as: The Presidency, Health, Welfare, Tax Reform, Housing, Transportation, Crime, The Bureaucracy, or Education. If you agree, more detailed proposals on each of these topics will be presented.

As you may know, I spend two to five hours in personal conversation with each outside academic before deciding whether to recommend inviting him to the White House. This has required that I travel widely and frequently throughout the country, mostly to university campuses. I have also talked to many academic persons on these trips who are doing interesting work but who have not been invited to a meeting with you. Such conversations keep me informed about useful new research being done on subjects that may not be worth a seminar, but are nevertheless important. They also serve to convey White House interest in the academic world. Useful ideas and viewpoints I pick up are disseminated to the Domestic Council staff, to appropriate departments and agencies, or occasionally directly to you.

Press Relations

More than I had expected, my job has elicited wide interest from the media. Because such publicity would not be helpful in my work with academics if not handled tastefully, I have regularly sought the guidance of Ron Nessen and Gerry Warren.



They think such continuing publicity serves a useful purpose by illustrating White House attention to long-range problems, as well as a desire to search for serious thinking outside the government.

With these goals in mind, interviews and articles have appeared in the Chicago Tribune, The Washington Post, the Washington Star-News, The London Times, The National Observer, the Boston Globe, the Wall Street Journal, Time, Science Magazine, and Chronicle of Higher Education. There has also been a radio interview on Radio Smithsonian and a TV interview on the Martin Agronsky Evening Edition. (Copies of some articles appear at Tab B.)

Fortunately, coverage of my activities has been favorable in virtually all instances. But I continue to work closely with Ron Nessen and Gerry Warren and obtain their guidance whenever I am approached for an interview.

More and more journalists speak to me when they are doing articles on the President, the White House, or the Administration: David Broder, Lou Cannon, Bill Safire, Dean Fischer, Juan Cameron, Elizabeth Drew, Meg Greenfield, Dennis Fahrney, Carroll Kilpatrick, Allan Otten, Aldo Beckman, Morton Kondracke, etc.

Educa tion

When my appointment and my duties in the academic field were announced, a number of educational organizations approached me. All repeated a similar refrain: "We haven't had anyone in the White House to talk to for five years." To facilitate the resumption of this dialogue, I arranged a meeting with spokesmen of the major organizations of higher education and the heads of the Office of Public Liaison, the Domestic Council staff and the Office of Management and Budget. Bill Baroody chaired the meeting and the topic was, simply, who in the White House to talk to about what when there was a problem. Communications and working relationships between these organizations and



the White House have now been established. During that meeting, held on February 25, one of the heads of one of the organizations began his remarks by saying, "there is no way to exaggerate the importance of this meeting."

The financial difficulties of institutions of higher education, especially the small private liberal arts colleges, are a major problem. I gave a speech on this subject in January at New College in Sarasota, Florida, which has received widespread attention and has been reprinted in whole or in part in the Chronicle of Higher Education, Change Magazine, Vital Speeches, and the Congressional Record. (See Tab C.)

In response to a memorandum from you asking him to look into the plight of the small private colleges, T. H. Bell, Commissioner of Education is arranging, in close co-operation with me, an all-day informal meeting with the presidents of a dozen colleges, to discuss their financial situation. What we are seeking is actions, other than large federal grants, that might prove helpful to private higher education.

Personnel Matters

Your intention to make appointments to your Administration of highly qualified people is gaining increasing notice and appreciation. The Presidential Personnel Office has made me an "adjunct member" and seeks my advice whenever a position can conceivably be filled by an academic person.

Working with Bill Walker and his staff, I have suggested people who might not otherwise have come to the attention of the White House. Some appointments or nominations I played a part in include the Director of the National Institute of Education, the Librarian of Congress, members of the Advisory Committee on International Education and Cultural Affairs, and the Advisory Commission on Information.

One very important measure of the quality of an Administration is the caliber of the people appointed to serve. I hope to be able



to continue to assist you and the Presidential Personnel Office in this endeavor.

Jewish Affairs

Max Fisher and I have developed a close working relationship since my assumption of this responsibility from Leonard Garment. We have worked together on a number of projects, including setting up the meeting between you and the leaders of Jewish organizations last December, and a similar meeting subsequently at the State Department with Secretary Kissinger.

Working relationships have also been established with a number of Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Groups interested in the plight of Russian and Syrian Jewry use me as a point of contact in the White House, and in these matters I work with Brent Scowcroft and others on the NSC staff.

There is no way to deal with Jewish affairs without having contact with the Israeli government. Their officials in Washington have approached me, and I meet on a social basis from time to time with Ambassador Dinitz and other officials of the Israeli Embassy.

Speechwriting

Prior to my White House appointment, while I was still Special Adviser to Don Rumsfeld at NATO, I was "loaned" to the White House to help in writing speeches. I worked with Milt Friedman on the drafts of the speeches to the UN General Assembly and to the World Energy Conference in September 1974. Later, when I returned to the White House, Paul Theis made me an "adjunct member" of the speechwriting staff, and I have been able to provide help with several speeches, working closely with Milt Friedman, for instance, on the Tulane and Notre Dame speeches.



I also worked with Alan Greenspan for many hours every day for weeks in an effort to describe your economic program in non-technical language, for the State of the Union speech, a good part of which was used.

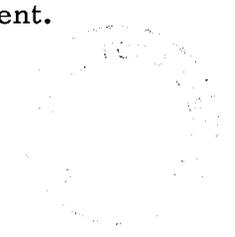
My main speechwriting effort, however, was the writing of the "domestic tranquility" speech, on crime, for the Yale University Law School. I think my working rapport on speeches with Bob Hartmann, Paul Theis, and Milt Freidman is excellent.

Cultural Affairs

Leonard Garment also bequeathed to me his responsibility for the arts, the humanities, and the museums. I meet from time to time with S. Dillon Ripley, and I have attended several functions sponsored by the Smithsonian, including meetings at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. I conducted a seminar on The Federalist for the Smithsonian's series on Voluntarism. As you know, you have appointed me to serve on the Board of Woodrow Wilson Center, an honor I will strive to live up to.

Nancy Hanks, Ronald Berman and I have become well acquainted, and I serve principally as the go-between when the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities have business with OMB. In addition, working relationships have been established with officials of the Kennedy Center, the National Science Foundation, and the Arts Council. I have also met with Carter Brown of the National Gallery and am helping him with projects involving the White House.

In March I attended an international conference in Berlin on the economic plight of cultural institutions such as museums, opera companies, symphony orchestras, etc., to compare the ways different nations are responding to the problem. The meeting was attended by a British, German, and French contingent of cultural representatives, but of the Americans I was the only U. S. government spokesman present, and worked hard to persuade them that they must look to rescuers other than the Federal government.



My participation in these many events and activities has, I believe, helped to underline the seriousness of White House interest and effort in these highly visible and important fields.

Correspondence

An increasing amount of mail flows in from people with ideas, proposals, and suggestions to offer the Administration. The mail covers the spectrum of problems facing the nation, and every letter is reviewed for possible utility. Many come from academic people, who present well-thought-out ideas and who often forward articles and papers which represent an important source of new thinking. Frequently these ideas and proposals are referred to the Domestic Council staff or to the appropriate departments and agencies for more thorough consideration. I also receive good ideas and sensible suggestions from many non-academic people, as well as the usual quota of useless "crank" mail.

Research and Review

Frequently I have been asked to help on special projects, and to organize information in a form that can be put directly to use, in memoranda or speeches. I rarely do true research in response to these requests, but rather figure a way to utilize the research of others in a new way. For example, I used the crime research of James Wilson and put it into the framework of a constitutional theme of "domestic tranquility." This established a tone and mood that was carried over in the talking points on the Crime Message for the Cabinet meeting on May 7, and which you have given instructions to maintain in the preparation of the Crime Message.

With the help of one assistant I try to keep up with five daily newspapers and some thirty periodicals, including some specialized ones that others in the White House might not read. Numbers of solicited and unsolicited manuscripts and articles are also sent to us, and we try to read them too. Occasionally I am able to transmit obscure but outstanding articles to you and to White House staff members.



Miscellaneous

Ted Marrs and Jack Marsh have made me one of the small group working on presidential bicentennial projects and speeches. Phil Buchen and Rod Hills have included me in the group studying the Arab boycott. Bill Baroody has made me an "adjunct member" of the Office of Public Liaison and has solicited my help and participation in a number of meetings, especially those concerning education associations. I keep up with some former State Department colleagues, and I have discussed with them and others some ways that they might improve their efforts to work with persons in academic life.

Conclusion

This report may give the impression of a big operation, but it is really rather small. My "staff" consists of one secretary and, for the past nine weeks, an assistant on loan from the State Department. I may have spread myself too thin, but it is essential for me to know the concerns of those with operating responsibilities in order that my advice can be relevant to their duties. The help of even one assistant has allowed me to concentrate on things I can do best and I am grateful that his appointment has been extended for nine months.

The flexibility and discretion you have allowed me in developing my duties and activities is greatly appreciated. Above all, I am grateful for the opportunity to be a part of an Administration performing an historic task of rebuilding under your leadership.



TAB A

PARTICIPANTS IN "SEMINARS" FROM 12/9/74 - 4/12/75

12/9/75

Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
John Marsh
Ronald Nessen
Robert Goldwin
John Robson
Martin Diamond, Woodrow Wilson Scholar, on leave of absence as
Professor of Political Science, Northern Illinois University
James Q. Wilson, Professor of Government, Harvard University
Daniel Boorstin, Director of the Smithsonian National Museum of
History and Technology

1/11/75

Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
Alan Greenspan
Robert Goldwin
Milton Friedman
Irving Kristol, Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values, New York
University, and Editor of The Public Interest
Martin Feldstein, Professor of Economics, Harvard University
(an authority on federal transfer payments)
Bryce Harlow
Gabriel Hauge

2/22/75

Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
Alan Greenspan
Richard Cheney
Robert Goldwin
Gertrude Himmelfarb, Professor of History, City University of
New York
Edward Banfield, Professor of Political Science, University of
Pennsylvania
Herbert Storing, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago
Thomas Sowell, Professor of Economics, University of California
at Los Angeles



4/12/75

Henry Kissinger

Donald Rumsfeld

James Lynn

Robert Goldwin

Patrick Moynihan

Donald Paarlberg, Director of Agricultural Economics,
Department of Agriculture

Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, President, University of Notre Dame

Willard Cochrane, Professor of Agricultural Economics and
Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

D. Gale Johnson, Professor and Chairman, Department of
Economics, and Dean of Faculty, University of Chicago

Dale E. Hathaway, Program Adviser in Agriculture (Asia and
Pacific Program), the Ford Foundation



TAB B

Ford's better idea—get thinkers, doers together

By Aldo Beckman

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON — For more than a decade, Robert Goldwin has spent the bulk of his time setting up seminars that put the nation's thinkers with the nation's doers.

Now, he is arranging dinner parties.

But those parties are held in the dining room of the White House and have very exclusive guest lists that include President Ford and the top scholars and intellectuals in the country.

GOLDWIN, who began arranging seminars at the University of Chicago in 1971, joined the White House staff several weeks ago after working for Donald Rumsfeld for two years when he was United States ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Ford immediately embraced the idea of small dinners with the nation's thinkers as an avenue to expose himself to new ideas. Only three guests and five senior staff men attended the first dinner several weeks ago. Altho Goldwin heard nothing directly from Ford, he did get immediate orders to set up another session for shortly after New Year's.

Goldwin first met Ford in 1961, when the then-congressman from Michigan attended the first public-affairs seminar

Goldwin ever coordinated at the University of Chicago. Others at that session included Charles H. Percy, then head of Bell & Howell Co. and now a senator, and Sen. Edmund Muskie [D., Maine], then a freshman senator.

GOLDWIN HAS since taught at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, and now is on leave as a professor of government at St. John's College in Annapolis, Md. He took time out to serve as Percy's director of research during his unsuccessful race for Illinois governor in 1964.

He envisions about seven or eight dinner seminars with the President each year, on various subjects.

"This is no exotic effort to get the President together with intellectuals and artists," Goldwin emphasized during an interview. "The people we bring in here are people who are widely known and have done much writing. We don't want to have to wait two or three years until a book by one of them might be published to have White House exposure to their ideas."

Goldwin cited a discussion at last Monday night's dinner—the first—to illustrate the practical aspects of the informal get-togethers.

JOHN Q. WILSON, head of government at Harvard, told Ford that Americans must take a different view of pris-

ons and perhaps see them as places to separate criminals from society rather than places where rehabilitation efforts are made.

Wilson said studies show that only 15 per cent of all convicted robbers in New York City are imprisoned. If every robber in New York City was to be sentenced to two years in jail, the crime rate there would drop in half Wilson told the President.

Goldwin and a member of the Domestic Council now are studying the prospects of an administration move in the area suggested by Wilson. There are questions about what a President could do, or should do, but the matter is being studied.

ALTHO GOLDWIN, thru his academic contacts, is familiar with most academic specialists in any given field, he travels extensively to seek men of particular expertise.

GOLDWIN backs away from any efforts to paint him as the President's intellectual-in-residence or as the man responsible for getting ideas to the chief executive.

"These dinners are a drop in the bucket when it comes to the exposure he has to ideas," Goldwin said.

"If these dinners do some good, that would be great. It's hard to see how they can do any harm," he concluded.

Ford Welcoming Scholars To Share Their Wisdom

By Fred Barnes
Star-News Staff Writer

Back in 1961, a Republican congressman named Gerald Ford traveled to Chicago for a conference that brought together intellectuals and government leaders for some heavy conversation.

From all accounts, he enjoyed it immensely.

Thirteen years later, Ford is participating in similar gathering in the White House, and he has brought Dr. Robert Goldwin, the man who set up the Chicago conference, to organize them.

THE FIRST was held a month ago, with the President talking over the world's problems for an hour with Irving Kristol, a well-known and controversial intellectual.

After the chat, Kristol suggested that there was one thing wrong. More people should be involved in the White House intellectual gatherings, he said, and Ford agreed.

For the second meeting, Goldwin brought in four people to converse with Ford — historian Daniel Boorstin, government professor James Wilson, scholar Martin Diamond and lawyer John Robson.

This one began with drinks in the White House's Red Room, continued over dinner in the private dining room in the executive mansion and wound up in the Red Room again. It lasted three hours.

THE CONVERSATION was free-wheeling, Goldwin said, with Ford keeping up his end as the topics shifted from crime to the feeling of many Americans that the quality of life has deteriorated.

According to Goldwin, there will be seven or eight meetings with intellectuals and Ford, and a number of others involving intellectuals and members of the White House staff.

The next one probably will be held in January, though Goldwin's first

proposal for this one was rejected by Ford. The President did not like the chief topic set for discussion and decided on another.

As a result, Goldwin had to come up with a new team of intellectuals to meet with Ford next month.

The conversation at the gatherings is not totally spontaneous. Goldwin spends four or five hours with the guest intellectual before the meeting, going over what they will discuss.

HE TRAVELED twice to Cambridge to talk with Wilson, a Harvard University professor, before the gathering on Dec. 9.

Goldwin also labors to produce the right setting for deep talk. "I have worked with the head usher at the White House to make a setting that would be conducive to uninterrupted conversation," he said.

"Sometimes at a formal dinner, there's so much business going on with the waiters that it's difficult to put three sentences together," Goldwin added.

At the gathering this month, the salad course was dropped to eliminate unnecessary intrusion by the waiters.

WHO IS GOLDWIN looking for to talk with the President? Not people who are specialists in a single field, but those with broad learning.

"For the President," he said, "we try to get people

who have a very broad view of things, what you might call the presidential viewpoint."

"The idea is to bring together these different kinds of people to see what they can learn from each other," Goldwin said. "I don't think it (the meeting concept) is going to save the world or transform the administration.

"But something said in one of them may ring a bell (in the President's mind) three months later," and thus play a role in an important decision, he said.

Goldwin, a political scientist, developed the specialty of organizing conferences between intellectuals and government leaders in the early 1960s. The 1961 gathering attended by Ford was one of Goldwin's first conferences.

SINCE THEN, he has set up dozens, along with teaching and serving as dean for several years at St. John's College in Annapolis.

He quit St. John's in 1972 to join Donald Rumsfeld, then the ambassador to NATO, in Europe. Goldwin had planned to take a job with the University of Pennsylvania this fall in which he would set up more conferences.

But he pulled out of that when the White House job came along, and now he is housed in the Executive Office Building in the office once used by Raymond Price, the speechwriter for former President Richard M. Nixon.

Wash. Star & News 12/23/74

The Ghost Of Locke

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — John Locke, an English philosopher, stirred controversy three centuries ago with the notion that societies were organized and ruled not by divine right, but by what he called "the consent of the governed."

Choosing his words carefully so as not to offend the King, Locke held that men left the wild state of nature by their own volition, making a social contract in order to protect "life, liberty and property."

When tyrants snatched away the protection of a citizen's natural rights, the government was breaking the contract, and the time came for men to "appeal to Heaven." Locke's reverent phrase was taken from the practice of Biblical generals of praying before battle, and actually were code words—widely understood at the time—for armed rebellion against tyranny.

Such ideas fired up young Thomas Jefferson a century later, and he filled the Declaration of Independence with

ESSAY

Lockean ideas and phrases, even to "the pursuit of happiness."

How do I know this? Because I took a course on Locke's second treatise on government just a couple of years ago, conducted by a professor at St. John's College. The seminar was a skullcracker and the handful of students included Allen Otten, David Broder, and Robert Novak, columnists; Herman Wouk, author, and David Ginsberg, lawyer; Marilyn Berger, reporter, and Katherine Graham, newspaper publisher.

The teacher who guided this high-powered agglomeration of opinion molders through the sources of political freedom—expertly shaming class-cutters and homework-skippers into line—was Robert Goldwin, 52, who popped up in the news recently as a special consultant to the President.

Dr. Goldwin, who served with Donald Rumsfeld at NATO, was the man behind the widely acclaimed session



of academics with President Ford last month. His job is to "assure the flow of information, ideas and suggestions" to the President from outside government: Such salutary sessions with men who live the life of the mind were described by departing Len Garment as a "coup de tête." That play on "coup d'état" may be the only pun in French of the Ford Administration, but it felicitously praises the new green light on a necessary two-way street.

The new White House adviser resists the title of "Intellectual-in-Residence" or "the new Garment center," preferring to act as a kind of free safety in the Ford secondary: one day lending a hand on speeches, the next day sitting in on Domestic Council discussions, soliciting unorthodox ideas like those of Harvard Professor Martin Feldstein, watching over the interests of the arts and humanities, setting up more skull sessions with the man in the Oval Office.

Locke's treatises, of course, are close at hand: the occasional ghost of Mr. Ford is inspired by the pervasive ghost of Mr. Locke. For the pressure is on—led by those who were so recently decrying Caesarism—for the President to seize control of a free economy, or to do something dramatic to gain the illusion of leadership.

What the President and all his advisers are learning is that the public must be pandered to, at least to a certain extent, even when wrong: Locke's "consent of the governed" has its drawbacks. Dr. Goldwin is working on an equation: "Action in a democratic society equals wisdom divided by consent."

How best can consent be won? Often by indirection, by muting the arguments that appeal most to yourself and appealing instead to the self-interest of others. For example:

Englishmen of the seventeenth century who believed in freedom of expression sought the removal of the licensing of printing. To advance this cause, John Milton, the epic poet, wrote "Areopagitica," which stands today as the greatest prose work in denunciation of censorship. But the licensing of printing stayed in effect.

Later in that century, John Locke addressed himself to the same subject. He argued, in dull and plodding language, that licensing of English printers drove up the price of books and was causing the industry to move to France. The economic cost of censorship was too high; Parliament, for less than noble interests, then acted to free the press.

As President Ford labors over his State of the Union Address, wondering how to enlist consent in our time, it is comforting to know that the ghost of John Locke still stalks the corridors of power. An appeal to self-interest is more useful than an appeal to idealism, and even more helpful than an appeal to heaven, in coaxing the governed to consent.

Robert A. Goldwin: Bridge Between Thinkers and Doers

The White House's lightning rod for outside ideas has traditionally been an eminent academic. His presence, usually much ballyhooed, helps foster the impression that the denizens of the White House are not wholly antipathetic to those of ivory towers. Arthur Schlesinger performed this useful service for President Kennedy, Daniel Moynihan for President Nixon.

President Ford's choice for White House thinker-in-residence is a man quite different from his predecessors in both style and substance. Robert A. Goldwin describes himself as "not a star, but more like a manager or agent." Whereas his luminous predecessors hailed from Harvard, Goldwin is a former dean of St. John's College, Annapolis, an institution best known for the idiosyncratic nature of its curriculum. Strangest contrast of all, Goldwin bristles at the label of intellectual and in fact chides those who so style themselves for their folly, arrogance, and apartness from the common run of humankind.

Goldwin's appointment as special consultant to the President, announced on 9 December, was overshadowed by an event held the same evening, a dinner-time seminar he had organized for the President, at the hands of historian Daniel Boorstin, James Q. Wilson, professor of government at Harvard, and Martin Diamond of Northern Illinois University. The meeting was apparently a free-ranging discussion of such topics as the purpose of prisons, the mood of the nation as it approaches the bicentennial, and presidential leadership in an age of pessimism.

Goldwin has been setting up get-togethers between academics and politicians ever since 1960, when he became director of the public affairs conference center at the University of Chicago. The first meeting he organized there was attended by then-Representative Gerald Ford, Senator Edmund Muskie, and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, then the attorney for the NAACP.

While at Chicago Goldwin came to know Illinois Congressman Donald Rumsfeld. When Rumsfeld became ambassador to NATO he was allowed to take a personal assistant and chose Goldwin. Rumsfeld brought Goldwin into the White House when he himself was appointed Ford's chief of staff.

Goldwin conceives his job as being to seek out individuals with interesting ideas and bring them to the attention of the President and his staff. This will be done sometimes by seminars, but more often in written form. He is looking for people, in and out of university, who are both sound analytical scholars, and can make their



ideas intelligible. He declines to say what specific issues he is exploring but notes that while he makes proposals, the President decides on who should be invited and what is to be discussed. The general aim is to hasten the process by which ideas reach the White House. The people Goldwin is after "are not the kind who think of calling up the White House when they have an idea; their natural tendency is to sit down and write an article."

"We don't ask academic people for a 10-point program," Goldwin says. "What they are best at is saying what the problem is." Goldwin has no well-defined method for seeking out the individuals he wishes to cultivate, but he already knows many people in the academic and practical worlds. He regards himself as a bridge-builder between the two. "I think I know how to make their encounters more fruitful. Lots of times people may go away shaking their heads if these things are not properly arranged, the politicians saying 'These damned professors think they know it all' and the academics thinking how hard it is to communicate with these thick-headed pols. Both are wrong."

Although he is an official conduit for the flow of outside ideas to the White House, Goldwin has a notably detached attitude toward the intellectual community. He stresses that he is interested only in individuals, not in the academic community per se. He does not describe himself or those he deals with as intellectuals, because of reservations about what the term has come to connote. "There is something fishy about the word 'intellectual,'" Goldwin says. "I think of 'intellectuals' as people who have a real distaste, sometimes even contempt, for the common sense approach, which is fundamentally the political approach. So 'intellectuals' don't have much that is helpful to say to people who have to run the government. They don't even have much to say to the ordinary citizen, except that 'You have no standards of taste, you don't understand things as they really are, and the only way to have a better society is to reorder it according to our principles rather than yours.'"

Goldwin sees the academic community and society as natural adversaries, with the government standing as the ultimate guarantor of the intellectuals' freedom and safety. "People who study are not very popular most of the time. Government protects their freedom, because any enlightened leader knows that progress depends on the quality of study that goes on. There is both interdependence and independence between people who study and people who make decisions."

Goldwin is a political scientist by background, and author of a book on Locke. He is a graduate of St. John's College, Annapolis, and from 1969 to 1973 was its dean. The college's unique curriculum is based on the study of some 130 "great books" of western civilization, students dividing their time between science and the humanities. "We bridge the two worlds of C. P. Snow," says college president Richard D. Weigle. Goldwin's forte, however, is in political science, and he has no immediate plans for convening a presidential seminar on matters scientific.—N.W.

White House Report/Ford, academicians hold discussions on issues

by Dom Bonafede

Since taking office, President Ford on three occasions has sat with a small group of academicians and engaged in an unhurried, free-wheeling discussion of national issues. The talks are intellectual in tone and context and less of a political nature.

The most recent such event was set for Feb. 22. Among the invited guests were Gertrude Himmelfarb, professor of history at the graduate school of the City University of New York, and Thomas Sowell, black economic historian at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Essentially, the purpose of the discussions is to raise provocative questions, stimulate ideas and perhaps suggest new analyses for coping with issues pertinent to the national welfare. They also give the academic and intellectual community a sense of participation in governmental affairs—or at least a feeling of being heard.

"The hope is that after talking with these people there may be a new way of looking at issues," said Robert A. Goldwin, a special consultant to the President. "We do not expect a point by point program from them to solve problems. Sometimes the right formulation of a question is the most important step; if you start with the wrong formulation, the public solution may remain untouched. We look for people who ask questions that should be asked but aren't."

Academic liaison: A former political science professor and director of public affairs conferences at Kenyon College and the University of Chicago, Goldwin serves as the impresario of the White House academic affairs. As the President's principal liaison with the academic community, he keeps in constant touch with scores of thinkers and teachers and diverts their ideas and information to the appropriate White House office for possible inclusion in the executive decision making process.

By his appearance and language, Goldwin aptly fits the professorial pattern, but he objects to some news media characterizations of him as "tutor to the President" or "intellectual in residence."

A registered Republican, he has had practical experience in political and governmental affairs as a campaign aide to Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., in 1964 and 1966 and as a special adviser in 1973-74 to NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, currently White House chief of staff.



Robert A. Goldwin

Concept of role: "Rumsfeld and I determined that an adviser in my capacity should be close enough to be involved in day-to-day operations, but distant enough to have an objective viewpoint regarding policy questions as a whole," Goldwin said. "I hope to do the same thing here. . . . I have a part in all sorts of things but have no daily responsibilities. I have no staff. All this allows me to think of long-range matters and talk to academic people around the country. My predecessors worked too far in one direction or the other; they became resident thinkers or highly effective aides to the President. I hope to maintain a fragile position and avoid the two extremes."

In addition to setting up the talk sessions, Goldwin's White House activities include some speech writing, informing presidential aides of the latest academic developments and offering recommendations for executive appointees from the academic sector, particularly for presidential boards and commissions.

Unplanned association: Goldwin's association with the White House was unplanned. He had resigned from the Foreign Service as Rumsfeld's adviser and had accepted an appointment at the University of Pennsylvania. Early in September, shortly after Ford became President, Rumsfeld asked him to help draft some of the President's speeches. Goldwin worked on Ford's United Nations address and the speech he gave at the world energy conference, fully expecting then to leave for his new university post.

"I was asked to stay on as a speech

writer, but I said no," Goldwin said. "Then Rumsfeld began talking to me about the kind of things I could do: it fit my idea of what I wanted to do and the President's desire of what he wanted done, so I agreed to remain." He was appointed to the White House Dec. 9 and is assigned to the Domestic Council staff.

Practical effect: "Anything that develops out of my conversations with my academic contacts related to their study and research, I generally pass on to the right person at the Domestic Council," he said.

Citing an example of how the system works, Goldwin said that he learned from an agricultural economist that the U.S. overseas food assistance program tended to discourage farm production among many recipient countries because it minimized their incentive. Goldwin obtained a copy of the economist's study and routed it to Administration officials working in that area.

Aides attend: Academicians at the White House discussions are invited at Goldwin's recommendation. Aides to the President also participate, but the group is held to 20 or less. The affair, including drinks and a meal, sometimes lasts three hours.

"The people I'm looking for are doing serious work and have to be searched out," said Goldwin. "They are eminent people who have no false modesty but they don't volunteer. Their views are worth listening to, yet it wouldn't occur to them to get in touch with the White House."

Goldwin said that his operation differs from that of the White House Office of Public Liaison in that the latter deals with organized groups, "and I deal with people who speak only for themselves; they are brought in not because of their affiliation but because of what they have to say."

Ford's involvement: Goldwin reported that Ford "seems to enjoy the talks immensely. When we get an interesting person, he is delighted. You can see by his attention and his questions that he enjoys it thoroughly. And they like him immediately. He's extremely knowledgeable and has an excellent memory. He remembers the purpose of a particular piece of legislation, the arguments for and against it, how it was funded, who the principal people involved were. This adds greatly to the discussion and is of great interest to the academicians who usually don't know these things." □

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A Fighting First Lady

In the White House, President and Mrs. Ford were watching the late evening news recently when a funereal chorus of seven black-clad women appeared on the screen. "Betty Ford," they intoned, "will be remembered as the unelected First Lady who pressured second-rate manhood on American women." The mummery was yet another attack upon Mrs. Ford for her enthusiastic lobbying on behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment, which would guarantee women equality with men under the law. But the self-possessed First Lady was hardly unnerved. "I went to bed laughing," she said. "Jerry did too."

Despite mail running 3 to 1 against her feminist standard bearing, Mrs. Ford says that she is determined "to keep on plugging." The ERA, which has been ratified by 34 states since it was approved by Congress in 1972, is still four states short of the necessary three-fourths majority. To speed up this sluggish process and increase the amendment's chance of ratification, Betty Ford has taken to the telephone with a zeal for public fray not seen in the White House since Eleanor Roosevelt.

Exact Number. The controversy began in late January when Mrs. Ford wrote to State Representative William Kretschmar, thanking him for leading the fight for the ERA in North Dakota's house—a letter that Kretschmar says he used effectively in bringing off a victory. Pleased by the success, she then placed calls to state legislators in Illinois, where the ERA finally got out of committee; to Nevada, where it was subsequently passed by the assembly but defeated in the senate; and to Missouri, where the amendment was passed in the house. A call to Old Friend Barry Goldwater, however, proved unavailing; Arizona's senate voted against the amendment last month. "I'm not trying to twist anyone's arm," says Mrs. Ford. "All I'm asking them is to consider the merits."

In rebuttal to Mrs. Ford, a group of conservative women recently picketed the White House with placards reading: BETTY FORD, GET OFF THE PHONE. But there are the rewards, including this confession from a political wife: "No American has the right to ask another to silence her opinions—even if that person is her husband and a politician. I have fought for this right with my husband—at times with success. You are setting an example for me to continue that fight."

Fortunately, Betty Ford has not had that particular problem. Her husband gives every indication of pride in her enterprise. Hearing about the anti-Betty pickets outside the White House, he responded with a good-natured display of liberated gallantry: "Fine," he declared. "Let them demonstrate against you. It takes the heat off me."



FORD COUNCILOR ROBERT GOLDWIN IN HIS EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING QUARTERS

THE ADMINISTRATION

The President's Professor

"I'm a very unambitious man. I have no longing for power and no lifelong project. All my life I've studied things that interest me. My children make fun of me. They ask me what I plan to do when I grow up. But I've just followed the breeze, and it's blown me in several interesting directions."

The speaker may sound like an aging flower child, but he is Political Scientist Robert Allen Goldwin, 52, and last December an obliging breeze blew him into one of the most interesting and challenging spots in the world: the White House. As a special consultant to President Ford and a member of the Domestic Council, Goldwin serves as the Administration's link with the nation's community of scholars and thinkers. At a time when complex problems cry out for solution, he is Ford's reconnaissance man, looking for promising new ideas.

One way Goldwin goes about this is to arrange small White House lunches and dinners during which Ford and his top aides can drink in the views of eminent intellectuals (TIME, Dec. 23). At the third such session last Saturday, Ford conferred informally with four people of diverse interests: Thomas Sowell, a black U.C.L.A. economist, author of a forthcoming book on race and economics; Gertrude Himmelfarb, professor of history at the City University of New York; Edward Banfield, a specialist in urban affairs who teaches at the University of Pennsylvania and wrote the iconoclastic *The Unheavenly City*; and Herbert Storing, a University of Chicago political scientist and expert on the founding fathers.

Goldwin screens his potential guest stars as carefully as a pro football scout checks out college gridiron talent. Be-

fore each meeting he painstakingly explores possible avenues of conversation with each participant, managing in the end to ensure that thinkers with various viewpoints will speak to the same issue. Goldwin puts a premium on spontaneity but sometimes fears that the academics will waste the President's time with trivia. In preparation for the first dinner-seminar he held, he spent at least five hours with each guest and bluntly informed them that he considered some of their ideas peripheral.

The meetings and guest list are usually not advertised, the better to promote frank exchanges. But Goldwin has more practical objectives than simply fostering sprightly or even inspiring talk. He sifts each discussion, hoping to find grist for policy proposals. The morning after the December dinner, he sent some of the guests' observations on crime to the Domestic Council. Two weeks later Ford agreed to use several of the ideas in a forthcoming message to Congress. "A lot of those ideas were generated by Goldwin's planning," says James Cavanaugh, deputy director of the Domestic Council's staff.

Window Dressing. On trips round the country, Goldwin collects a variety of scholarly papers on domestic issues and passes many of them along to the council for consideration. A man of remarkable energy, Goldwin also serves Ford as a talent scout and sometime speechwriter, helps the Office of Public Liaison set up its "field conferences" with the public, and acts as one White House link with Jewish organizations. He also represents the interests of the arts and humanities to the President; he recently arranged a White House meeting for spokesmen for higher education who were eager to make their resources available for federal programs.

Goldwin abhors the term intellectual-in-residence and with good reason: the scholars burdened in the past by that cumbersome mantle had frequently

found themselves useless window dressing for the White House staff. Lyndon Johnson, for example, had little respect for his resident sage Eric Goldman, commenting on several occasions that the Princeton historian was only around "to please the intellectuals."

Ford's professor, in fact, professes no particular ideology, though he is a Republican, and chooses not to whisper his own views into the President's ear. "The cause I push is a kind of elevated common sense," he says. Goldwin prefers to act as distiller and conveyor of the ideas of others. He has good credentials for that role. A native New Yorker who fought with the U.S. Cavalry in World War II, Goldwin graduated in 1950 from St. John's College in Annapolis, Md. He spent the next nine years editing reading materials and training discussion leaders at the American Foundation for Continuing Education.

Skilled Moderator. Along the way he met a Bell & Howell executive named Charles Percy, whom he tutored privately in political philosophy; Goldwin later served as a campaign consultant when Percy ran successfully for the Senate. Goldwin earned his master's and doctoral degrees at the University of Chicago and from 1960 to 1966 ran a series of wide-ranging political-science seminars at its Public Affairs Conference Center. Among the scholars, journalists, businessmen and politicians in sometime attendance were Congressmen Gerald Ford and Donald Rumsfeld. When Goldwin moved to Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, as an associate professor, he took the Conference Center with him. In 1969 he was made dean of St. John's and the next year spent his spare time teaching Plato's *Republic* to Congressmen and other notable Washingtonians, each of whom gave a lecture at the college as payment in kind. Later, Goldwin held a class for capital journalists on the writings of John Locke, the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation. Says Washington *Post* Columnist David Broder, an alumnus of several Goldwin seminars: "He is the most skilled moderator or discussion manager I've ever seen."

In 1973 Rumsfeld, then Ambassador to NATO, beckoned Goldwin to Brussels to lend a hand. There the professor contributed to drafting the Ottawa Declaration, which reaffirmed the Atlantic Alliance. When Rumsfeld joined Ford's White House as chief of staff, he persuaded Goldwin to turn down a faculty job at the University of Pennsylvania and follow him.

A soft-spoken father of four and a man of modest taste—he has not bought a suit in five years—Goldwin is also self-effacing about his academic achievements. "Goldman and [Arthur] Schlesinger were academic stars. I'm not a scholar in that class. Most of the work I've done has been an attempt to build a bridge between scholars and people with heavy public responsibilities. But there's an art to that."

CRIME

Sibling Castaways

Eben Gossage, 20, seemed upset when no one answered the door at the apartment where his sister Amelia, 19, lived in San Francisco's North Beach. He went to Edward Seto, an officer of the firm that managed the girl's apartment building, who unlocked the door. Inside, the two men found Amelia (whom friends and family called Amy) dead, bludgeoned about the head and stabbed in the neck. Clad in a blood-soaked T shirt and white panties and partly covered with a bed sheet, the girl was lying in a pool of blood on the floor. The wall near by was spattered with blood; her two small dogs were cowering under the bed.

When Eben saw the girl's body, he screamed, "Who did this? Who's doing something to my sister?" When an ambulance arrived to carry the body away, Eben jumped on the bed and yelled, "An animal did this to my sister!" After questioning Eben for several hours, homicide detectives arrested him and charged him with murdering Amy.

It was only the most recent tragedy to befall the children of Howard Gossage, a brilliant, maverick advertising executive who created, among other shrewdly promoted schemes, the Beethoven sweatshirt and the International Paper Airplane Competition. He died of leukemia in 1969. Eben and Amy had a half sister, June, who was killed in an automobile crash, and their mother died last May of cirrhosis of the liver.

High Living. Brother and sister both inherited some money, yet the testimony of close friends is that the pair were all too adept at spending. "Eben rented a penthouse," says LeRue Grim, his attorney, "and lived as extravagantly as anyone could. He spent it all." Amy, willowy, beautiful and sophisticated, may have shown a bit more restraint, but she

did her share of high living, too. She spent about three months in Rome in 1973, ostensibly studying sculpture but mostly having a good time.

A fixture on the seedy North Beach scene in the past few years, the pair—especially Eben—according to Grim developed another expensive taste: hard drugs. Eben is chronically depressed and often disturbed, and is a serious user of heroin. Grim says that Amy was an occasional user of cocaine. He further maintains that in the weeks before her death both Eben and his sister were being shaken down by the same drug dealer; Amy, he says, may have owed the dealer as much as \$5,000, Eben as much as \$2,500. The dealer, he implies, threatened the pair, and when the money owed was not forthcoming, could have killed Amy and left a scattering of clues that would point to Eben as the murderer.

Only Suspect. San Francisco police found a blood-stained claw hammer and a pair of bloody scissors, along with a bloodstained shirt and pair of slacks, in a cardboard box on the porch of Eben's apartment. Eben, police believe, argued with his sister over \$5,000 that was due her shortly from her mother's estate, saying that he wanted the money to go to Spain. The police theorize that when she refused him the money, he killed her. "Eben Gossage is our only suspect at this point," said Homicide Inspector Kenneth Mannly. Grim argues that the incriminating evidence could easily have been planted by Amy's killer or killers. And companions of the brother and sister insist that there had been no conflict over the trip. Says Graham Nash: "Amy told me she wanted to go to Spain with her brother to help him get clean of drugs."

"They were close by circumstance," says a friend of the brother and sister, "like two people who are cast off in a lifeboat." Adds another who knew them both well: "If Eben did kill her, I'm convinced he doesn't know he did it."

JOEL BERNSTEIN



EBEN GOSSAGE IN JAIL



AMY IN 1973

The White House's Intellectual-in-Residence



He abhors that term, however; people who call selves intellectuals, he says, 'don't usually have a commitment to society's principles'

By Cheryl M. Fields

WASHINGTON
Robert A. Goldwin is a special consultant to the President of the United States, but he describes himself as "not remarkable."

He holds a White House position similar to what was called "intellectual-in-residence" in other Administrations, but he abhors the term "intellectual."

And he doesn't like to talk about the "academic community" because he sees it as a conglomeration of associations and interests; groups, and he's only interested in individuals.

"What I look for are people who take the problems of our times very seriously, who study and analyze, and who teach you something when you talk to them," said Mr. Goldwin during an interview in his spacious, book-lined office in the big, Victorian-style Old Executive Office Building next door to the White House.

A political scientist trained at St. John's College and the University of Chicago, Mr. Goldwin spends a lot of time traveling around the country and trying to find people who can offer new perspectives on national problems. When he finds such people, he engages them in lengthy conversations, and then circulates memoranda of what he learned among members of the White House Domestic Council staff.

Occasionally, he arranges an informal meeting between the President and some of the people he has scouted.

Pragmatic Approach

The most recent such session was a Saturday luncheon on the world food crisis. It brought some leading agricultural economists together with the President and representatives of several executive departments.

Mr. Goldwin's approach is fundamentally pragmatic, and he indicates why he doesn't like to talk about "intellectuals."

"The people who like to be called intellectuals don't usually have a commitment to the principles of society," he said.

He described a television program "in which someone from the White House was talking with two younger, somewhat radical-minded people who were complaining that Congressmen look to the opinion polls and don't do anything unless they think the people are behind them."

In the younger speakers' "increasing rejection" of the White House representative's reminder that Congressmen have an obligation to represent their constituents, Mr. Goldwin said, "it became clear that although they thought they were speaking for the people, actually what they meant was that when democracy doesn't produce the results they like, then they don't think democracy is a good thing."

"Now that's the kind of thing that I think characteristic of people who like to be called intellectuals," he said, "That's why I like to stay away from the term."

'Resident Thinkers'

The soft-spoken Mr. Goldwin describes his White House role as a bridge between serious thinkers and scholars and people in positions of public responsibility.

"If I have a specialty, it's analyzing what is done by people who do research and study in positions of public responsibility, showing them how it is relevant, how it might be used, and why they ought to pay attention," he said.

Other men from the academic world who have served on past White House staffs were recognized scholars in particular specialties,

such as historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and the Harvard urban affairs specialist Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"They became resident thinkers or highly effective aides to the President," Mr. Goldwin said.

Though he himself sits in on many White House and executive branch meetings—including the Domestic Council and the Council of Economic Advisors—he has no day-to-day operational responsibilities.

This arrangement allows him to know what is going on, while giving

"If I have a specialty, it's translating what is done by people who do research and study in positions of public responsibility, showing them how it's relevant."

him the freedom to think about long-range problems and solicit new ideas, he said.

His role as a translator and coordinator of new ideas in the White House is a natural continuation of much of the rest of his career.

Mr. Goldwin arranged seminars for scholars, journalists, and public officials while director of public affairs conference centers at Kenyon College and the University of Chicago.

Among those attending the seminars over the years were then-Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, former Republican Rep. Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois, and Democratic Senators Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Edmund S. Muskie of Maine.

Mr. Goldwin also served as dean of St. John's College in Annapolis, Md. Just before he joined the White House staff, he was a special adviser to Mr. Rumsfeld, then serving as U.S. ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Mr. Goldwin began working at the White House as a speech-writer when Mr. Rumsfeld became President Ford's chief of staff, and in November was named special consultant.

In addition to the recent session on the food crisis, Mr. Goldwin has arranged White House meetings that included discussions of prisons, the mood of the nation, and Presidential leadership. Participants have included historian Daniel Boorstin, also director of the Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology; historian Gertrude Himmelfarb of the City University of New York; Harvard professor of government James Q. Wilson, U.C.L.A. economist Thomas Sowell, and University of Pennsylvania urban affairs specialist Edward Banfield.

'Happy Situation'

Mr. Goldwin would not discuss the specifics of the meetings, so that subsequent discussions would be relaxed and wide-ranging.

He also noted that "I have this happy situation with the President that I don't have to give a specific answer to the question, 'What is the purpose of this meeting?'"

"The President understands that there are many possibilities of useful constructive conversation that can be arranged in such a way that if you get the right people and the proper preparation, you can generate new ideas and new thoughts."

"I wouldn't want to give you the false impression that I pop in on the President occasionally, but it's his expectation that there will be a gathering every two or six weeks or so," Mr. Goldwin said.

"He meets people this way and

has conversations that wouldn't occur in the ordinary course of his business."

Considering the crises the White House constantly has to cope with, he said, "it's really remarkable that the President has determined that he will take the time to do this sort of thing."

The President's Attention

"I myself am not remarkable," Mr. Goldwin said. "I don't mean that as any hokey modesty. I think I'm very good at what I do. I think I'm well trained, and I have a lot of experience. On the other hand, I know 20 or 30 or 40 academic people who are at least as good as I am."

"But I think the President is remarkable for having this kind of activity in the White House. And he really works at it. Every one of the academic people who has come to one of these sessions has commented on how surprising it is that the President gives them full attention. He seems perfectly relaxed, as if he had nothing else to do. There are no phone calls, no interruptions."

Ideas and analyses that Mr. Goldwin judges important but which are not discussed directly with the President are circulated to members of the Domestic Council, who may pass them on to other executive-branch agencies.

Backer of Liberal Arts

"I try to keep up with how [an idea] is progressing. Usually, as the work becomes more detailed, I lose track of it, but I do try to make sure that something really gets started," Mr. Goldwin said.

He is a strong supporter of the small liberal-arts college, largely due to his years at St. John's, where the curriculum is based on study of some 130 "Great Books." Mr. Goldwin recently countered a speech by Commissioner of Education Terrel H. Bell, in which Mr. Bell urged colleges to pay more attention to providing students with salable skills.

Mr. Goldwin argued that what students most needed to develop are the skills of analytical thinking, experimenting and calculating, not one



Robert A. Goldwin

narrow range of skills that may only suit them for one particular job.

He said after talking with Mr. Bell that their philosophical differences may have appeared to be more divergent than, in fact, they really are.

"In fact we're working together, hoping to have a project we can cooperate on, concentrating on the

plight of the private liberal-arts college. This is a more acute problem than almost anything else in the field of higher education," he said.

Just what form the cooperation will take is not yet clear, but he is interested "in approaches that would be helpful that do not require major federal grants. You can't sustain private education by making it public."

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Ford's Intellectual: Up From Obscurity

By Robert W. Merry
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ever since Franklin Roosevelt's famous "brain trust," resident intellectuals at the White House have been as commonplace as resident musicians at the court of the Hapsburgs. FDR had his Ray Moley and his Rex Tugwell, Kennedy his Arthur Schlesinger, Johnson his Eric Goldman and his John Roche, and Gerald Ford has his Robert A. Goldwin.

His Robert A. Who? Well, Bob Goldwin isn't exactly the typical professor-celebrity, with the long list of familiar titles, multiple memberships in academic associations, and a penchant for getting his name around. What he brought to the White House last December, besides his now-fading obscurity, was a reputation as an academic generalist steeped in the humanities and skilled in the art of organizing and leading academic seminars.

And also a personality that puts him in competition for the title of most genial member of the White House team. A bit self-effacing, with an easy manner and hair-trigger smile, the 53-year-old Goldwin gives the impression of a man who is a trifle embarrassed by the attention that comes with his new job with the President. But he speaks with quiet confidence and apparent enthusiasm for what he's doing.

What he's doing isn't easy to describe. "My job doesn't fit into any neat slot," says Goldwin, sitting in his spacious, book-lined office across a well-groomed garden from the West Wing of the White House.

"Sometimes I wish I had the kind of job where I could just say, 'Oh, I'm in shoes,' or, 'I'm in handbags,' and let it go at that."

Robert Goldwin, special consultant to the President, is in ideas. His mandate is to commute between the Oval Office and the world of academe, where he forages for provocative new ideas and fresh analyses that might be useful in the practical world of governmental problem solving. His goal is to inject into the President's consciousness, and that of Ford's top aides, the results of recent research bearing on matters of pressing national consequence.

The major vehicles for these injections are Saturday brunches—held every six weeks or so—in which a group of well-chosen scholars is brought before the President to cut through thickets such as the world food situation or the problems of the cities. "The President is a learner," says Goldwin, "and he learns by talking to people. He likes talking to people, so this is fashioned to suit his style and interest."

The Single Word

The President's interest in such discussion goes back at least to 1961, when, as a congressman, Ford participated in a political-science seminar at the University of Chicago's Public Affairs Conference Center. The seminar leader: Robert Goldwin, then a political-science lecturer at Chicago and director of the conference center.

Goldwin's respect for Ford's intellect dates to that seminar, and he is quick to take strong exception to some of the disparaging things you hear these days about the quality of Gerald Ford's mind.

"The single word I would use for the President," says Goldwin, talking slowly and fidgeting with his wrist watch, "is—performance isn't the right word—is impressive. The President in



Goldwin: A search for fresh analyses.

these sessions is impressive. He has a mastery of fact, he knows the background of Government programs, he remembers what the considerations were that went into the fashioning of any legislation. . . ."

But, you might ask in an impolitic moment, how well does the President grasp these new concepts and ideas brought to him? Goldwin's quick smile begins to look a little forced. "When a man has been in public life—" he begins, then interrupts himself in frustration and begins again: "Look, you shouldn't be asking these questions; and I shouldn't be answering them. How much evidence do people need? I think a better question would be: what's wrong with people who ask that? I think we've been beguiled by certain very low standards—of personality, of glibness, of something that has become known as charisma. We're taking the standards for a celebrity and applying them to the Presidency—as if these ought to be the characteristics of the leader of the most powerful nation on earth in perilous times."

Only a Limited Role

Getting up to pour himself a glass of water, Goldwin recalls a recent New York magazine article on Ford by freelance writer Richard Reeves: "This fool who wrote the article characterizing the President as a clown because he doesn't tell jokes like Bob Hope—and you can use that word fool because that's what he is—well, I'll judge this guy Reeves by that article, and I'll judge the President by what everybody can see, and I'll take the President with his experience, steadiness, grasp of detail, and obvious strength of character. . . ."

Goldwin as critic doesn't confine his targets to irreverent magazine writers. In fact, although he has spent most of his life in academia and has an M.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, he is a little suspicious of intellectuals who think of themselves as a class and show contempt for common-sense government. But even those who eschew such attitudes—academics who truly "live the life of the mind" in Goldwin's words—should play only a limited role in government, he says.

"These people," he explains, "are concerned with what the problems really are, why popular misconceptions are misconceptions, what programs will work. But once that analysis is clear, the Government has lots of people who know better than academics how to put the program together, how to implement it, how to handle the politics of it."

Thus there is an important balance to be struck between the theoretical and the practical, and Goldwin's job is to commute between the two. He is familiar with the territory.

Rumsfeld an Old Friend

His practical experience includes 20 months as special adviser to North Atlantic Treaty Organization Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, the former Illinois congressman who became Ford's chief of staff last year. But even during his academic years—as political-science professor at Kenyon College in Ohio and dean of St. John's College in Maryland—Goldwin maintained contact with doers as well as thinkers in the seminars and academic conferences that were his specialty.

It was Rumsfeld, an old friend from Goldwin's Chicago days, who urged Goldwin to turn down a faculty appointment at the University of Pennsylvania and follow him to the White House to organize seminars with a new dimension: this time for the President.

Questioned Doctrines

But Goldwin refuses to be impressed by the trappings; the academics he invites to the White House aren't usually ivory-tower heavies. "The people I look for," he says, "don't usually put themselves forward. They're not the sort who try to get the ear of the President as a natural thing. . . . who are active in organizations of every sort and have representatives and that sort of thing. . . . If the people I'm interested in have something to say they usually write articles."

Finding these academicians can take some effort. Preparing for a recent seminar on the world food problem, Goldwin began by spending several hours with an agricultural economist at Chicago, then asking him to name the person in the field he respects the most as one who disagrees with him. Goldwin then visited that person and continued the process until he had the people he wanted.

You might think that any ideas that Goldwin could muster from the academic world necessarily would be overwhelmingly liberal, but he insists his search for fresh analyses leads him to conservative as well as liberal academicians.

"It's true," he says, "that most of the people on the American campus, especially in the social sciences, are overwhelmingly liberal, but they have one illiberal characteristic: They think people who don't agree with them are right wing or reactionaries or something. Well, a lot of liberal-minded people have begun to question recent liberal doctrines and liberal policies and have raised new questions about the effects of efforts to transform society or to do good by legislation. And we want to tap their contributions too."

Letting Analysis Lead

An authority on John Locke, Goldwin approaches his task with the Idealism of the Enlightenment: Government must be guided by truth, which is reaped through the rigors of inquiry. "Bob Goldwin," says a former colleague at St. John's College, "is a humanist." Says Goldwin: "I have to let the analysis lead us where it will, rather than conform to any packaged ideology. It's a search for the truth in the oldest tradition of inquiry."

And that, he indicates, is what's been missing in recent decades. "When Government programs fail, it is usually because of inadequate analysis. You might build legislation that is effectively administered, but the problems remain untouched or the ramifications of the solution create more problems. I could make a long list of Government programs that not only didn't succeed but had the opposite result of what was intended."

Is he referring to New Deal and Great Society programs primarily? Ah, but an answer to that question might betray an ideology, right? "My obligation," says Gerald Ford's idea broker, "is to find people who can give the President factually based analysis. What's done with it after that may or may not depend on one's views."



TAB C

ROBERT A GOLDWIN
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THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

Through it all, the American people have maintained their freedom to choose. This is as fundamental as freedom of speech.

So let's ask searchingly, what is it that these people who would change our fundamental economic system would lead us to? Where are the examples that show that the new system will work better than our present system?

I believe that it is a vital interest, shared by both organized labor and management, to safeguard our private-enterprise, free-market system. To let it erode away by default, or to be a party to expedient measures which will increase the role of government in business management, would be a betrayal of trust to the American people.

Let us then — labor, industry and government — build upon the great strengths inherent in America's economic system. Through collective bargaining and free market disciplines, and with the sup-

port of an enlightened Government, we can continue to make the necessary improvements where the present system falls short.

If we are successful in this undertaking, the competitive edge of industrial America in international trade will be safeguarded. Our Country's position in the balance of power in the world will be retained. Just as important, the freedom of the individual American to choose will be preserved.

These are mighty important goals. For those of us in the labor movement and in management, attainment of these goals is much more than an opportunity to be of service to the people of our Country. Rather, the special positions we both occupy in American society place the undertaking of this assignment and the accomplishment of the goals as a clear responsibility to the American people that we share together.



Should the Humanities Be Forgotten?

TO THINK OR TO SELL ONESELF

By ROBERT A. GOLDWIN, *Special Consultant to the President of the United States*

Delivered at a Celebration of the New, New College, University of South Florida, Sarasota, Florida, February 2, 1975

EVERYONE knows that the demise of an institution calls for tears, and a founding calls for cheers, but what do you do when a threatened institution is born again — bigger, broader, stronger, and for longer?

Why, you give a party, that's what you do, and you invite everyone for miles around, and you have speeches, and you celebrate, and you breathe a great sigh of relief.

My thanks to you Mrs. Addy and your committee, to the Board of Trustees of New College, its faculty, students and staff, to Mr. Criser, Chairman of the Board of Regents of the State of Florida, and to the local communities for inviting me to be a part of this celebration of the salvation of New College and its rebirth as the new New College of the University of South Florida; and my congratulations to you for your good judgment and timely action.

In this era, when universities and colleges of all sorts, including many of the most distinguished and excellent, are joining the ranks of endangered species, it is heartening to witness successful innovation. The novel arrangement worked out between the University and the College is heartening for several reasons: it shows respect and understanding for what is best and irreplaceable in liberal education; it shows an understanding of what is properly private and what is properly public business; and it is a solution that others may follow in similar circumstances elsewhere.

That last point is important because many private institutions of higher education around the country are in danger. Not all will be saved, and perhaps not all deserve to be saved. There are low-quality schools just as there are low-quality businesses. We have no obligation to save them simply because they exist.

But many thriving institutions that deserve to be continued are threatened. They are doing a fine job educationally, but they are caught in a financial squeeze, with no way to reduce rising costs or increase revenues significantly. Raising tuition doesn't bring in more revenue, for each time tuition goes up, the enrollment goes down, or the amount that must be given away in student aid goes up. Schools are bad businesses, whether public or private, not usually because of mismanagement, but because of the nature of the enterprise. They lose money on every customer, and they can go bankrupt either from too few students or too many students. And a *very good* college is a *very bad* business. That has always been true, and it is now more

true than ever. That is why an innovative response such as has been developed here in Sarasota is so admirable and such a fine example to the nation.

But let me not go too far in praise of what is, after all, a response to harsh necessity. In my opinion, it would have been better if New College had been able to find the private contributions to continue as a private institution. What we are celebrating is a beautiful second-best. The best, for the sake of public as well as private higher education, would be for all outstanding private liberal arts colleges around the country to continue strong and private.

You have been told that I have been associated with another liberal arts college, St. John's College in Annapolis, as a student and later as Dean. It is amusing, and yet one hears it all the time, that students speak of Reed College, Antioch, Swarthmore, St. John's, New College, Oberlin, Haverford — "and colleges like that," all in the same breath, as if they were some well-defined group of similar institutions. As a matter of fact, they are about as dissimilar as schools can be. For example, New College expects every student to make up his own curriculum. St. John's has one curriculum for everybody. The differences among the other colleges in that short list are as striking. Why then are these colleges usually lumped together in one group?

The answer, I think, is that they share an uncommon devotion to excellence and the pursuit of truth, not as a burden — some duty but as a joyful quest. The love of learning is their reason for being. Students who speak of such colleges in one breath are wise to overlook their many striking differences and recognize their one fundamental similarity.

It is such colleges, thriving but threatened, I worry about. Low enrollment is not their chief problem. Even with full enrollments, they may go under. Efforts to save them, and preferably to keep them private, are a national necessity.

Now let's be clear on one major point. There is no basis for arguing that private schools are inherently better than public schools. Examples to the contrary abound. Anyone can name state universities and colleges that rank as the finest in the nation and the world. But it is now inevitable that public institutions will be dominant, and therefore diversity is a national necessity. Diversity in the way we support schools tends to give us a healthy diversity in the forms of

education. In an imperfect society, such as ours, uniformity of education throughout the nation would be dangerous. In an imperfect society, diversity is a positive good. Ardent supporters of public higher education know the importance of sustaining private higher education.

Diversity is a familiar argument, and a sound one, I think, for sustaining a mixture of private and public educational institutions, but let me now suggest another, perhaps less familiar, argument. There are public elements and private elements in different kinds of education, striving toward different educational goals. For example, vocational or career-education programs are designed to give the student salable skills and enable him to find a useful job. The public has an interest because skills are needed to keep our economy going, and so there is a public reason to provide such training. But the student's new skills are his exclusively, to sell as he chooses. This private aspect gives him a private reason to pay for his training. We get the benefit of his skills; he gets the income for himself.

Another element of education might be called civic education. One important function of schools is development of an understanding of government and of the rights and duties of citizens. Especially in a democratic republic such as ours, citizens must be skilled in understanding the powers of government, and how those powers must be limited if our fundamental rights are to be secured. We are in danger if our many governments do too much or too little, and the only way to find the moderate middle ground is through education.

The public has a great stake in this task of civic education. If you are skilled in good citizenship, your fellow-citizens benefit at least as much as you do. The more you become a good citizen, the more others share in the benefit.

Is it the business of colleges to train good citizens? I think yes, at a higher and more discerning level than in grade schools, which means a more questioning and challenging level. Undergraduates should inquire into the nature of the American government, its past, its present, its future, not as in graduate programs, from the detached viewpoint of the political scientist or the professional historian, but from the viewpoint of the concerned citizen who is part of a living community facing problems and dangers.

I have spoken of two elements of higher education — career education and civic education. Career education benefits the community as a whole, as well as the individual student. Civic education benefits primarily the community, with much private satisfaction and some private advantage in it.

There is a third element of education which is harder to name and which cannot easily be classified in terms of the benefits — who gets them or what they are. Some call these studies valueless. I call them invaluable. I mean those skills called the liberal arts. We don't often think of liberal studies as connected with skills, but in fact the liberal skills are the highest and hardest skills. How can I describe them? First of all, what are they good for? Perhaps I might answer with an anecdote.

There is a story that Euclid, the great ancient mathematician, was giving a first geometry lesson to a young man, demonstrating the first theorem of geometry, the construction of an equilateral triangle. When he finished, the young man asked, "But Euclid, what shall I gain by learning such things?"

Now consider how Euclid might have answered. He might have said, learn this and the theorems that follow, and when you get to the end of the first book of only 47 theorems, you will learn the Pythagorean theorem, which depends on this first theorem. And with that Pythagorean theorem you will have the basis of physics, and vectors of forces, and be able to design a bridge that will not fall down when the chariots cross. And with that theorem you will have

the basis of trigonometry and can use it to survey your next real estate purchase. That theorem also starts you on an understanding of irrational numbers, a great advance in number theory. Euclid might have said all of that — and more — to explain the practical benefits that could flow, and have flowed, from studying his first theorem.

Instead, Euclid turned to another in the group and said, "Give this man a coin since he must show a profit for everything he learns."

Now why should he give such a scornful response to that question? My guess is that Euclid was greatly disappointed in the young man because he did not see at once that mathematics is a liberal skill, in addition to being a powerful practical skill. Euclid hoped that the young man's heart would be gladdened, his spirit enlivened, his soul lifted, his mind expanded at the first experience of geometrical proof.

We call such study "the humanities," because when we engage in it we discover something extraordinary about ourselves, we discover how exciting being human can be. We find we can develop very special skills that imitate the Creator Himself, for we too can make new worlds, not out of nothing, but with nothing more than a pencil and a straight edge and mind. Such humanistic skills are also called liberal, because they free us from the restraint of our material existence and let us soar as free men and women in the realm of the mind.

What could the young man have said to satisfy a demanding man like Euclid? He could have said, on seeing the proof of the first Euclidean theorem, "It is wonderful, and I am wonderful to see it and understand it! My mind has an eye and it sees." He might even have said, "So that's what I am!" And so that's the third element of education — developing the liberalizing or humanizing skills.

I have now spoken of three kinds or levels of education: career education, civic education, and liberal education. Now, is one more or less necessary than another? Is any dispensable? Is there some element that is not important to the public?

In a recent speech, Terrell H. Bell, U.S. Commissioner of Education, raised this question and gave advice to the leaders of small private colleges, from a different point of view than mine. He very properly said first that as U.S. Education Commissioner he had no right to tell anyone how to run his college. In fact, he said, there is a law against it. But he did feel that he had a personal responsibility to speak out candidly and exercise some leadership. I, of course, speak on the same basis, expressing my own opinion, seeking to contribute to thinking on this vital question.

Commissioner Bell's message was that small private colleges must "roll with the times" if they are to survive. The college that devotes itself "totally and unequivocally to the liberal arts today is just kidding itself." There is a "duty to provide our students also with salable skills. We are facing the worst economic situation that this country has seen since the end of World War II, with an unemployment rate of over seven percent. To send young men and women into today's world armed only with Aristotle, Freud, and Hemingway is like sending a lamb into a lion's den. It is to delude them as well as ourselves. But if we give young men and women a useful skill, we give them not only the means to earn a good living, but also the opportunity to do something constructive and useful for society. Moreover, these graduates will experience some of those valuable qualities that come with meaningful work — self-respect, self-confidence, independence."

At first glance it would seem that Commissioner Bell means that the study of liberal arts is a useless luxury we cannot afford in hard times. But I don't think that is his meaning. I think he is criticizing those who send students into the world of work without skills. There are, unfortunately, schools in which students do not develop useful

skills, especially skills of analytical thinking and experimenting and calculating. I agree that it is unfair to students, and to all of us, just as Commissioner Bell says, to leave them to seek jobs in such an unprepared state.

But there is a problem in speaking of "salable skills." What skills are salable? Right now, skills for making automobiles are not highly salable, but they have been for decades and might be again soon. Skills in teaching are not now as salable as they were for the past twenty years, and the population charts indicate they may not be soon again. Home construction skills are another example of varying salability, as the job market fluctuates.

The first difficulty, then, is that if you want to build a curriculum exclusively on what is salable, you will have to make the courses very short, and change them very often, in an attempt to keep up with the rapid changes in the job market. But will not the effort be in vain? In very few things can we be sure of future salability, and in a society where people are free to study what they want, and to work where they want, and invest as they want, there is no way to keep supply and demand of labor in perfect accord.

A school that devotes itself totally and unequivocally to salable skills, especially in a time of high unemployment, sending young men and women into the world armed with only a narrow range of skills, is sending lambs into the lion's den. Too many people learn only one narrowly defined set of skills in school, train to fill a position in one well-defined industry. And then that industry stops hiring or lays workers off.

Now if those people gained nothing more from their studies than supposedly salable skills, and can't make the sale because of changes in the job market, they have been cheated.

But if those skills were more than salable, if the study made them better citizens and made them happier to be human beings, they have not been cheated. They will find some kind of job soon enough. It might even turn out that those humanizing and liberating skills are salable. Flexibility, an ability to change and learn new things, is a valuable skill. People who have learned how to learn, can learn outside of school. That's where most of us have learned to do

what we do, not in school. Learning to learn is one of the highest liberal skills.

There is more to living than earning a living, but many earn good livings by the liberal skills of analyzing, experimenting, discussing, reading and writing. Skills that are always in demand are those of a mind trained to think and imagine and express itself.

When the confidence of some in our nation is shaken, and many are confused about the direction we ought to follow in a new world situation, then civic education is more important than ever.

And when the foundations of western civilization are being challenged, and resolution seems to falter because many people are not sure what we are defending and how we ought to defend it, then it seems to me we ought not to abandon liberal studies but rather the reverse, we ought to redouble our commitment to those studies, as if our lives depended on it.

Any college worthy of itself must set its sights higher than to "roll with the times." It must strive to make the times roll our way. And only if we understand our time, and try to shape it and make it conform to what is right and best, are we doing what we are capable of doing. That is the right way to deal with the times — with daring and class and style — as befits a truly great people.

For 200 years we have known that America made no sense as just another nation, just one more power in the long historical parade. We have always known that we must stand for something special, or we don't stand at all. Without a special commitment to liberty and justice for all, can America survive, except perhaps under the most severe sort of dictatorship? What else can hold together such a vast and diverse territory and people?

Liberal studies of human nature and the nature of things in general are not luxuries for us, but a matter of life and death — and if that seems to say too much, then certainly a matter of our political liberty, which should be as dear to us as our lives.

So let us celebrate, for a way has been found to give new life to New College. By rolling with the times you have found a way to continue your vital task of trying to make the times roll with you.

Thank you.

Airforce: Research & Technology

SENSORS

By SAMUEL C. PHILLIPS, *Commander, Air Force Systems Command*

Delivered before the Rotary Club Luncheon, Rotary International, San Diego, California, April 19, 1975

IT'S a pleasure to be with you. I have many fine friends and pleasant memories from my years of service in California, and I welcome the opportunity to return whenever the budget and the workload permit.

I want to thank Mr. Sutton for inviting me to participate in your convention. Rotary and the Air Force have ideals in common. One of your objectives is the "advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service."

Take away the word "business" as it refers to civilian commercial activity, and that objective of Rotary International could well be an objective of the United States Air Force as well. We, too, are a world fellowship of professionals dedicated to the advancement of international peace through service. Our world fellowship doesn't extend to units of foreign allegiance, but it does include members stationed in several foreign countries, and it is closely related to the armed forces of many allied nations.

Our service, of course, takes a different form than yours. Its pur-

pose is to defend America and help defend friendly free nations. It attempts to insure peace and protection for the United States and her allies by building a military force strong enough to dissuade others from attack. And unlike your organization, ours depends entirely on public funds, including your taxes and mine, for its financial support.

The largest U.S. defense budget in peacetime history was submitted to the Congress in February. Although, at the same time, it is the lowest defense budget in 25 years in relation to the total federal budget or the Gross National Product, still the American public and their legislative representatives have very sincere questions about the need for \$92 billion worth of military spending at a time when the United States is not engaged in combat, is vigorously pursuing a policy of detente, and earnestly seeking to reduce the proliferation of arms in the world.

I thought I would use the opportunity you have given me today to explain why I believe a strong military establishment in the United States is not inconsistent with a United States that's at peace and



THE MAGAZINE OF HIGHER LEARNING

Change

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Letters

Reputations of professional schools

Questions must be raised regarding the effort of Peter Blau and Rebecca Margulies to evaluate professional programs ("The Reputations of American Professional Schools," Winter 1974-75). The research must be greeted with a resounding "so what?" The study simply reflects the unfortunate tribal need to rate, rank, order, and score, even when the rankings have little or no claim to reliability or validity. How can it be assumed that the heads of professional programs used anything like similar precision or even the same criteria for evaluating programs? For example, the schools of social work which make the top ten do not include schools which focus exclusively or heavily on preparation of clinical practitioners such as Smith, Bryn Mawr, or Pennsylvania. What does being in the "top ten" mean? Not much, if the opinion poll is patterned after the UPI football ratings and includes certain explicit or implicit criteria which exclude some from the "big leagues."

Is it reputation or quality which is being evaluated, or is it simply the perception of a small group of respondents? What goes into a good reputation? In this case it probably strongly relates to personal bias and experience. A check of the list of accredited schools of social work shows that 26 of the deans or directors graduated from one of the top ten, 23 graduated from other programs, and for the remainder information was not available. So what then is a good program? Clearly one criteria has to do with the sources of academic and professional socialization—programs are seen as good because respondents benefited from the quality and rigor of the program during their own studies.

Is *all* graduate education being evaluated in a given profession, or is it doctoral education? Of the top ten schools of social work, all have post-master's programs. None are exclusively devoted to master's education or to master's and undergraduate education. Yet the great bulk of social work students are undergraduates, or are studying for a master's degree. This apparent focus on post-master's programs would seem to indicate that the large number of schools without doc-

toral programs are excluded from consideration. The top ten in social work are thus the top ten of the 29 which offer post-master's programs.

Finally, how many programs were in fact included for evaluation? Again as an example, the article indicates that there are 69 schools of social work, while the latest list of accredited schools includes 79. Did the authors have similar problems with other professions, and if so, how much confidence can be placed in their findings?

Study should be focused on the development of quality in professional education and on the development of indices and criteria which go beyond public opinion popularity polls.

*F.J. Peirce
Director, School of Social Work
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma*

I note that Peter Blau and Rebecca Margulies in "The Reputations of American Professional Schools" (Winter 1974-75) rate the Claremont Graduate School as sixth among schools of theology. The Claremont Graduate School does not offer professional work or degrees in theology, but rather scholarly work in the history and philosophy of religions leading to the MA and PhD—and those in cooperation with the School of Theology at Claremont, which is an independent but affiliated institution. The School of Theology does offer professional degrees (D Min and MA) and is undoubtedly the institution meant by the respondents who rated the schools. Just as we draw upon their faculty in our program, they draw upon ours, so some of their degrees, likewise, are in collaboration with us.

Since this rating gives us undeserved recognition and deprives them of it, I believe that you should publish this letter or an equivalent acknowledgement of error.

*Barnaby C. Keeney, President
Claremont Graduate School
Claremont, California*

We are writing in response to the evaluation given to the theological schools in "The Reputations of American Professional Schools" by Peter Blau and Rebecca Margulies (Winter 1974-75).

As professional campus ministers who counsel pre-theological students, we have some knowledge of the schools listed. We ourselves are alumni

of 5 different theological schools, all on your list, and in recent years all of us have worked in proximity to Duke Divinity School. The relatively low standing of Duke astounded us and moved us to raise serious questions about the survey's accuracy. The discrepancy between our perceptions in this and other respects causes us to raise serious questions concerning both the process and the value of such a listing. A method of evaluation which produces a ranking of theological schools that seems to be based on fantasy, not fact, probably would not provide a very reliable ordering of other schools either.

We are concerned (in spite of the apology) that the evaluation was made by deans alone. A more accurate evaluation would include faculty and students. The most helpful evaluation would be made by a competent team who visited all the schools, who made clear the basis of their evaluation, and who made statements about the strong areas of the schools.

This is our most serious concern: It is obvious that each school would not be excellent in all areas. This is especially true for theological schools which include a variety of fields of study in both graduate and professional education.

We also question the validity of repeating a variation of the method of ranking to justify the previous process. The fact that the second study supported the results of the first could indicate that deans are influenced by previous polls or by the memory of those schools which were "great" when they were doing their theological work, or that many of the same persons were polled.

The method and results resemble the national football ranking, which at least has the integrity of being based on observable fact. We hope that if you continue to try to evaluate schools, you will move beyond the realm of "Who wins the Super Bowl in Academe this year?", and use a more responsible method which would provide more useful information.

*Lucy Austin
Robert L. Johnson
Helen G. Crotwell
Robert T. Young
Clay O. Robinson
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina*

Beyond DeFunis

Marco DeFunis is a Sephardic Jew. That is important and not incidental in understanding his litigation ("DeFunis and Beyond" by David L. Kirp and Mark G. Yudof, November 1974). It seems incredible that two writers with

adopted somewhere, and the success of all has been confirmed." A single successful experiment does *not* constitute confirmation of success, and many of the practices Professor Watkins has described in fact have been tried at a number of places and failed. That is no more proof of the inadequacy of these practices than is "adoption somewhere" a proof of their success. But let me comment on at least some of the particular points he makes.

"Faculty: fewer but better." The situation he describes might have been true twenty years ago; it is not true in 1975. Most language teachers are bilingual, and a great many have in fact learned to teach languages highly effectively.

"Two years saved in instruction can pay for round-trip air fare and more." At my institution, the cost of teaching between 10 and 25 students for three years (one course each quarter) is about \$15,000 (probably a low figure for higher education as a whole); academic year abroad programs in general now cost about \$3,000 a head. For even 10 students it would cost at least \$30,000, or twice the cost of those three years of instruction in normal classes.

"Are all your lessons private?" The analogy with music is a dream of most language teachers. However, analysis of the applied music programs in almost every college shows that such instruction is one of the most expensive portions of any college's instructional budget. Even teachers of applied music have a great deal of difficulty in demanding and getting "15 hours of outside preparation for every half hour with the instructor."

I have chosen to comment on some of the major inaccuracies. There are some points Professor Watkins makes which are in fact eminently sound; those, however, are often stated without the necessary context. For example, his emphasis on self-instruction and on the wide variety of programs offered by the National Association of Self-Instructional Language Programs is eminently valid, and many colleges and universities, our own included, take advantage of it. In fact the cost of such instruction is, as he notes, extremely inexpensive. What he does not note is that, at the few colleges which have tried to make that instructional mode the center of their programs, the number of students who choose to learn by that method is minimal. Federal support for programs of this sort, which was strong some years ago, has been dropped because of the relative lack of success of such programs.

Bruce A. Beatie, Chairman
Department of Modern Languages
The Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio

I strenuously disagree with some of the conclusions of J. Mayer Watkins's article on language programs (February 1975). What he is urging, it seems to me, is a cop-out: Stop teaching the foreign language, he is in essence saying, and if students are interested in language study, pay their way abroad. I certainly do not dispute the value of study abroad, but I believe that we *can* give our students an adequate foundation in the language right here.

It is true, as the author says, that many of our graduates have not achieved even minimal fluency, and this suggests a serious need for overhaul. His advice that we recruit staff members who really know the language and genuinely want to teach it is intelligent and bears repeating. I would argue, however, that many American PhDs meet such requirements; now that candidates outnumber jobs, we must make it our business to look hard and to settle only for these people.

But what precisely does Mr. Watkins mean by "know the language" and "language proficiency"? Although he refuses to say so, what he is talking about is not learning to speak, but rather learning to translate. He wishes us, for example, to adopt texts which allow 15 hours of outside preparation for every half hour spent with the teacher. In 15 hours alone with a text book, a student may learn translation; he will not learn to speak.

A further example is the criterion he uses to judge the proficiency of entering students: He gives them a dozen simple sentences to translate. If they fail to do so without an "eliminating error" (a Stone Age concept having nothing to do with the idea of language for communication), he considers them "poorly taught." In the guise of dramatic innovation, Mr. Watkins is advocating an extremely retrogressive view of language acquisition. Our primary goal should be to teach students to communicate, not merely to execute, as his analogy with music suggests.

While I remain receptive to new and good ideas in teaching and hopeful of improving existing programs, I believe that the path traced by Mr. Watkins is the wrong one. His principles, moreover, if admissible, would apply equally well to most other subjects, particularly math and science. If a department of one can offer 35 different languages, then there is no reason why every school, with just a handful of teachers, should not offer *all* subjects. Mr. Watkins is really challenging not the way languages are taught, but the whole sense of a liberal arts education.

Joan H. Stewart
Department of Modern Languages
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina

J. Mayer Watkins replies:

Until Professor Beatie discloses which practices among those I described have indeed failed, where and why, I must continue to remain unaware that they in fact ever did. Round-trip *air fare* does not cost \$3,000 per student, unless of course he's using his own plane. Once abroad, the student pays tuition, room and board just as he would here. About private lessons: A recent cost analysis shows that, by their use, one state university could save 25 percent.

I'd like to agree that all our teachers are bilingual, all our students fluent. Today, according to government standards, nothing is further from the truth. By proposing, as I do, that FSI ratings be the one standard used everywhere, then "bilingual" and "fluent" will no longer mean one thing to Dr. Beatie and something quite different to me.

Professor Stewart, on second reading, will find that I defined *proficiency* very precisely: an FSI rating of S-3 or better. (S, incidentally, stands for a "speaking"—improvised speaking—proficiency.)

A typical eliminating error: We travel—*Nous travaillons*. Professor Stewart may prefer to consider that as uninhibited communication; I still have to call it wrong. As for us old Stone-Agers, be careful. Remember, we invented language!

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Change/May 1975 7

Is It Enough to Roll With the Times?

by Robert A. Goldwin

Many private institutions of higher education around the country are in danger. Not all will be saved, and perhaps not all deserve to be saved. There are low-quality schools just as there are low-quality businesses. We have no obligation to save them simply because they exist.

But many thriving institutions that deserve to continue are threatened. They are doing a fine job educationally, but they are caught in a financial squeeze, with no way to reduce rising costs or increase revenues significantly. Raising tuition doesn't bring in more revenue, for each time tuition goes up, the enrollment goes down, or the amount that must be given away in student aid goes up. Schools are bad businesses, whether public or private, not usually because of mismanagement but because of the nature of the enterprise. They lose money on every customer, and they can go bankrupt either from too few students or too many students. Even a very good college is a very bad business. That has always been true.

It is such colleges, thriving but threatened, I worry about. Low enrollment is not their chief problem. Even with full enrollments, they may go under. Efforts to save them, and preferably to keep them private, are a national necessity. There is no basis for arguing that private schools are inherently better than public schools. Examples to the contrary abound. Anyone can name state universities and colleges that rank as the finest in the nation and the world. It is now inevitable that public institutions will be dominant, and therefore diversity is a national necessity. Diversity in the way we support schools tends to give us a healthy diversity in the forms of education. In an imperfect society such as ours, uniformity of education throughout the nation could be dan-

gerous. In an imperfect society, diversity is a positive good. Ardent supporters of public higher education know the importance of sustaining private higher education.

Diversity is a familiar argument, and a sound one, for sustaining a mixture of private and public educational institutions. But let me suggest another, perhaps less familiar argument: There are public elements and private elements in different kinds of education, striving toward different educational goals. Vocational or career education programs are designed to give the student salable skills and enable him to find a useful job. The public has an interest because skills are needed to keep our economy going, and so there is a public reason to provide such training. But the student's new skills are his exclusively, to sell as he chooses. This private aspect gives him a private reason to pay for the training. We get the benefit of his skills; he gets the income for himself.

Another element of education might be called civic education. One important function of schools is development of an understanding of government and of the rights and duties of citizens. Especially in a democratic republic such as ours, citizens must be skilled in understanding the powers of government, and how those powers must be limited if our fundamental rights are to be secured. We are in danger if our many governments do too much or too little, and the only way to find the moderate middle ground is through education.

The public has a very great stake in this task of civic education. If one is skilled in good citizenship, fellow citizens benefit at least as much. Is it the business of colleges to train good citizens? I think it is, at a higher and more discerning level than in grade schools, which means a more questioning and challenging level. Undergraduates should inquire into the nature of the American government, its past, its present, its future—not

as in graduate programs, from the detached viewpoint of the political scientist or the professional historian, but from the viewpoint of the concerned citizen who is part of a living community facing problems.

There is a third element of education that is harder to name and that cannot easily be classified in terms of the benefits—who gets them or what they are. Some call these studies valueless. I call them invaluable. I mean those skills called the liberal arts. We don't often think of liberal studies as connected with skills, but in fact the liberal skills are the highest and hardest skills.

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Instead, Euclid turned to another in the group and said, "Give this man a coin since he must show a profit for everything he learns."

Why should he have given such a scornful response to that question? My guess is that Euclid was greatly

ROBERT A. GOLDWIN is Special Assistant to the President of the United States and a former dean of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. His "Viewpoint" is adapted from a recent speech given at New College, Florida.

disappointed in the young man because he did not see at once that mathematics is a liberal skill, in addition to being a powerful practical skill. Euclid hoped that the young man's heart would be gladdened, his spirit enlivened, his soul lifted, his mind expanded at the first experience of geometrical proof.

We call such studies "the humanities," because when we engage in them we discover something extraordinary about ourselves. We discover how exciting being human can be. We find we can develop very special skills that imitate the Creator himself, for we too can make new worlds, not out of nothing, but with nothing more than a pencil, a straight edge, and a mind. Such humanistic skills are also called liberal because they free us from the restraint of our material existence and let us soar as free men and women in the realm of the mind.

In a recent speech, Terrel H. Bell, U.S. Commissioner of Education, gave some advice to the leaders of small private colleges, from a different point of view than mine. He very properly said first that as U.S. Education Commissioner he had no right to tell anyone how to run his college. In fact, he said, there is a law against it. But he did feel that he had a personal responsibility to speak out candidly and exercise some leadership. I, of course, write on the same basis, expressing my own opinion, seeking to contribute to thinking on this vital question.

His message was that private colleges must "roll with the times" if they are to survive. The college that devotes itself "totally and unequivocally to the liberal arts today is just kidding itself." There is a "duty to provide our students also with salable skills. We are facing the worst economic situation that this country has seen since the end of World War II, with an unemployment rate of over 8 percent. To send young men and women into today's world armed only with Aristotle, Freud, and Hemingway is like sending a lamb into the lion's den. It is to delude them as well as ourselves. But if we give young men and women a useful skill, we give them not only the means to earn a good living, but also the opportunity to do something constructive and useful for society. Moreover, these graduates will experience some of those valuable

qualities that come with meaningful work—self-respect, self-confidence, independence."

At first glance it would seem that Commissioner Bell means that the study of liberal arts is a useless luxury we cannot afford in hard times. But I don't think that is his meaning. I think he is criticizing those who send students into the world of work without skills. There are, unfortunately, schools in which students do not develop useful skills, especially skills of analytical thinking and experimenting and calculating. I agree that it is unfair to students, and to all of us, just as Commissioner Bell says, to leave them to seek jobs in such an unprepared state.

But there is a problem in speaking of "salable skills." What skills are salable? Right now, skills for making automobiles are not highly salable, but they have been for decades and might be again. Skills in teaching are not now as salable as they were during the past 20 years, and the population charts indicate they may not be soon again. Home construction skills are another example of varying salability, as the job market fluctuates.

The first difficulty, then, is that if one wants to build a curriculum exclusively on what is salable, one will have to make the courses very short and change them very often, in order to keep up with the rapid changes in the job market. But will not the effort be in vain? In very few things can we be sure of future salability, and in a society where people are free to study what they want, and work where they want, and invest as they want, there is no way to keep supply and demand in labor in perfect accord.

A school that devotes itself totally and unequivocally to salable skills, especially in a time of high unemployment, sending young men and women into the world armed with only a narrow range of skills, is also sending lambs into the lion's den. If those people gain nothing more from their studies than supposedly salable skills, and can't make the sale because of changes in the job market, they have been cheated. But if those skills were more than salable, if study made them better citizens and made them happier to be human beings, they have not been cheated. They will find some kind of job soon

enough. It might even turn out that those humanizing and liberating skills are salable. Flexibility, an ability to change and learn new things, is a valuable skill. People who have learned how to learn can learn outside of school. That is where most of us have learned to do what we do, not in school. Learning to learn is one of the highest liberal skills.

There is more to living than earning a living, but many earn good livings by the liberal skills of analyzing, experimenting, discussing, reading, and writing. Skills that are always in demand are those of a mind trained to think and imagine and express itself.

When the confidence of some is shaken, and many are confused about the direction the nation ought to follow in a new world situation, then civic education is more important than ever. And when the foundations of Western civilization are being challenged, and resolution seems to falter because many people are not sure what we are defending and how we ought to defend it, then it seems to me we ought not to abandon liberal studies, but rather the reverse: We ought to redouble our commitment to that study, as if our lives depended on it.

Any college worthy of itself must set its sights higher than to "roll with the times." It must strive to make the times roll our way. And only if we understand our time and try to shape it and make it conform to what is right and best, are we doing what we are capable of doing. Perhaps that is the right way to deal with the times—with daring and class and style—as befits a truly great people.

We have always known that America made no sense as just another nation, as just one more power in the long historical parade. We have always known that we must stand for something special, or we don't stand at all. Without such a special commitment to liberty and justice for all, can America survive except perhaps under the most severe sort of dictatorship? What else can hold together such a vast and diverse territory and people? Liberal studies of human nature and the nature of things in general are not luxuries for us, but matters of life and death, and certainly a matter of our political liberty, which should be as dear to us as our lives. ■

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House consideration of the Senate-approved conference report proved that the bill was not needed, and that, although the President used armed forces to bring out both South Vietnamese and Americans. The issue was moot.

As I pointed out in the floor debate, that conclusion worries me. It is like saying that when the President used armed forces in Cambodia without congressional authority, it proved he did not need it. That is not a very satisfactory way to leave the effort that we are trying to make in Congress to share with the President the decisions on the use of combat forces abroad.

There is a substantial question as to whether the President's use of those forces was lawful or unlawful. My judgment is that it was unlawful. Nobody argued on the floor April 23 when we passed the committee bill that the President had the authority to use armed forces to bring out South Vietnamese but he went ahead and did it anyway.

Now a case could be made at least both Houses had voted on a measure authorizing it; but, clearly, we had not completed action. There was no law when the President acted.

I would have liked to wind up this matter by leaving the record for the future that the President did what was in the bill approved by the conference, and did no more and that we completed action and even though he acted before the bill was law, nevertheless, we worked together to define the limit of the President's authority.

So I share Senator EAGLETON's view that:

Congress has again failed to act in a forthright and timely manner to proscribe a Presidential war-making initiative. By its inaction, and by its refusal even to provide *ex post facto* authorization for the Vietnam evacuation. Congress has once again shirked its constitutional duty.

I recommend Senator EAGLETON's Tuesday, May 6, New York Times essay to my colleagues:

CONGRESS' "INACTION" ON WAR

(By THOMAS F. EAGLETON)

WASHINGTON.—On Jan. 5, 1957 President Dwight D. Eisenhower, concerned about possible Communist advances in the Middle East, addressed a joint session of Congress to request authority to use military force, if needed, in the region.

Congressional liberals, feeling that the United States was best served by a strong and flexible President, were suspicious of the request. They moved in the Senate to strike the word "authorized" from the draft of the White House resolution and, when the resolution passed, it read part "if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces."

The Middle East resolution was considered a great liberal victory in 1957. It also represented a virtual renunciation of Congress' constitutional duty to authorize—and proscribe—the use of American forces in a war.

In the Congressional handling of the recent Vietnam evacuation, history has repeated itself:

On April 10, 1975, President Ford requested "clarification" of his legal authority to use United States forces in South Vietnam to rescue American and foreign nationals. Clarification was needed.

I share the view of many constitutional scholars that the President, as Commander in Chief, possesses an inherent right to rescue endangered Americans. However, there is no precedent to support an inherent right to use United States forces to rescue foreign nationals.

The President's request presented an important opportunity to proscribe by law the use of force for the Vietnam evacuation. More important, Congress had the chance to resurrect the concept, advanced by the Founding Fathers, that the executive and Congress would participate together in decisions potentially involving war.

But Congress fumbled the ball. When the President was forced by events to order the evacuation from South Vietnam on April 29, the House of Representatives had not yet completed the final stage in enacting the necessary legislation. Two days later, when the House finally had the opportunity to express Congressional will and intent, the House voted overwhelmingly not to act.

This unfortunate decision raises grave questions about the willingness of Congress to fulfill its constitutional responsibilities. The President obviously had no authority to use the United States forces to rescue foreign nationals in Vietnam. Yet our forces evacuated thousands of Vietnamese. Asked to explain, President Ford tried to justify his action on "moral" rather than legal grounds. Yet Congress let the precedent stand. Future Presidents might now conclude that the Commander in Chief had an inherent right to do what Mr. Ford did.

The failure of the war-powers resolution to specify those emergency situations where-in the President may unilaterally commit United States forces to battle has left the war powers of Congress and the President as vague as ever.

Lacking such a statutory definition, power accrues to the branch that invokes it. And, once again, in rescuing foreign nationals from Vietnam the President has invoked powers the Founders did not grant the Presidency.

The President can move all too quickly to usurp Congressional powers. He has only to order troops into battle. Congress, on the other hand, can only impose its will through the legislative process.

That is the tragedy of the House's recent action. On the verge of reimposing itself in the decision-making process, Congress rejected the opportunity to legislate.

From the beginning the debate over the President's request for "clarification" was marked by distrust of the executive branch, fear of military reinvolvement in Vietnam, and a conspicuous lack of confidence that a law, however tightly drafted, would be faithfully executed. In the end, liberals, long disenchanting by the imperial Presidency they helped create, unintentionally threw their considerable weight in the direction of Presidential omnipotence.

To avoid the remotest of possibilities—that President Ford would send forces back into Vietnam despite his written promise not to—Congress chose to leave a precedent for unilateral and unrestricted Presidential rescue authority.

White House references to "moral" justification and the pleasure Congress seems to derive in abrogating its constitutional responsibilities should alarm those who see the rule of law as America's primary source of strength.

Congress has again failed to act in a forthright and timely manner to proscribe a Presidential war-making initiative. By its inaction, and by its refusal even to provide *ex post facto* authorization for the Vietnam evacuation, Congress has once again shirked its constitutional duty.

IS IT ENOUGH TO ROLL WITH THE TIMES," AN ESSAY BY ROBERT A. GOLDWIN

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1975

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Members of Congress will read with interest the following thoughtful essay, "Is It Enough to Roll With the Times," published in the May 1973 issue of *Change* magazine.

Mr. Goldwin is Special Assistant to President Ford and is a former dean of St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

The essay to which I refer follows:

IS IT ENOUGH TO ROLL WITH THE TIMES?

(By Robert A. Goldwin)

Many private institutions of higher education around the country are in danger. Not all will be saved, and perhaps not all deserve to be saved. There are low-quality schools just as there are low-quality businesses. We have no obligation to save them simply because they exist.

But many thriving institutions that deserve to continue are threatened. They are doing a fine job educationally, but they are caught in a financial squeeze, with no way to reduce rising costs or increase revenues significantly. Raising tuition doesn't bring in more revenue, for each time tuition goes up, the enrollment goes down, or the amount that must be given away in student aid goes up. Schools are bad businesses, whether public or private, not usually because of mismanagement but because of the nature of the enterprise. They lose money on every customer, and they can go bankrupt either from too few students or too many students. Even a very good college is a very bad business. That has always been true.

It is such colleges, thriving but threatened, I worry about. Low enrollment is not their chief problem. Even with full enrollments, they may go under. Efforts to save them, and preferably to keep them private, are a national necessity. There is no basis for arguing that private schools are inherently better than public schools. Examples to the contrary abound. Anyone can name state universities and colleges that rank as the finest in the nation and the world. It is now inevitable that public institutions will be dominant, and therefore diversity is a national necessity. Diversity in the way we support schools tends to give us a healthy diversity in the forms of education. In an imperfect society such as ours, uniformity of education throughout the nation could be dangerous. In an imperfect society, diversity is a positive good. Ardent supporters of public higher education know the importance of sustaining private higher education.

Diversity is a familiar argument, and a sound one, for sustaining a mixture of private and public educational institutions. But let me suggest another, perhaps less familiar argument: There are public elements and private elements in different kinds of education, striving toward different educational goals. Vocational or career education programs are designed to give the student salable skills and enable him to find a useful job. The public has an interest because skills are needed to keep our economy going, and so there is a public reason to provide such training. But the student's new skills are his exclusively, to sell as he chooses. This private aspect gives him a private reason to pay for



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The public has a very great stake in this task of civic education. If one is skilled in good citizenship, fellow citizens benefit at least as much. Is it the business of colleges to train good citizens? I think it is, at a higher and more discerning level than in grade schools, which means a more questioning and challenging level. Undergraduates should inquire into the nature of the American government, its past, its present, its future—not as in graduate programs, from the detached viewpoint of the political scientist or the professional historian, but from the viewpoint of the concerned citizen who is part of a living community facing problems.

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At first glance it would seem that Commissioner Bell means that the study of liberal arts is a useless luxury we cannot afford in hard times. But I don't think that is his meaning. I think he is criticizing those who send students into the world of work without skills. There are, unfortunately, schools in which students do not develop useful skills, especially skills of analytical thinking and experimenting and calculating. I agree that it is unfair to students, and to all of us, just as Commissioner Bell says, to leave them to seek jobs in such an unprepared state.

But there is a problem in speaking of "salable skills." What skills are salable? Right now, skills for making automobiles are not highly salable, but they have been for decades and might be again. Skills in teaching are not now as salable as they were during the past 20 years, and the population charts indicate they may not be soon again. Home construction skills are another example of varying salability, as the job market fluctuates.

The first difficulty, then, is that if one wants to build a curriculum exclusively on what is salable, one will have to make the courses very short and change them very often, in order to keep up with the rapid changes in the job market. But will not the effort be in vain? In very few things can we be sure of future salability, and in a society where people are free to study what they want, and work where they want, and invest as they want, there is no way to keep supply and demand in labor in perfect accord.

A school that devotes itself totally and unequivocally to salable skills, especially in a time of high unemployment, sending young men and women into the world armed with only a narrow range of skills, is also sending lambs into the lion's den. If those people gain nothing more from their studies than supposedly salable skills, and can't make the sale because of changes in the job market, they have been cheated. But if those skills were more than salable, if study made them better citizens and made them happier to be human beings, they have not been cheated. They will find some kind of job soon enough. It might even turn out that those humanizing and liberating skills are salable. Flexibility, an ability to change and learn new things, is a valuable skill. People

who have learned how to learn can learn outside of school. That is where most of us have learned to do what we do, not in school. Learning to learn is one of the highest liberal skills.

There is more to living than earning a living, but many earn good livings by the liberal skills of analyzing, experimenting, discussing, reading, and writing. Skills that are always in demand are those of a mind trained to think and imagine and express itself.

When the confidence of some is shaken, and many are confused about the direction the nation ought to follow in a new world situation, then civic education is more important than ever. And when the foundations of Western civilization are being challenged, and resolution seems to falter because many people are not sure what we are defending and how we ought to defend it, then it seems to me we ought not to abandon liberal studies, but rather the reverse: We ought to redouble our commitment to that study, as if our lives depended on it.

Any college worthy of itself must set its sights higher than to "roll with the times." It must strive to make the times roll our way. And only if we understand our time and try to shape it and make it conform to what is right and best, are we doing what we are capable of doing. Perhaps that is the right way to deal with the times—with daring and class and style—as befits a truly great people.

We have always known that America made no sense as just another nation, as just one more power in the long historical parade. We have always known that we must stand for something special, or we don't stand at all. Without such a special commitment to liberty and justice for all, can America survive except perhaps under the most severe sort of dictatorship? What else can hold together such a vast and diverse territory and people? Liberal studies of human nature and the nature of things in general are not luxuries for us, but matters of life and death, and certainly a matter of our political liberty, which should be as dear to us as our lives.

WHAT HAS BEEN GIVEN CAN ALSO BE TAKEN BACK?

HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT

OF GUAM

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1975

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey of nearly 7,000 wives conducted in the February 1975, issue of *Ladycom*, a bi-monthly magazine distributed to 300,000 military wives, has brought to light a number of significant facts and valuable opinions. The President's proposal, supported by the Department of Defense, to make all military commissaries self-sustaining by October 1976, has caused great concern in our military community, as you might expect. I would like to share with my colleagues some of the survey's pertinent information relative to this subject in the hope of making available the other side of the coin in this issue.

Approximately three-quarters of the 6,898 respondents to this survey believe that the present 20 to 25 percent savings at military commissaries are a definite inducement to their husbands to remain in the service. Nearly 43 percent said they