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From the President

A LIBRARY OF TORCH PAPERS

When we recount the good things about Torch we immediately think of the fellowship with other professionals. The information and experience represented in those thousands of Torch members is exceptional. The dinner conversations can be sparkling and bring us surprises and enjoyment. The members and guests we meet at the conventions tell us new stories and relate remarkable experiences. We learn much from the presentation and discussion of others' papers and we learn much more when we prepare a paper for presentation at a Torch meeting.

This brings to mind another good thing in Torch. Each year our 75 clubs have some 600 or more presentations of Torch papers. A few, perhaps twenty or twenty-five, are printed in the Torch magazine. They are but a small part of the information and subjects covered in all our clubs. We don't hear about the other papers or even know what subjects are written about. What if we prepared a centralized index of all Torch papers that are presented in the current year plus possibly those from the past year or two? It would contain the title, the author, the club, the date of presentation and perhaps a very brief synopsis of the paper. This index could be put on the web site (www.torch.org) or perhaps printed as a regular or serial feature of the Torch magazine. The Torch magazine at one time printed the topics of papers to be presented at club meetings. They proved to be items of interest and were even used as tools for recruiting new members.

If a Torch member saw a topic in which he or she was particularly interested, a copy of that paper could be requested. A nominal fee

would be required to pay the cost of this service. But, with computers, word processors, copiers, printers, fax machines, scanners, databases and e-mail now being so ubiquitous, organization of a centralized index and production of copies wouldn't be terribly difficult.

Of course, it would take planning and some effort on the part of the international and the local clubs to accomplish this. There are problems that would have to be overcome. Only papers in the form of a manuscript could be included. But, the value of all of these papers and this information on such a broad variety of subjects is just tremendous. It's a waste to not make this library of papers available to those who would want to read them. Would such a plan increase the value of Torch in the minds of members and potential members?

Rather than emphasize the problems such a library would entail, I prefer to look at it as something of great value that we can accomplish. We need new ideas and opportunities to give Torch some flair and flash that younger professionals demand. It could be a valuable service the international can provide for the local clubs and their members.

Can you imagine the great amount of information available to you that would be contained in such a library? You won't have to imagine it if this becomes a reality.

—Ralph Falconer



Letter To the Editor

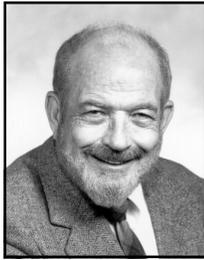
In the article in the Spring issue of *The Torch* entitled "The Civilizing Alphabet" Dr. Fanini says that ancient peoples ascribed the invention of writing to gods. After mentioning the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Celts and Aztecs; each giving one of their various gods credit for the invention of writing he said "and the Hebrews of Biblical times to Moses." This is very doubtful! In the first place, it is a complete misunderstanding of Biblical or contemporary Judaism to suggest that the Hebrews considered Moses a god, or even a deified

hero. In the second place, there is absolutely nothing in the Bible to suggest that Moses invented writing. On the contrary, in Exodus Chapter 17 verse 14, God says to Moses "Write this for a memorial in a book..." (Hebrew: K'tov zicaron basefer...) It is clear that the assumption in Exodus is that books and writing already existed, otherwise Moses would have answered something like "What is writing and what is a book?"

Marshall Giller
Grand Rapids Torch Club

Please see "Letter," next page

P.S.



I want to share some thoughts about two books I read this summer—actually, I'm still in the process of reading one of them—that set me to thinking about Torch.

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American Dreamer by former U.S. Senator John C. Culver and former Des Moines Register reporter John Hyde (W.W. Norton and Co.) is identified on the dust jacket as "the first single comprehensive biography of Henry A. Wallace - embattled vice-president to FDR, intellectual conscience of the New Deal, brilliant geneticist, occasional mystic and the last great forgotten American."

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Wallace had an insatiable curiosity, loved free-wheeling discussions on all topics, and was a person who passionately cared about how other people were treated. And he was most unorthodox in the way he went about being a secretary of agriculture, a vice-president, or a candidate for president.

I think you'll find the book fascinating, regardless of your political philosophy.

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The other book, which I don't have space to deal with here, is *Excess Heat: Why Cold Fusion Research Prevailed* by Charles G. Beaudette of Cumberland, ME. It is an update on some of the issues he covered in the 1993 Paxton Lecture at the convention in Portland, ME. I thought it was one of the best Torch papers I ever heard; many others thought it was absolutely outrageous.

I'll touch on it in another column. It has a foreward by Sir Arthur C. Clarke, author of "2001: A Space Odyssey," and introduction by David J. Nagel, research professor at George Washington University.

Beaudette, whom I last talked with following the fifth international conference on cold fusion at MIT in 1995, explains in the book: "The large commercial publishing houses found the manuscript too technical and the subject matter too heretical for their interest...the commercial and intellectual advantages resided with publishing through my own Oak Grove Press." (South Bristol, ME).

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But back to Henry Wallace:

Growing up far from Iowa, dependent upon ultra-conservative newspapers and *Time* magazine for my world view, I certainly had little appreciation for the genius of Henry Wallace. This new biography was a real revelation to me.

Wallace was the key figure in the development of hybrid corn, which quadrupled the standard yield. Norman Borlaug, the Iowa-born scientist who developed the wheat strains of "the green revolution" that brought him a Nobel Prize, credited Henry A. Wallace as his inspiration. Half the world's commercially produced eggs come from Hyline chickens developed by a subsidiary of Wallace's Pioneer Hybrid corn company (Wallace was known to take fertilized eggs with him as gifts for foreign government heads).

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Wallace did not find it amusing to be labeled a "communist" in the American press (or "crackpot") but he did find it amusing that this "communist" was probably the most successful capitalist ever to have run for president or vice-president at the time.

Dupont eventually bought Pioneer Hybrid (which those who attended the 1985 Torch International convention in Des Moines had a chance to visit) for more than nine billion (yes, with a B) dollars.

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Wallace had an insatiable curiosity about everything, and loved lively

discussions. These were among childhood qualities which impressed George Washington Carver, then a student at Iowa State, where Henry Wallace's father (he was called Harry) then taught. And young Wallace carried Carver's sense that "all living things carried something divine" in them.

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Wallace's grandfather, Henry C., known as "Uncle Henry" was a Presbyterian minister who left the pulpit for a farm west of Iowa on his doctor's advice. His religious enthusiasm for the "social gospel" character lived on in the boy, and Wallace was a deeply religious man, though he left the Presbyterian church after elders in his church objected to his discussing Henry James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* in his Sunday morning class.

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"Uncle Henry" wrote a regular Bible lesson column for the magazine, and displayed a quality that would certainly endear him to Pat Deans. He was so far ahead of his column deadlines, that it continued to run for 20 years after his death; yes, he was that far ahead.

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I have not even touched on Wallace's contributions as secretary of agriculture (a post his father, Harry, held before him), as vice-president, and his break with the Democratic Party that led to his being the Progressive Party candidate for president in 1948.

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All this and more is covered clearly and dispassionately. I wish the book were twice as long, because I know that Hyde and Culver must have all the details in their files and computers. I imagine the publisher must have insisted on a book of popular length.

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It's easy to read. So give yourself a treat, and read it.

--Paul Stanfield

"Letter," from previous page

To the Editor:

Thank you for letting me respond to Marshall Giller's comments on my paper "The Civilizing Alphabet."

Marshall takes exception to my listing Moses with the gods of ancient times as an

attributed creator of writing. In my condensation I followed the format David Durringer used in his article on "Writing" in Volume 29 of the 1995 International Edition of the Encyclopedia Americana. On page 559 David ends the relevant paragraph with "In the Bible there is no reference to the origin of writing... There is, however, a post-

Biblical tradition which attributed the creation of writing to Moses."

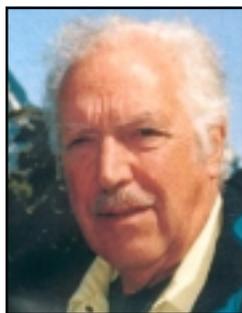
David Durringer has coauthored (with H. Freeman) *A History of the Alphabet*, and is considered an authority in this field.

Dominick J. Fanini
Lancaster Torch Club

Who gets the benefits from laws regulating (or deregulating) the electric utilities?

The Laws and the Profits

by Robert G. Neuhauser



About the Author

Robert G. Neuhauser is a graduate of Drexel University in Electrical Engineering. He was employed for his entire career by

RCA in the design, development and application of Television Camera Tubes. He is a Life Fellow member of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers. He is a recipient of the society's David Sarnoff Gold Medal Award for his work in developing camera tubes for color television cameras.

He has lectured widely in the field of the design and use of television camera tubes and has about thirty-five publications and a book on the subject of Television Camera Tubes to his credit.

He has been a Torch Club member for the past 35 years and has been the president of the Lancaster Torch Club for two different terms. Four of his papers have been published in *The Torch*.

He is also an active member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and has served on the corporation of the American Friends Service Committee, on its program committee and executive committee. He has also been a member of the corporation of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Presented on May 3, 1999 to the Lancaster, Pennsylvania Torch Club.



Electric utilities have been one of the least glamorous industries of our times. They are there to serve us all, each and every one of us. They are chartered by the various governments to provide electric power on a monopoly basis. The companies are allowed to make a modest but guaranteed profit for their efforts. Now the electric power industry is about to be deregulated in an effort to spur competition and lower prices for electricity. The cause of this major change lies in the great disparity in electrical rates

that were approved under the existing public utility laws.

I will outline to you the ways that the laws of the land generated the situation of grossly unequal electricity rates, and at the same time produced the huge profits that were engineered and enjoyed by the power companies and their managers. These and other factors brought this situation to a head.

One has only to look at the airline industry to see the benefits and deficits of the deregulation of a previously regulated industry to anticipate what is about to happen. You probably notice that air travel costs are drastically reduced. You are also aware that the service and comfort of passengers is also decreasing at a similar pace.

Electric utilities have been one of the least glamorous industries of our times. They are there to serve us all, each and every one of us.

Where airlines were previously given specific routes to fly and the fares were specified by the Civil Aeronautics Board, they are now free to fly whenever and wherever they can find landing rights at airports and are also free to undercut one another's fares in order to get fully loaded planes or to cut out the competition. They are under no obligation to service cities and towns where they perceive that there are no profits to be made. You also have multiple airlines to choose from when you fly from most locations. As a consequence some of the smaller communities that were previously assured of at least minimal air service now have no service.

Now with the deregulation of the power industry, we are not about to see a multiplicity of power lines passing our homes with the opportunity to hook on to the one of our choice. Nor will anyone be shut out from electrical power service. Distribution of power will still be on a regulated monopoly basis, with one company supplying the distribution of power for any given area of

the country. This power distribution system will still be run by your local power company but the electricity that they pipe to you can be purchased by you from a variety of power generating companies that are completely free to compete with one another as vigorously as they wish. What's the problem? First of all, there will be "special hidden" cost, which you the electricity user will pay.

Why these hidden costs? Well, it seems to be rooted in the basic laws that were previously instituted to set up public utilities and to regulate them. Public utilities are obviously a monopoly. We do not have multiple power lines, telephone lines, sewer systems, gas pipes and water lines running past our house. Instead, governments gave monopoly rights to companies to provide these services. Of course a business that has a monopoly is always tempted to abuse its customers. Unregulated, they can charge what they wish, give the type of service that they desire, and charge fantastic prices as well as reap fantastic profits. Hence public utility laws are enacted, and public utility commissions are set up to regulate the utilities according to the provisions of the laws. The laws establish the ground rules and the commissions ride herd on the providers.

Now herein lies the problem. How do you regulate utility companies and how do you set rates that they can charge that are fair to the customers and fair to the companies that are investing their time and money bringing dependable utility service to you the customer? You might propose that they will be allowed to set their rates so that they can make a certain percentage on their out of pocket cost of supplying power to you. However, that has some unfairness to it. The company that dams up a stream and has the water flow by gravity to turn the turbines does not have very high operating expenses and the water comes free. The outlays of money to operate this hydro power system will be small and its profits will be small under this system.

Compare that to a power company that must buy a lot of coal to fire the plant, and

build, operate and maintain a very complex power plant. That coal burning power company will be making a lot more money because its yearly operating expenses will be high and its profits on these expenses will be higher than that of the hydro power company. Also the companies that provide the service could pay their officials and employees large amounts of money, list these as expenses and claim profits based on their operating expenses that include these inflated salaries. They can also contract things out to their friends at whatever price they want to, claim that as expense, set the rates accordingly and collect a percent of the these inflated expenses as profits, while enriching their friends and relatives. Clearly this formula based on profits as a percentage of the cost of producing electric power has little merit from the standpoint of the user of electric power, and has a lot of room for manipulation built into it.

The Public Utility Laws that were eventually developed, allowed a company to make money based on the amount of money that they had to invest in the business. If they had to invest a billion, they could recover 10 to 12 percent, or 100 or 120 million on their investment as profit each year, add that amount to their total operating expenses and set the rates for electricity so that they would realize the allowed profit based on the amount of money that they have to invest in the power system. This is called basing the rates on the return on investment rather than the return on operating expenses. If they inflated the expenses, they would actually make less money once the rates were set by the commission.

Traditionally, the utility commissions review the accounting of the utility company. They check out the validity of their expenses and allow them to charge electricity rates that will give them the amount of profit that they are entitled to based on the money that they had to invest to provide the power system and generating equipment. Seems fair enough. Fair enough so that utilities are the investment of choice for widows and orphans and their guardians as well as of pension funds. Here they are guaranteed a fair and reasonably fixed rate of return on their money. The business revenues do not fluctuate wildly with business cycles because power needs are relatively steady, and the companies do not go broke. Neither do they develop amazing new products that

send their stock prices sky-high on the delicious prospects of new business.

When inflation and new unforeseen expenditures take their toll on the company's bottom line, their accountants marshal their data, take it to the Utilities Commission and petition to have the rates increased so that they can get back to making their allowed profit. There can be abuses to this system. The company can invest money frivolously in facilities and then claim that it needs increased revenue to pay for these facilities and then enjoy the increased profit that they can earn on this newly invested money.

It doesn't take a genius to realize that if you can increase your investment and get a return of 11% on the cost of the new equipment that you buy, that you will make more money. What's more, you will be making it legally according to the provisions of the Public Utility Laws. The Public Utility Laws also allow you to borrow the money for these new facilities and call the interest expense an operating expense. So, you don't even have to invest the company's or your own money in the new facilities. You borrow the money, the rate payers pay the interest and you make your 11% on the borrowed money. All you have to do is pay off the loan at about two or three percent a year, and that still allows you to keep 8 or 9% of the invested money each year as your profit. So it becomes obvious to you as the executive of a power company that increasing the company's investment is a way to make more money.

Generally, the utilities commission must make the company justify the need for the investment in major facilities before they approve the project. Minor investment is done at a company's discretion. When I built my new house, the power company had to put in 1000 feet of new transmission line, three power poles and a dedicated transformer. I thought that I would get a tremendous bill for this installation. Not so. If I had paid for it, the company would have gotten back just its costs. By "investing" in a new facility to supply a new customer (me), the company could claim profits based on the installation costs (about \$5000 in today's dollars) and make additional money based on the increased investment.

Well, if this system works so well and is so fair, why change it? Why deregulate? Well it does not work so well and it results in gross unfairness. Here is where the Laws and Profits have distorted the system. Take the example of areas around Pittsburgh. On one side of a street, the customers pay twice as

much for electricity as the customers on the other side of the street. They are served by different electric companies. Both companies rates were set and approved by the same Pennsylvania Public Utilities commission, conforming to the regulations of the Pennsylvania Public Utility laws. Obviously, it seems that the public utilities commission is not doing its job in allowing this to happen. However, under the existing system they had to approve this disparity of rates. Why?

I'll give you two reasons; Stock options and Nuclear power. Suppose you are a newly elected President of a power company, and you want to find out how you can make a lot of money at your new job. Of course you do want to make more money or you wouldn't have worked and connived to get the job in the first place. You didn't go for that type of job for job security, because a power company job is usually effectively tenured for life. It's to make more money!

You look around you and talk to your fellow chief executives in other businesses, and find out that they don't make all that much money these days on salary, but boy do they clean up on stock options. You, as a power company CEO, might be able to pry a few percent in efficiency gains for a few years by cost cutting and get rewarded for it, or you might aggressively push electric power for domestic heating and increase your customer sales by a few percentage points per year, but this is getting it the hard way. Those bonuses or stock options that you could get by going the route of improving efficiency and increased customer usage of electric power would be peanuts compared to your what your buddies are actually making in rapidly growing companies.

Let's talk about stock options a bit. Stock options have been used extensively by industry in the past few decades as a painless and rather anonymous means of rewarding the executives of a company. It is painless because someone else pays off the executives, not the company treasurer, (or the stockholders) and the income the executive receives from exercising these stock options is not recorded as salary in the annual reports of the company.

Here is how it works. A company grants key employees the option to buy a large number of shares of stock from the company over a period of say five or ten years at the market price of the stock on the day that the options are granted. The only way that an employee can make money on these options is if the price of the stock goes up in the

market.

If the price of the company's stock rises, at some time within the period of five or ten years, the executive can go to the bank, ask to borrow some money for a few days to buy the thousands of shares of stock that he has an option to buy from the company at "past years prices" and then sell them all in a few days at today's price to some eager investor. Then he pays back the loan and pockets the difference in the stock price between what it was when the options were issued and today's market price.

Everyone is happy. The company actually gets more money in its treasury from the stock that it sold to the employee. The investor pays the executive for the stock which he now considers to be a good investment at the current market price, and the executive goes off and buys himself that yacht. Meanwhile, the stockholders of the company read the annual report and find that the company is really not paying an exorbitant salary to the chief executive and the value of their stock has risen to a very satisfactory level. The new investor happily and willingly pays his money for the stock which is now more valuable than before because of the good fortunes of the company. The good fortunes of the company were presumably produced by the astute executives of the company who were granted stock options on which they could profit if the value of the company's stock increases. Everybody wins, it seems. Even the public wins, because the increased efficiency of the company contributes to the better economic climate in the country.

Now if you are a chief executive of the power company, and want to get in on the stock option game that your buddies are playing, you have few options. If you could increase the use of electricity by persuading home owners that electric heat was so nice and clean and neat, many customers might switch to electric heat. You might increase your business by 5% for a one time boost of your company's revenue and a boost in the investment required to provide that additional electric power. This would boost the value of the stock by about 5% over a few years. Not too bad, but it wouldn't zoom like the price of the stock of an internet provider.

You might be in a rapidly growing area with homes, factories and businesses increasing at a rapid rate and share in that increased business for your power company. You can only expect a few percent growth

each year and that's peanuts compared to some of the high-flying companies that develop new businesses and new products that take the public by storm.

Where can you find the big bucks? Why by big investments of course. How could a power company find big investment opportunities for the future in the 60's? Why, in Nuclear power, that's where. Remember how the members of the nuclear power regulatory agencies, the nuclear physicists and the power companies were talking about the prospects for nuclear power in those days? I'll only characterize them by saying that they were all braying about how cheap nuclear power would be. How clean and effortless it would be to provide nuclear power. How low cost the nuclear fuel was. How nuclear power was the wave of the future. That nuclear power would be so cheap that they wouldn't even bother to put meters on you house, just charge you a standard fee for piping it to you?

What they didn't tell you was that nuclear power plants would be tremendously expensive. That they would have to be built in pairs because they would have to be shut down periodically for major repairs and modification. Since they would have to be so big to get any economy of operation, having one off the line would put a big hole in the available power at critical times. They didn't tell you that they would only last 30 or 40 years compared to much longer lives of fossil fuel steam plants or hundreds of years for hydroelectric plants. That they could not be continuously rebuilt to maintain their proper operation because many of the components would become highly radioactive and repairmen could not even get close to them to take them out and replace them.

What they did tell you was that the fuel costs would be minuscule compared to fossil fuel plants. This part was very true. They told you that this would mean tremendous savings for the customers, because that section of the electric bill that you were getting that says "adjustment for fuel costs" would go away.

Fuel adjustment costs were instituted by the regulatory agencies in times when fuel costs were fluctuating or rapidly increasing. Instead of reviewing the entire rate structure every time the costs of fuel fluctuated, utilities were allowed to pass on additional fuel costs by tacking them on to your electric utility bills. All they had to do was show the increased costs of their fuel

bills to the regulatory commissions to get these approvals. Of course, this also led to some abuses. Pennsylvania Power and Light got caught with their hands in our pockets when they started mining their own coal, and selling it to themselves at quite generous prices and submitting the bills for the coal to the commission to justify the additional fuel adjustment tacked on to customers bills.

Well the cry for nuclear power carried the day, especially since the power companies told the regulatory commissions that they would only cost about 1 Billion dollars for each 1 million KW capacity station. This was only slightly more than the going price for a conventional fossil fuel plant per kw of installed power. They could get the costs down to this level, they said, if they made them big enough and got some economies of scale.

Conventional electric power plants were usually not built this big, because that's quite a lot of power to handle in any one plant. The bigger they get, the more dangerous they become. Also if one smaller plant goes off line, it doesn't make such a big dent in the available power needed to meet the demand of peak usage of power. Therefore the smaller conventional plants don't have to be built with a backup spare.

They also didn't let it be known that you usually had to build some big auxiliary system to store excess power while these behemoths were grinding out power in million kilowatt dollops and there was no place to use it during the night and weekends. You don't just let your foot up on the throttle of these giants as the power demand changes. You must get them up to power and keep them running at full power. Philadelphia Electric solved this problem by damming up a big valley 400 feet above the level of the Susquehanna river. Here they created a two square mile lake, put in an 0.8 million kw capacity pumping and generating system to suck water out of the river during slack times and dump it down into the river to generate power during times of peak demand for electric power. A smart economical move because during slack times, excess power can be sold for only a fraction of the normal rate, and during peak periods of use, this excess power brings big bucks from neighboring utilities who are sucking their systems dry for the needed power. However, it was a poor fuel economy move, because for every Kilowatt you put into pumping up the water, you get out only .75 kilowatts of power when the downward

flow of water is generating power. It did substantially increase the investment of the company and didn't provide a single kilowatt of new power.

And what they didn't tell you or the commission was that there were so many uncertainties in building nuclear power systems, that no contractor would bid on a plant in its entirety because of so many unknowns and possible modifications of the initial design that might be required by the officials in Washington and the state capitals. And besides, from the standpoint of the company, there was absolutely no incentive to economize on the capital costs of building the systems. The more you invest, the more money you are allowed to make. Stock option nirvana! So day after day as these escalations of cost came up, quickly forth would the officials sally to the regulatory commission with their tales of new safety regulations and design changes demanded of the various regulatory bodies. Costs quickly escalated from \$1000, per kilowatt of generating power to \$3000, whereas conventional steam power plants came in at \$500 to \$1000 per KW of generating power.

I recently traveled by the Diablo canyon nuclear power plant in California, the plant that was sited near an earthquake fault. When this hazard was discovered, the company was required to build in earthquake resistance structures before they could operate the plant. They "tearfully" went to the regulatory commission and asked for coverage to build this new structure into the plant. About the time that they had it completed, someone discovered that they had built it backwards! Then with crocodile tears flowing they again went back to the commission and informed them that they would have to invest more money to disassemble it and put it back together right. Of course, since it was in an isolated location and they might need rapid response, they invested in a corporate jet stationed at the local airport to service the reactor's needs. All this made it the most expensive nuclear power plant in the country's history.

To put these costs into some sort of perspective, I looked up a catalogue from Northern Tool and Equipment, and found that they would sell me a 10 KW motor-generator set, all ready to run for \$1600 or about \$160 per KW capacity. Maybe it wouldn't run for 40 years, but at that price I could buy a new one every year for less than the interest on the \$3,000 "1 kw" one that the power company was buying.

To put this in another perspective since figures like a billion dollars don't seem too much in these days of Government spending, I'll relate a tale of a conversation that one of our RCA engineers had with a friend who worked for Philadelphia Electric Company. General Electric had just bought the RCA corp. for \$5.7 Billion. That included the entire NBC television and radio network, all of RCA television and electron tube production, its glass plant for making television tubes, its cabinet work for making TV cabinet, its solid state electronics operation, broadcast equipment operation, nationwide Service Company, the RCA Global Communication System with its satellites and communication networks, its Astro electronics operation making satellites and space hardware for the military and NASA, its military electronics operation, its RCA record making division, its digs at Rockefeller center, its extensive corporate headquarters and world-famed research laboratories at Princeton, its valuable pool of patents, its corporate jets and helicopters and its well funded pension fund. When the RCA engineer discussed the story of the sale to GE and remarked about how high the sales price was, the Philadelphia Electric fellow just sort of sniffed and said that PE had more than that invested in the Limerick Nuclear Power Station at Pottstown!

Of course, it turned out that power generated by these nuclear power stations was frightfully expensive compared to conventional power stations. You can do the math yourself. If the system costs \$3000 per KW, and the system operates only about 60 % of the time or about 5000 hours in a year, your \$3000 unit is generating about 5000 kw hrs per year. The yearly interest alone on this investment amounts to \$240, and annual depreciation over the 40 year life is about \$75. Spread over those 5000 kw hours, those costs alone amount to about 6.5 cents per KW hour.

It's hard to judge the actual costs of generating power in a nuclear power station, but in a recent publication from GPU Nuclear, the Owners of Three Mile Island, the company was crowing about the long uninterrupted run they had on the one functioning unit at that location and claimed that their actual generating costs were 2.5 cents per KW hour, and were competitive with wholesale power rates in the region. They also mentioned that their Oyster Point plant generating costs were 3.7 cents per KWH. Maybe so, but those rates do not allow

for any profit to the company. I do know that Hydro Quebec sells power to the N.E. US for 2.5 cents per KW hour and makes money on it at that price. GPU's electrical generating costs obviously do not include depreciation and interest on the original investment.

Going back to calculation of the actual cost of generating nuclear power, if you take the 6.5 cents for the cost of depreciation and interest, add on the 11% that the power company can claim as their allowed profits, (6.6 cents per KWH,) plus the actual generating costs of 2.5 cent per KW hour, you come up with actual price that they could or would charge under the old system, of 15.6 cents per KWH. Costs of transmitting the power to your door are extra of course. There is no wonder why there are disparities of more than two-to-one in the rates charged by neighboring utilities if one electric company is relying primarily on nuclear power and the neighboring system has a power station at the mouth of the coal mine and generates power with less expensive facilities.

So there you have the situation and the reasons for the escalation of costs of the power generating facilities. Belatedly, some utility regulating commissions got on to the fact that there was absolutely no incentive for the power companies to contain costs of these nuclear facilities. The contractors working on the cost plus portions of the construction had no incentives to control their costs and that there were actual incentives, due to the phenomena of stock options for the executives, to escalate the costs of the systems. As a result, those costs could balloon beyond all proportions. Some regulators put caps on the costs. You could only recover costs and claim profits on investments up to a certain figure. This brought the escalations to a screeching halt, but the caps were still set in the range of \$3000 per KW of capacity.

It soon became obvious that the escalating costs of electric power were stifling the ability of some regions to attract or retain power hungry industries or businesses. Something would have to be done. Some jurisdictions allowed large industries to shop around for power, buy it where they could and have it transported through the interconnecting power grids and then have it piped in to their location through the local power companies lines. An obviously unfair situation to small users.

With the success of deregulation in the trucking industry, the airlines and long

distance telephone system, competition demonstrably lowered the costs of services to the user. Why not try it out on the electric power companies? But where would that leave those poor power companies that splurged on nuclear power? There is no way that they could compete with Hydro Quebec and the newly burgeoning field of gas and oil powered turbines which skip the steam cycle and generate power much more efficiently than even the older fossil fuel steam power plants. These gas or oil turbine plants are also much simpler, can operate unattended and be located close to the places where power is needed, bring increased efficiency to the system, and generate power at a total cost of about 2.5 cents, including profit on the investment!.

Well, most companies, if they invest in uneconomical facilities or make poor choices go bankrupt or the stockholders take a bath. However, all hearts became brim full of pity for all of those widows and orphans, pension funds and retirees that invested in those safe power company stocks and bonds. Besides, the power regulating commissions saw themselves as somehow implicated in the debacle and needed to find a face saving way of avoiding being indicted as co-conspirators.

So, they have invented a thing called stranded costs. This is the cost of outstanding bonds and debts on the cost of building these uneconomical power stations. Guess who will pay these. You, the rate payer. Now that the deregulation system is operating in Pennsylvania, our bill consists of three parts. The first is a fixed charge which you pay regardless of the amount of electricity that you use. The second part is the cost of transmitting power to your home including the servicing and rebuilding the systems for distribution. That money goes to our regular power company as a cost per KW hour of power that we use. The third cost is a surcharge on every KW of power that we use, called the stranded cost. This money goes back to the power companies that have to pay off the white elephants. We are billed separately for the cost of the electricity that we use by the supplier of power that we have chosen.

The amount of stranded costs that will be paid in the state of Pennsylvania are just over \$11 Billion, and will be paid out over a period of 10 years by none other than the fellow who always pays in the end, the electricity user. To give you an appreciation of the amount of this pay-out, the total tax

revenue for the state of Pennsylvania every year is about \$18 billion dollars.

Getting down to the level of the individual, I looked at my recent electric bill. There was that item in the bill called transition costs. This is their euphemism for stranded costs which is in turn an euphemism for bailing out the nuclear power debacle. It amounts to 16% of my total bill for electric service. That is my contribution to the profits of the electric company for its past excesses.

So you think that your electricity bills will be coming down because of deregulation. Think again, because for the next 10 years you'll be paying off those crypts that are housing hardware from which radioactive elements will be spewing out death dealing rays and particles for the next 90 thousand years or more. Your children and grandchildren will be getting a bill for their dismantling and disposal. Don't think that the stockholders or the executives, long ago retired on their stock option fortunes will come back to pay the bills, nor will the utility companies. They were only required to set aside reserves for dismantling these monsters, but these figures are absurdly low. Let me remind you that just decontaminating the containment building and the spills of the Three Mile Island unit number 2, cost over \$1 Billion.

In their haste to make things look good and have the utilities held accountable for the eventual disposal of the systems, the Public Utility Commissions require the utilities to set aside a trust fund so that it will have enough money in it to pay for disassembly and disposal when it is estimated that the radioactivity has decayed to a level that will allow safe demolition of the reactor. These figures are about \$100,000,000.

Right after the TMI accident, I wrote a letter to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and asked for studies of the costs of decommissioning and disposal of a million KW nuclear power system. They sent me that report which was put out for the guidance of the nuclear power industry. I read that study, and it looks like it was put together by some graduate student who looked over some literature and compiled a report replete with volumes of questionable statistics based on no actual experience with completely disposing of a large reactor.

This report came up with a figure of \$100,000,000 as their estimate for dismantling a 1 Million KW reactor. The recent

experience with dismantling smaller reactors is that they have to do it with remotely guided machines that become so contaminated that they have to send in other machines to dismantle those first machines. I don't know when that process stops or where the highly contaminated machinery and reactor parts are disposed of, but I suspect that the nuclear power industry and the NRC do not know either.

Some people naively suggest encasing the reactors in concrete forever. How long do concrete highways last? Also, since the materials inside are highly radioactive, this means that they are giving off a lot of heat. If this heat is not extracted continually, the temperature will continually build up and up until it finds a means of escape, and you can imagine what that will do to a concrete structure and the surrounding landscape.

When the dollop of money the power companies have set aside as reserves for decommissioning and disposal of these reactors runs out, you can be sure that the rate payers will again get surcharges on their bills to dispose of the reactors as well as all of the fuel rods that they have ever used. These highly radioactive materials are still sitting in their cooling pools on the premises of each and every nuclear reactor. Someone is going to have to dispose of them and you just know who that it is going to be!

The local governments and the US taxpayers are already paying the bills for some of this folly. Recently the power companies were allowed to depreciate their nuclear power facilities to zero. This gave them a windfall in US taxes since they can claim the previously un-depreciated value as a write-off against taxable income. Also, since they can now claim that the facilities have zero value (as decreed by US tax regulations) the local taxes that they used to pay are now zero, since the facilities, are now officially considered worthless. Worthless or not, you the rate payers are going to pay them off and eventually pay for their funeral expenses. They probably are all but worthless. GPU Nuclear, the owner of three Mile Island, just sold the one working unit there for a reputed \$100,000,000. That is just about 3% of what it cost to build the unit back in the 70's. Actually they only got \$23 million for the plant and \$70 some million for the inventory of unused fuel rods. Sort of like saying that the gas in the tank is worth more than the car you just bought!

"Profits," continued on page 34

A serious discussion of a sensitive subject.

Gay Rights and Human Rights

by Neil W. Beach, Ph.D



About the Author

Neil Beach holds B.S., M.S. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Michigan and did post graduate and research work at

the Duke University Marine Laboratory.

He has taught at the University of Michigan, Lake Forest College in addition to serving over thirty years at Gettysburg College as a teacher and administrator. He chaired the biology department and was Assistant Provost and Assistant Dean of Academic Advising. In 1979 and 1980, he taught summer school at Duke University School of Forestry and performed administrative duties. He has published in his field.

Neil is deeply involved in his community and is presently the longest serving member of the Gettysburg-Adams Torch Club, having joined in 1960.

This paper was presented to the Gettysburg-Adams Torch Club on October 15, 1998.



There is no question that Western Civilization has been predicted on a male dominated model. There were rights, human rights, and civil rights, but the ultimate rights and power lay within the purview of males, witness the general use of he or him as the accepted pronoun. Other than a few female ruling monarchs, we find historically only male rulers of state, male presidents, male clergy, lawyers, doctors, faculty members, and so on. There are relatively few women mentioned in the Bible. Western society was a male dominated society.

The Declaration of Independence states “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these is Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are

instituted among Men,” Article II, section I of the Constitution states “The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office...” There are no “shes” or “hers” in the Constitution.

“...It’s time America realized that there was no Gay exemption in the right to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’ in the Declaration of Independence...”

Eventually women began to question this power. They were human beings too. On August 26, 1920, the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, guaranteeing American women the right to vote, was declared in effect. There was a milestone in civil rights/human rights for women. Since then we have seen women being elected to the Congress and Senate, appointed to judgeships and cabinet positions. Some religious denominations now ordain women. Even Torch Clubs have included women in their membership. Although women have not obtained full equality with men, there has been great progress in civil rights and human rights for women.

Many groups besides women within the United States have suffered from prejudice and have been denied civil rights/human rights, simply because they were different and in the minority. Asians, Hispanics, African Americans, Native Americans certainly come to mind. Not fully understanding differences in culture or not even attempting to understand the differences, in other words, ignorance about others, leads to fear of the unknown and fear often leans to violent acts. But in addition to not understanding, there seems to be a need for many humans to feel superior to others. And superiority manifests itself in power. If I am superior to you then I have

power over you to dictate to you what you can and cannot do. Blacks were thought to be almost subhuman and thus relegated to slavery.

Perhaps this is an Anglo thing. The British systematically killed off the Australian Aboriginal in Tasmania because they thought them to be subhuman. It was a crime in the U.S. to teach blacks to read. Even after slavery was abolished, occupations for blacks were the most menial. Exceptions were those with strong wills to demonstrate they were as good as whites. Still they were relegated to separate restrooms, seats in the back of the bus, refused service in restaurants and hotels. For the most part they were presumed unfit to serve in the military despite a few black regiments that had existed in wars before World War II.

But change started to occur when Rosa Parks on December 1, 1955 refused to give up her seat and sit at the back of the bus. She believed she was just as fully a human being as any white person and therefore deserved to sit anywhere any other human being could sit on that bus. We have also seen great strides with African Americans serving in the military, and not just as privates but as officers. There are now African Americans serving on the judiciary, in the House of Representatives and Senate, as physicians, teachers, lawyers and main stream denominational pastors or priests. Strides, yes; equality, no.

The battle for human rights now seems to be focused on homosexuals. The Methodist Church has recently taken action to prohibit pastors from performing same sex unions. Lutherans have expelled two churches, one for ordaining a lesbian couple and the other because a gay male would not swear to celibacy. Lutherans continue to force resignations of pastors in committed same sex relationships or if individuals will not resign, hearings are held and they are removed from the roster. Other mainstream churches are struggling with the question of ordination of pastors/priests who are homosexual or who are in committed same sex relationships.

A case study in the area of employment

discrimination may be instructive. In 1993 Cook County, IL passed an ordinance which prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations, and credit transactions. Among the thirteen categories in which discrimination was prohibited were, race, sex, religion, national origin, and sexual orientation.

Early in 1998 the Red Lobster Restaurant in Lincolnwood, IL fired gay employee, Dale Hall. The manager had repeatedly ridiculed the employee before he fired him. The Cook County Human Rights Commission ruled that Red Lobster had violated the 1993 ordinance and ordered the restaurant to reinstate Hall. Instead, Red Lobster's owner, Darden Restaurants in Orlando, filed a request in June that the commission declare the ordinance unconstitutional. Such a ruling would, in effect have made it possible to discriminate against gays and lesbians.

Almost immediately gays began circulating the news on the internet, along with information on how to contact Red Lobster's and Darden's headquarters. On July 17, Red Lobster withdrew the portion of the legal brief that sought to find the ordinance unconstitutional. In a July 22 phone interview with the *Washington Blade*, Red Lobster spokesperson Mark Gonzalez described the reaction to the company's initial request as "a misunderstanding." He said "We do support the ordinance. Our stance...is zero tolerance for discrimination of any kind." He acknowledged, however, that Red Lobster did not include sexual orientation in its written nondiscrimination policy. "Although" he said "I can tell you that is being examined as we speak."

The stance now is that the company terminated Hall for "performance reasons" and no longer challenges the ordinance's constitutionality. The underlying reason for termination may well have been the fact that Hall was gay, But "performance reasons" is a nice cover up. If he was incompetent, that is one thing; but if the real reason for the firing was that he was gay, that is quite another thing. If a person is performing competently on the job, whether he or she is homosexual, heterosexual; black, yellow, or red skinned; Protestant, Catholic, Jewish; male or female has no bearing.

In the October 2, 1998 issue of *The Washington Blade* it was reported that on September 11 the Cook County Commission on Human Rights ordered Red Lobster to rehire the fired employee and pay \$95,000 in back pay and damages. The company was

also required to undertake a program of diversity training for employees in all its Cook County restaurants. The outcome represented some progress and sent a warning to companies about firing gay employees just because they are gay.

On Thursday, September 17, 1998 Dr. William Schulz, Amnesty International executive director, spoke at Gettysburg College. One of his statements was particularly insightful. "Tyrants hate the truth and although it [truth] won't solve the problem by itself every time, it prevails often enough to make its pursuit worthwhile." We could substitute the words bigots, narrow minded people, fag bashers, the KKK and a host of other organizations, including some church denominations, for "Tyrants." The truth is that homosexuals *are* human beings who have a regular life beyond the bedroom, as each heterosexual does. But heterosexuals are quick to condemn purely on the basis of sexual activity. Are heterosexuals measured professionally by their sexual activity? Think about it!

One example of an individual brave enough to tell the truth was Howard Brown, New York City Health Commissioner. He came out publicly as a homosexual in 1973 at a major gathering of health professionals. He was a respected member of the New York City health care community and city government. His statement shocked the health care community and the politicians. But he felt obligated to reveal his homosexuality to counter the ideas that gay men are recruiters, child molesters, unhappy, sick, amoral individuals. He said in his lifetime he had known many gay physicians, lawyers, pastors, priests, professional people of all kinds. I would concur with his observations. Gays and lesbians are, have been, and will be in every profession, occupation, walk of life in every country.

Think where the world would be without the music of Tchaikovsky, Benjamin Britten, Leonard Bernstein, Cole Porter, Liberace, the poetry of Edna St. Vincent Millay and Walt Whitman, movie stars Rudolph Valentino, Marlene Dietrich and Rock Hudson, the plays of Lorraine Hansberry and Tennessee Williams, or the art of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Thomas Eakins and Georgia O'Keeffe, the philosophy of Socrates.

Bigotry needs to be confronted. After a speech at Kent State University in 1974, a newspaper reporter interviewed Brown and started the interview "as a queer or faggot, would you say that..." Brown stopped him

mid sentence. "If you interviewed blacks would you begin by saying: 'As a coon or nigger....'" The reporter got the picture. There is no excuse for such pejorative language and until all of us, gay or straight, confront those kinds of statements, they will continue.

Fortunately there have been prominent people who have stood up for gays. In 1994 Barry Goldwater endorsed the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), a bill pending in Congress that would ban employment discrimination based on a person's sexual orientation. "It's time America realized that there was no Gay exemption in the right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' in the Declaration of Independence," he wrote in a July 1994 opinion column in the *Washington Post* "Job discrimination against Gays—or anybody else—is contrary to each of those founding principles." Cheers for Barry! The Pledge of Allegiance states "...with liberty and justice for all" it does not say with liberty and justice for all except gays. Former Colorado Congresswoman Pat Schroeder put it very well when she said "What part of 'all' don't you understand?"

There has been progress with gays being included in non-discrimination statements and in city ordinances barring discrimination in employment and housing. But when we get Senator Trent Lott this summer likening homosexuality to alcoholism and kleptomania. There is a backlash from the Christian Coalition and other conservative groups and individuals. Ross Perot, in April of 1998, revoked partnership benefits for gays at his Dallas computer-services company. The most glaring statistics are that anti-gay bias crimes increased 7% in 1997 while the overall crime rate dropped 4%. Despite the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, discharges of gay service men and women increased 67% from 1994 to 1997. In February, 1998, Maine became the first state in the Union to reverse a statewide gay-rights law prohibiting housing and employment discrimination. Working to get the gay-rights law revoked, the Christian Civic League avoided attacking gays for seeking "special rights" and focused on morality. They talked much more about how gay people were a threat to their children and were going to take over the Boy Scouts.

There are several organizations bent on converting gays to the majority heterosexual

Please see "Rights," page 35

What is the real significance of the Helsinki Accord?

Gerald Ford and the Helsinki Accord— an Appraisal

by Robert Trost



About the Author

Robert Trost is a graduate of the University of Michigan and also holds a master of arts degree in political science from that institution. He was an officer in the U.S. Air Force and was a fund raiser for the University and a Grand Rapids hospital before joining *The Grand Rapids Press* as an editorial writer. He retired in 1998 after serving 25 years in editorial capacities in various departments of that paper.

This paper was presented to the Torch Club of Grand Rapids on March 12, 1996 at the University Club and to the Detroit/Windsor Torch Club November 10, 1999.

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In his amusing and deliberately mistitled “historical” novel, “Memories of the Ford Administration,” John Updike devotes his book nearly in its entirety to, of all things, the trial and tribulations of James Buchanan, our nation’s maligned 15th president, and to the amorous fantasies and exploits of a history professor at a two year women’s college in New Hampshire.

The book’s title notwithstanding, Gerald Ford is sadly shortchanged. In reflecting on the White House years of Grand Rapids’ adopted favorite son, author Updike’s main character, Professor Alfred Clayton, observes that Mr. Ford “is the only non-assassinated president whose name ends with ‘d,’ the only Nebraska native and Michigan politician to attain the office, and the only skier.” As to President Ford’s foreign policy, the Wayward College faculty member sums matters up with the observation that “Ford was doing everything right—he got the Mayaquez back from the Cambodians, evacuated from Vietnam our embassy staff and hangers

on...(and) went to Helsinki to meet Brezhnev and sign some peaceable accords...” So much, then, for the history professor’s impressions of the Ford White House.

In a serious vein, let us flesh out this sparse and clearly comical summary by examining and appraising, in some depth, Gerald Ford and the Helsinki Accord. First, however, it is important to recall the times.

Gerald Rudolph Ford took the oath of office as the 38th president of the United States on August 9, 1974. He assumed his duties at one of the most difficult moments in the nation’s then-185 year history. His predecessor, Richard Nixon, had resigned in disgrace, and Americans were divided deeply by the events that had led to the installation of the country’s first non-elected chief executive.

Including a lame-duck period of 10 weeks that followed his election defeat in November 1976, Mr. Ford served as president for just over 29 months. The tenures of only four of our 42 presidents have been briefer: William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, James Garfield and Warren G. Harding. All died in office.

Less than two-and-one-half years is a relatively short time to establish a foreign policy record of great significance. This is especially true when the president must direct his attention toward rectifying a domestic economy in disarray. Bear in mind that not many months after he entered the Oval Office, both the inflation rate and prime interest rate rose to between 12 percent and 13 percent, the highest in the post-World War II period; and in early 1975 the nation settled into the deepest recession since the Great Depression. At home Mr. Ford had his hands full.

Given the times, however, it is no surprise that matters of substance on the international level confronted President Ford. It is this particular aspect of his stay in the White House that I wish to appraise.

Before doing so, please understand that I have nothing but respect for Mr. Ford and

admire his commitment to public service. I worked on his congressional campaigns in the late 1960s and chaired the 1971 Kent County Lincoln Day Dinner at Welsh auditorium. Only weeks after joining *The Grand Rapids Press* almost 23 years ago, I interviewed the minority leader at lunch in the House dining room and, as an editorial writer and occasional columnist in his hometown, covered the Ford presidency. From time to time since Mr. Ford retired to California in 1977, I have talked with him by telephone. Surely, abundant thanks are owed Jerry Ford by the nation, but the reason is not his foreign policy.

With that said, I now focus specifically on Mr. Ford’s role bearing on the Helsinki Accord. Events in other corners of the globe occupied Mr. Ford’s attention—the Middle East, arms control, Vietnam, Cambodia and Angola. But Helsinki, although belatedly, is cited by President Ford as the administration’s most enduring foreign accomplishment.

In assessing this assertion—a claim you should be told I do not embrace—it is important to understand that upon occupying the White House Mr. Ford “inherited” not only a secretary of state but a national security adviser in the person of Henry Kissinger. The former Harvard University professor, who had served in both capacities under Mr. Nixon, prided himself on being an advocate of real *politik* and, as a consequence, was an unyielding champion of *detente* with the U.S.S.R.—the world’s other super power.

In no small measure, Mr. Ford’s foreign policy was shaped by the advice of Mr. Kissinger. After all, the 13-term Republican congressman from Michigan’s old Fifth District, who served for 11 years as minority leader of the House of Representatives, acknowledged readily that his experience in foreign affairs was limited. He regarded his strength as domestic policy—particularly budget matters. In dealing with concerns abroad, he needed help. It is no accident,

therefore, that among his very first appointments was that of Mr. Kissinger to continue overseeing Foggy Bottom and national security matters. He would serve in the latter capacity for 15 months whereupon General Brent Scowcroft succeeded him.

Against this background, let us turn our attention to the Helsinki Accord.

It was in late July 1975 that 35 heads of state gathered in Helsinki, Finland, to sign on August 1, a 30,000-word declaration promoting East-West cooperation and the free movement of people and ideas. With their signatures, the participants indicated their belief in the need to exert efforts to make *detente* both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope. Most certainly, *detente* was the core of the Helsinki Accord which covered three key areas or baskets as they were called: security, economic cooperation and humanitarian cooperation. The third basket held three issues: human rights, freedom of movement and exchange of ideas.

At the time of the signing, President Ford said that “although the outcome of this Helsinki conference remains to be tested...it is at least a step forward.” This optimistic outlook, however, was not universally shared within the White House.

John J. Casserly, author of *The Ford White House: The Diary of a Speechwriter*, attended a senior staff meeting on July 23, 1975, and noted that one of the two “hot issues” that arose was Helsinki. He speaks of “Mr. Ford’s intention to attend the European Security Conference in Helsinki shortly to sign a statement that virtually endorses Soviet control of European Europe.” He writes in the same entry that Jerry Jones, the staff secretary, observed “that the document is ‘worthless’ since it is not legal and will not be registered with the United Nations...The agreement says, in effect, that the West recognizes Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and receives in return ‘concessions’ from the Russians such as less tension over West Berlin, prior notice on large troop movements, more humanitarian contacts, freer flow of information and the like.”

In Ron Nessen’s 367-page book from which I already have quoted, only one reference to Helsinki is included, and that has to do with Mr. Ford’s misstatement in the second televised debate with Jimmy Carter about Poland not being dominated by the U.S.S.R.

This apparent lack of enthusiasm for the Helsinki Accord as an important instrument of foreign policy may be explained in light of the so-called “Sonnenfeldt doctrine.” A senior aide to Mr. Kissinger, Helmut Sonnenfeldt had been quoted in a news story as advocating that the United States accommodate to the fact that Eastern Europe was a Russian sphere of influence.

Parenthetically, 15 years later when communism was crumbling in the satellite states, Mr. Kissinger seemed to confirm this view at a critical juncture early in the Bush administration when he undertook what was called the “Kissinger initiative”—an ill-advised approach to Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev urging that the two superpowers negotiate the future of Eastern Europe. Although it may not have been the former secretary of state’s intention to sanction the Soviet grip on Eastern Europe, Jack F. Matlock, Jr., former U.S. ambassador to the U.S.S.R., has written there was deep concern in the State Department that his proposal would do just that and, in the process, have a chilling effect on “nationalists” in those countries. Fortunately, Secretary of State James Baker eventually decided against pursuing such talks. But this is getting ahead of events.

Without a doubt, the most vocal and visible champion of the Helsinki provisions was Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. “Why?” one is prompted to ask. Helmut Schmidt, former chancellor of West Germany, noted that many Western observers were puzzled by the Soviet policy of *delente*.

In his book titled *Helmut Schmidt: Men and Powers*, Schmidt in 1987 writes: “I never doubted Brezhnev’s concern with the possibility of war; there was no denying his love of peace.” Then, Herr Schmidt sets forth these reasons to explain why Mr. Brezhnev embraced Helsinki:

- While longing for peace, Secretary Brezhnev’s feeling was countered by the equally obvious desire to consolidate the empire won in the Second World War and the following 25 years, as well as Soviet sovereignty over the eastern part of Central Europe, and to achieve its recognition by the West. Moscow sought to stabilize the partition of the world into Soviet and American spheres of influence.
- Strategic parity with the United States had in fact been achieved: Moscow was now eager for Washington officially to

acknowledge this state of affairs to the world. This was also a motive to the internal politics of Greater Russia, and was surely essential to restoring consensus with the Politburo.

- Those members of the Politburo, headed by Alexei Kosygin, who were responsible for the Soviet economy may have been influenced by the idea that an arrangement with the West could furnish the Soviet Union with breathing space in which the nonmilitary part of the domestic economy, which had been constrained by the forced arms buildup, could flourish. Much later, under Mikhail Gorbachev, a successor to Secretary Brezhnev, the economic motive took on much greater importance.

The insights of Herr Schmidt, who was a signatory to the Helsinki Accord, also are instructive in explaining West Germany’s acquiescence in this matter. Thirty years after Yalta and seven years after imposition of the Brezhnev doctrine to crush aspirations toward democracy in Czechoslovakia, there was a grudging resignation in Bonn to living with the division of Germany and, for that matter, other realities of the *status quo* behind the Iron Curtain. In 1987, two years before the Berlin Wall fell, the chancellor writes:

“Germany, as the instigator and loser of the Second World War, had had no choice but to accept the partition, under which it had been suffering for 40 years; for the sake of peace, the Germans had also made the boundaries forced on them the subject of nonaggression pacts. In a different way, the Poles too, suffer from the partition of Europe, which made them subject to Soviet sovereignty; they have also been forced to cede large tracts of their country to the Soviet Union.”

Herr Schmidt remarks further: “The idea of a ‘rollback’ was shown to be unworkable in 1953 in East Germany, in 1956 in Hungary and in 1968 in Czechoslovakia because, thank God!, it was not backed by any American contingency plan to run the risk of war with the Soviet Union. Nothing indicates that tomorrow the situation will be any different.”

Twelve years after Helsinki, Herr Schmidt looked to the future under Mikhail Gorbachev, who became general secretary in March 1985. He writes in *Men and Powers*: “It seems to me inadvisable to base our own policies on the theory that Russian-Soviet expansionism will cease. In any case

we will have to keep alive the possibility that one day Brezhnev's strategy will be revived, though perhaps by other means."

While noting that the Brezhnev-Gromyko arms control diplomacy was undergoing significant changes, Herr Schmidt could not dismiss the reality that the Brezhnev doctrine, limiting sovereignty of nations in the Socialist camp, was used to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakia; forced arms buildups; political, military and economic extension in the Middle East, into East, Southeast and West Africa, into Afghanistan and into Nicaragua.

Surveying the landscape of post-Helsinki Europe in 1987, Herr Schmidt certainly was not sanguine about unification of his divided Germany. The hope that East and West Germans would someday live under one roof had not been abandoned "even though," he added, "we were aware that such a day lies in a far distant, unforeseeable future..." Like the West's intelligence agencies, Herr Schmidt was unaware of the momentous changes that soon would occur behind the Iron Curtain.

A third perspective, that of the U.S.S.R., is essential to any understanding of the Helsinki Accord. An insider's look is furnished by Anatoly Dobrynin in his book titled *In Confidence*, published in 1995. Mr. Dobrynin was the Soviet ambassador throughout the tenures of six American presidents starting with John Kennedy.

He writes of the Helsinki Accord: "From the very onset of negotiations, the Soviet leadership was interested only in the first two baskets and laid principal stress on recognition of the postwar boundaries of Europe dividing it into East and West. At the same time the Soviet Union did all it could to diminish the significance of the third basket, for it still believed humanitarian issues to be domestic issues."

Ambassador Dobrynin notes that as the Helsinki signing date approached there was heated debate in the Politburo over possible domestic consequences were basket three taken seriously in the Communist states. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was the primary defender of the agreement that his ministry had worked out, and eventually his compromise viewpoint prevailed.

Mr. Gromyko, the quintessential Cold War patriot, argued, Ambassador Dobrynin writes, "that the main goal for the Soviet Union for many years had been the general recognition of the postwar boundaries and the existing political map of Europe, which

would amount to a major political and propaganda victory for Moscow. Furthermore, the second basket would open up prospects for economic cooperation with the West."

The ambassador continues: "As for putting the humanitarian commitments into force, Gromyko argued that would still be up to the Soviet government, and it alone would decide what did and did not constitute interference in our domestic affairs. 'We are masters in our own house,' Gromyko said. The majority of the Politburo bought the argument. Thus, from the start, the Politburo's acceptance of the Helsinki humanitarian principles implied some noncompliance."

Mr. Gromyko was supported by General Secretary Brezhnev, and his role was decisive. Mr. Dobrynin relates that Mr. Brezhnev's principal personal motive was his ambitious desire to participate in signing important international acts before such a broad, representative forum as the Helsinki Conference. "As to the humanitarian issues," the ambassador writes, "these could be mentioned at home just vaguely, without much publicity. He thought this would not bring much trouble inside our country."

But Secretary Brezhnev was wrong, Mr. Dobrynin writes. The Helsinki Final Act's "ultimate reality was that it played a significant role in bringing about the long and difficult process of liberation inside the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe. This in the end caused the fundamental changes in all these countries that helped end the Cold War."

Ambassador Dobrynin's position on this subject is one that President Ford's boosters eagerly uphold. Given the criticism heaped upon Mr. Ford for abandoning the people of Central and Eastern Europe at the time of the Helsinki signing, this is no surprise.

Stanley P. Wronski, a professor emeritus of social science and education at Michigan State University, referred to Helsinki as "the most under-reported achievement of the Ford administration and Ford policy." Speaking in Grand Rapids in June 1995 when Gerald Ford was named the first recipient of the Arthur H. Vandenberg Award, Mr. Wronski likened Helsinki to a "Trojan horse" that the eastern bloc unwittingly dragged behind the Iron Curtain, helping to deliver "a death blow" to communism.

There is no denying the dramatic political changes that have transformed

Europe since 1975. But I would submit factors other than Helsinki played a much greater role in the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the subsequent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, climaxed by the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. At best I consider as tenuous any cause and effect relationship between these events and the Helsinki Accord.

Please remember that the Helsinki Declaration was non-binding, enjoyed no legal status as a treaty and left open from the United States' point of view the future of the Baltic states. Even so, its major thrust was to affirm the European boundaries that emerged with the conclusion of World War II, including the division of Germany, - boundaries that could be altered only through peaceful means. These understandings, these beliefs, were held not only by General Secretary Brezhnev and Chancellor Schmidt but by officials in the Ford administration. By formally endorsing these spheres of influence, the chance of miscalculation that might lead to nuclear war between the superpowers would be reduced—a major goal of Secretary of State Kissinger's *detente* crusade.

Western leaders recognized that people living behind the Iron Curtain, among them those on the other side of the Berlin Wall, were consigned to a dismal fate that deprived them of self-determination and legitimized absorption by the U.S.S.R. But the Accord promised a significant reduction in potential East-West flash points. This was Helsinki's *quid pro quo*.

At the same time, General Secretary Brezhnev viewed Helsinki's general conclusion to be this: "No one should try to dictate to other peoples, on the basis of foreign policy considerations of one kind or another, the manner in which they ought to manage their internal affairs." Implicit in this statement is Mr. Brezhnev's understanding that many of the Helsinki principles had long ago been incorporated in the charters governing the Communist nation states with few, if any, adverse domestic consequences for the party power structure. Let us not forget that Josef Stalin spoke of the 1936 Soviet constitution as "the most democratic constitution in the world." Then again, with that document in force, he presided over the systematic liquidation of an estimated 16 million to 20 million Soviet citizens.

The Helsinki critics were numerous and by no means limited to Ronald Reagan, Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson and others

who aspired to Mr. Ford's job in 1976. One such person was Alexander Solzhenitsyn who declared in July 1975 that the conference was "a betrayal of Eastern Europe."

Incidentally, I disagree strongly with President Ford who, Mr. Nessen reports, characterized the Russian patriot as "'a goddamn horse's ass'...who wanted to visit the White House primarily to publicize his books and drum up lecture dates." Such a shallow outlook not only misreads history but constitutes a grievous disservice to the Russian writer who, at great personal risk and sacrifice, did much to expose the shamelessly immoral Soviet system—a significant factor too readily overlooked by Americans.

At about this time, I recall commenting editorially in The Grand Rapids Press that "signing the Helsinki Accord was far different from having one's name appear on the Declaration of Independence." After all, it is no accident that the Final Act, or Accord, was the product of what was called the Conference on *Security* (my emphasis) and Cooperation in Europe—its major objective being to reinforce the *status quo*.

To this day I cannot help but question Mr. Ford's enthusiastic acceptance of Helsinki, for it seemed just another sop by Henry Kissinger to the Soviet Union in the secretary of state's obsessive quest for *detente*, even if a consequence was the continued enslavement of millions in the "satellite" nations. One may be certain that if there existed the remotest prospect that the Helsinki Accord would bring down the Berlin Wall and with it the Soviet empire, Secretary Brezhnev would not have been a party to the document, let alone advocated so forcefully its promulgation.

Berlin's Brandenburg Gate burst open on December 22, 1989, not because the Helsinki signers entered into a covenant to respect "fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief," but because the Marxist system was corrupt, ruthless and stifling, an "ethical abyss," as Chancellor Schmidt has described it, or, in President Reagan's memorable phrase, an "evil empire."

Then too, 10 years earlier, there began the U.S.S.R.'s disastrous military adventure in Afghanistan (proof that the Brezhnev doctrine lived on!). This divisive, draining, deadly conflict would prove to be the Soviet Union's Vietnam as battle casualties mounted and the Kremlin's leadership was discredited. Then, after the deaths in rapid

order of General Secretary Brezhnev in November 1982, General Secretary Yuri Andropov in February 1984 and General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko in March 1985, the old gang was gone. The torch was passed as Mikhail Gorbachev appeared on the scene with his messages of *perestroika* (reform; indeed, "revolution from above") and *glasnost* (openness), along with his lieutenant and eventual arch-foe, the popular, if unpredictable, Boris Yeltsin. And never quite out of the minds of tens of millions of Central Europeans since his elevation in 1978 to lead the Roman Catholic Church was the Polish cardinal, Karol Jozef Wojtyla, who became Pope John Paul II. His role in bringing about the downfall of communism in Europe has not been appreciated sufficiently.

Underlying all these factors at the time was an economy in continuing disorder not only in the Soviet Union but throughout much of Eastern Europe, the proletariat's stores and markets sorely deficient in quality consumer goods and agricultural products, the prospect of buying an automobile or a house remote except for the privileged class. These were the inevitable consequences of state ownership and collectivism with their arbitrary system of administered prices and disincentives to productivity. The U.S.S.R. was a totalitarian state, managed from Moscow by a Communist Party elite using the constitutional double-speak of a false ideology, that squashed freedom of expression at home through an elaborate but brutal system of secret police, jails, labor camps, "psychiatric hospitals" and internal exile while intimidating the satellite states through military occupation and economic blackmail.

Such was the legacy of communism, an "ideology (that) had purported to reveal the secret of harnessing the very tides of history" while holding out the false promise that "pure communism" was just over the horizon," as Jack F. Matlock, Jr., former U.S. ambassador to Moscow, writes in his book titled *Autopsy on an Empire*. But a workers' paradise was not to be: The grand solution of eradicating the "class struggle" that was to culminate in the withering of the state failed to materialize. Little wonder, observes career diplomat Matlock who served as President Reagan's full-time go-between with the Soviet leadership during the Gorbachev period. Commenting on the 10 years preceding 1985, he notes that "the country had witnessed an aging, self-

satisfied political leadership incapable of any originality and determined to suppress anyone with new ideas."

Published in 1995 and subtitled *The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, Mr. Matlock's book identifies Mikhail Gorbachev as the primary force in ending communism's strangle hold on the nations behind the Iron Curtain: "He was as determined to change the system as the Brezhnev clique had been to perpetuate it...If he had not subsequently set out to change the system, he might have remained in power longer than Brezhnev."

Secretary Gorbachev's boldest thrusts were to reform the Communist Party and reduce military production so that more capacity could be devoted to making civilian goods. But the latter objective could not be achieved without attaining the first.

Clearly, Mr. Gorbachev understood how challenging his task was as he wrestled to tailor to the times what he called the "developing concepts of (Vladimir) Lenin's socialism."

Paraphrasing remarks from meetings in 1987 and 1988, Ambassador Matlock recalled the secretary saying in effect that "what we are trying to do is unprecedented. We have to turn Russian history upside down. We have to teach our people to rule themselves, something they have never been permitted to do throughout our history." He acknowledged in January 1987 that this required "democratization," including "real elections" and secret ballots, and the rejection of Stalinist excesses.

In his book titled *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, Secretary Gorbachev acknowledged in 1987 the existence of a "credibility gap" of immense proportions. He writes "everything that was proclaimed from the rostrums and printed in newspapers and textbooks was put in question. Decay began on public morals; the great feeling of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction and crime were growing; and the penetration of the stereotypes of mass culture alien to us, which bred vulgarity and low tastes and brought about ideological barrenness, increased."

In urging the *perestroika* "revolution," he was especially critical of the Communist Party: "At some administrative levels there emerged a disrespect for the law and encouragement of eyewash and bribery,

servility and glorification. Working people were justly indignant at the behavior of people who, enjoying trust and responsibility, abused power, suppressed criticism, made fortunes and, in some cases, even became accomplices in—if not organizers of—criminal acts.”

To Secretary Gorbachev, this was a betrayal of Leninism that had to be reversed if “the great values of the October Revolution and the heroic struggle for socialism” were not to be trampled underfoot. But if the Helsinki Accord was the personal inspiration for what Mr. Gorbachev called this “new thinking,” my research does not indicate that he said so. Rather, his self-proclaimed purpose for *perestroika* was to reinstate and realize the principles of Lenin’s Bolshevism which he believed had been abandoned and broken by those who succeeded the founder of the Soviet state.

From the start, Mr. Gorbachev comprehended that to achieve his ambitious goals at home would require changes in Soviet foreign policy, ending the arms race with the West that his nation could not win and easing the international tensions that had caused it. These objectives suited President Reagan just fine. After all, in 1984 he had set forth his own inter-related agenda for improving relations with the U.S.S.R.: arms reduction; withdrawing from military confrontation in third world countries; building respect for human rights and raising the Iron Curtain. Without question, these first two items were of mutual interest to Washington and Moscow, and ultimately the policies guiding them converged to end the Cold War. But, as we have seen, that was not all. The Cold War’s conclusion, Mr. Matlock notes, set into motion developments that led to the other two events, the end of Communist rule in the Soviet Union and the end of the Soviet Union itself.

With clarity, first-hand knowledge and keen insights, Ambassador Matlock dissects this process from his extraordinary vantage point. His conclusion is this: “I believe the Cold War ended because, in the mid-1980s, we had the coincidence of a Western policy that combined strength and firmness with a willingness to negotiate fairly and a Soviet leadership that finally realized that the country could not go on as it had, that it had to change internally, but that it could do this only in cooperation with the outside world. Gorbachev, Reagan and America’s allies all deserve full credit for the essential roles they

played in this process. No one person could have pulled it off, and no one person did. But the scenario was written in Washington and it is doubtful that it could have been written in Moscow, even by a leader as ingenious as Mikhail Gorbachev.”

That said, Ambassador Matlock again heaps praise on Mr. Gorbachev who served as president of the U.S.S.R. as, one by one, the 15 constituent republics exercised their constitutional right and declared independence, forcing his resignation on December 25, 1991. It was, after all, the changes he insisted upon that debilitated the Communist Party after nearly 70 years as the Soviet Union’s only legal political party. “And it was he,” the author writes, “who refused to sanction the use of force to preserve the old system. Through a succession of crises, he placed the interests of the country above those of the party.”

Ambassador Matlock concludes: “And is it not fitting that the first Communist leader of the Soviet Union who put country before party was also the last Communist leader of the Soviet Union?”

Almost seven years after the nascent changes in Central and Eastern Europe that culminated in unfettering the oppressed people of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and then, on Christmas Day 1991, the Soviet Union itself, much of the world still rejoices. Again we are reminded that people will not permit themselves to be subjugated forever by a privileged minority. That would be contrary to human nature and all the instincts with which we are born.

On the grounds of the Ford Museum, a chunk of the Berlin Wall is displayed. Most certainly, there are ample and sound reasons for it to be there. It is testimony to the failure of Soviet communism and, despite its flaws, the merit of the West’s post-World War II efforts to contain and even bring down Bolshevism in Europe.

But it is exaggeration to describe the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accord as a major foundation for the Berlin Wall’s fall and other upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989-91. Any impact was peripheral. Communism’s collapse occurred in spite of Helsinki. It happened despite Mr. Kissinger.

Let me conclude by noting again that President Ford’s tenure in the White House was brief, less than 30 months. In any 20th-century administration there is an

understandable desire to establish a record in foreign policy that historians will look upon favorably. This urge assumes even greater impetus when the secretary of state is Henry Kissinger, a man, as speechwriter Casserly observed, who “is literally writing his own history,” and who “has come to see himself in essence as the ‘president’ of foreign policy...”

Fans of President Ford, among whom I number myself, should search elsewhere than Helsinki for highlights of the interval between Presidents Nixon and Carter. They need look no further than Mr. Ford’s own words that appear in the September/October 1995 issue of “Michigan Alumnus” magazine. Referring to a tribute paid him by President Carter in his 1977 Inaugural Address, Mr. Ford responds: “That’s what I hoped the historians will write about 50 years from now—that the Ford administration restored public confidence in the integrity of the White House. That the Ford administration, in a two-and-a-half-year period, truly healed most of the wounds.”

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What indeed? And it is just getting started.

What Hath Web Wrought?

by J. Allen Clopper



About the Author

Allen Clopper is an aeronautical engineer, having served 30 years in the research and development areas of Fairchild Aircraft, and retiring as Director of the Engineering Test Division.

He graduated Summa Cum Laude from the University of Findlay in Ohio, and pursued graduate work at the University of Chicago.

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Web, the word that traditionally meant the private province of a spider, has come to mean, in our times, a connection to the whole human race,

For the first time ever, the worldwide web offers at least the potential for any of God's children on this planet to quickly contact any other directly, anytime, anywhere. The weaving together of computers, fiber optics and satellites seems certain to affect more people, more lifestyles, more rapidly than any of the dramatic developments that have gone before.

Less than three lifespans ago, long distance communication was so slow that the bloody battle of New Orleans was fought in January 1815, a full three weeks after the peace treaty had been signed in the Belgian city of Ghent!

A big improvement came less than 30 years later, when Samuel Finley Breese Morse sent his famous telegraph message "What

hath God wrought?" on a wire newly strung from Baltimore to Washington. Messages could then come and go in minutes, instead of days or weeks, though only in dot-dash code and where there were wires. Then, Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone, in 1875, extended the long-distance link by wire into private homes and offices, needing no other skills than ringing a bell and talking. By the end of the century, Marconi had flashed a signal through the "ether" across the Atlantic, opening the way to the use of radio. Hitherto isolated individuals began to be in touch—at first ships in distress, or outposts in the back country. Then ordinary citizens began to enjoy listening at

home to Lowell Thomas on the evening news, or Amos and Andy, or Herbert Hoover's inauguration. In our day, television has connected us with each other and with the world in a manner never before imagined.

Now, we have the web. Computers with memories beyond human scale and operating speeds measured in billionth of seconds, seem likely to create truly planetary chatrooms, megamarkets, unprecedented information flow, and even political movements. We seem to be on the threshold of a mind-boggling new epoch in human interaction. An exaggeration? What follows is a layman's look at what the web may really mean.

Just What Is The Web?

For our purposes, "web" is the catch-all name for the whole computer-based array of connections and services, including the Internet, and the World Wide Web.

The Internet, once called "the information superhighway," is the international linkage of tens of thousands

of businesses, universities and research organizations, through computers, with millions of individual users. Originated in 1970 as a military network, it was opened to defense-related research centers later in the seventies. In 1993, commercial providers were given access and permitted to sell internet connections to individuals. Within months, millions of new users came on line for a fee via Compuserve, America Online, Microsoft and other access providers.



The world wide web is a service that allows computer users to quickly and easily navigate the Internet. In its original role the web enabled computer users to quickly find research material stored in other computers, across town, or on another continent. Today the web serves many and

diverse purposes, and millions of private businesses and persons have web sites of their own.

Microprocessors, the brains of the computer, now operate at speeds of more than a billion cycles a second. Microprocessor instructions move at the speed of light to memory chips. But the speed of light is only nine inches per nanosecond, so research now turns to getting faster memory access by putting the processor on the memory chip. Incredibly, processing speeds are expected to be far faster in the future. Such advanced products are needed for better graphics and multi-media applications. It is interesting that strongest demand for faster microprocessor speeds came largely from the lucrative video game market.

PC = Personal Connections

The web is already part of daily life for a great many of us, personally and professionally. There are over 20 million subscribers to America Online alone.

Keyboarders of all ages are attracted to e-mail, chat rooms, browsing, or electric commerce. Examples: A busy mom fires a quick postage-free memo to both of her sons at different colleges with a single click of a mouse. A grandparent signs on at a set time each week with six scattered grandchildren and enjoys a chat-room on the screen. Students scan the best libraries far and wide for source material, regardless of the hour of day or night. Victims of some rare disease post questions, often embarrassing to ask in person, on electronic bulletin boards, and find support groups out there like doctors waiting rooms. Some visit websites of great medical centers like CDC, Center for Disease Control. Working parents, trying to do it all, shop online in the privacy of home, at convenient websites when the kids are in bed. (Recent ad in our local newspaper supplement: Shop in your underwear! Why get dressed, bundle up the kids, scrape the windshield, fight the traffic, and try to find a parking spot at the mall? Find just what you need in our database without leaving the house.) Tracking and trading stock portfolios is a common practice, and pager programming is available to automatically beep the investor if a price limit is reached.

Word of these conveniences gets around, and the costs are falling rapidly. TV set-top units open the way to cyberspace for a couple of hundred dollars. And the convenience can travel with you. Laptop computers pop open in hotel rooms, on kitchen counters, in airport lounges—anywhere there's a dataport. When ever have so many been in touch so much?

The unparalleled freedom to communicate and interact has a downside—real personal risk exposure. An e-mail address can be open to hordes of strangers, and can be abused. There are actually some ugly risks on the vast and anonymous web. News stories continue to tell of lonely or naive women being led into deadly traps by sex predators, of children tempted by pedophile strangers, of pornography for sale or just for downloading, of frauds and false marketing schemes to ruin the unwary. There are already cases of stolen identity by hackers who can suddenly wreak havoc with your personal and financial affairs. These are clear warnings that somehow a path of personal responsibility must be found in what is almost a trackless maze of faceless human contacts.

Risk of the Cyber-markets

Business and industry already serve millions of website customers, and the growth rate is amazing. The cost of setting up and maintaining a website is small in comparison to opening a business on a physical site. Amazon quickly became what is probably the largest book store in the world; Cendant provides services in real estate, insurance, travel, discount shopping and more to over 60 million members. Many smaller businesses have found niches. Even take-out food is going online; Seattle-based Cybermeals has 11,000 restaurant subscribers and predicts over 25,000 within the next year.

Cyberspace business is not without problems, however. For example, NBC TV news on December 12, 1997 reported a New York state sting operation dealing with wine sales on the web. Minors had found out they could order wine by the case with the click of a button, and have it delivered to their door by UPS on a credit card account. The word had gotten around and the problem had gotten out of hand. Eleven wine companies were fined.

Crime takes very clever forms on the net. Hackers find ways to break in and steal not only valuable data or dollars, but even identities, as noted earlier. The stakes can be very high. The bank robber with his gun has to settle for the bundle of dollars in the drawers, but the successful hacker could transfer the corporate bank account across an ocean, and probably leave less evidence of his raid. Security on the web is spawning an industry in itself.

What About Privacy?

Success and growth of business on the net depend absolutely on privacy of transactions. This makes encryption a necessity, and an issue of great importance especially to the government and the financial services industry. More than a trillion dollars a day flows over Western Union, the Fedwire and the Chips Systems. For the private market, powerful software encryption programs can be had for as little as \$99. And the claim is made that with what is presently known about code cracking, it would take a supercomputer a billion years to decode a message with the best encryption.

That is something to think about. Money transfers that are genuine but untraceable. Anonymous, secure cash

transfers, and with them a reduction in the billions of dollars spent processing paper checks and paper credit-card chits. It seems pretty obvious that business will be increasingly attracted to the electronic mode, for economic reasons. A banking industry study estimated an average total cost of \$1.07 to process a paper check, and only about a cent for electronic transfer. Small wonder that IRS is encouraging electronic filing and the Social Security Administration is mandating electronic delivery of most of its payments. The other side of this coin is the opportunity for unethical or criminal business practices to occur behind the shield of cryptography.

In the area of personal records, special problems are being recognized, and must be addressed. Medical files are a case in point. *TIME* magazine recently reported what it called a small-scale private atrocity. A banker on Maryland's State Health Commission pulled up a computer list of cancer patients, cross-checked it against the names of his bank's customers and revoked the loans of the matches. There have been reports of discrimination in hiring because of access to medical records, and even a few because of genetic testing data in computer files. Congress has passed legislation requiring that the government tell citizens what records it keeps on them, and requiring that the information itself not be released except where required by law. But the intrusion genie is out of the bottle. Author Carole Lane sums it up: "In a few hours, sitting at my computer, beginning with no more than your name and address, I can find out what you do for a living, the names and ages of your spouse and children, what kind of car you drive, the value of your house and how much tax you pay on it."

Loss of Control at the Center?

As significant as the interpersonal aspect of the web may be, some observers think that the greatest impact may fall on our public institutions. It is well understood that controlling communications is a key to maintaining order. In any political coup the typical first move is to seize the TV station or the newspaper, and the advantage then belongs to the aggressor. An example of how the web can change such odds is already history. Several years ago when insiders in Moscow plotted to overthrow Gorbachev while he was vacationing on the Black Sea, they had him secretly put under

house arrest, and closed down the media. However, word of the unfolding coup got out and spread very rapidly on the web, networking inside Russia and abroad, and alerting the world press. This quick breach of their secrecy caused the leaders themselves to be arrested. The fate of the coup turned on a flow of information which was beyond the immediate control of anyone in power.

The web is creating virtual communities which have no geographical boundary, nor any local loyalty. They form spontaneously when browsers on the net find kindred souls and common interests. Some grow into activist networks to advance common causes. A recent example involved the so-called citizen militia groups. A standoff occurred in Montana in 1997 between police agencies and a heavily-armed local group which rejected all government authority. Within a relatively few hours, similar groups from various parts of the country were on their way to Montana for an impromptu show of solidarity. Such scattered sympathetic groups can now be reached en masse much more quickly, cheaply, and interactively than ever before. How does a government deal with hundreds of Paul Reveres on keyboards? How much power may shift to the people as horizontal communities balloon in size beyond the Million Man March or the Promise Keepers?

The web soars over jurisdictional boundaries; and carries intellectual property which customs agents and other regulators cannot see. Walter Wriston, former CEO of Citibank, in his 1992 book *The Twilight of Sovereignty*, points out that Microsoft genius Bill Gates, for example, can cross national boundaries carrying software of enormous value, but has nothing to declare at the customs desk. National governments find it harder to control the sale or transfer of critical technology beyond their borders. The transitional corporations may displace their host governments as the controller of such information flow, which will be encrypted beyond bureaucratic oversight.

The web has been described as "magnificently anti-authoritarian," and we are reminded of the "Phone Phreaks" of the seventies who defiantly used their knowledge of electronics to beat monopolistic Ma Bell out of long distance charges. Some of the same breed are today's cyberpunks. We are aware that there are also many citizens, serious, responsible, literate people, who think we do not need as

much government as we have. For them, computer technology and space-age communications may be at the threshold of creating a new kind of political force.

When the web is used for any kind of resistance to authority or control, anonymity is the key word. Cryptology can provide a shield against retaliation. Walter Wriston saw it as a key ingredient in the transfer of social and economic power from the governments to the PC-packing populace. Sameer Parekh, a leading specialist in strong cryptography says "It is essential to anyone who can't afford to leave behind a paper trail. That could be someone running an illegal gambling business or doing insider trading or distributing child pornography or arranging the details of a cocaine shipment. It could also be someone who is perfectly legitimate business operator, except that he doesn't want to pay income taxes or otherwise submit his transaction to the prying eyes of increasingly intrusive governments."

Even the normal and benign effects of untraceable traffic on the web may be revolutionary. Quoting Milton Friedman's son, Davis "As more and more business transactions are hidden from the IRS by encryption, tax revenues will decrease. This will lead to the privatization of many of the government's present functions and people will be more free to choose what services to spend their money on. They will even be free to choose what kind of money they will use. Even Alan Greenspan predicts that electronic commerce will give rise to private currencies." Ian Goldberg, an encryption expert, predicts that tax law and commercial regulations will need to change. The FBI may have to go after bombers by keeping an eye on ammonium nitrate rather than an ear on phone lines. Taxes will have to be based more on physical things like land."

Bad news, of course, for the Internal Revenue Service. And what happens to the Federal Reserve Bank's control of money supply and anti-inflation measures when more and more currency takes the form of digital blips on a satellite in the sky? How do you stop money laundering once cash is invisible? Trying to regulate cryptography has been compared with trying to cut the murder rate by regulating the sale of kitchen knives.

The Web, Trap Or Triumph?

It is interesting to wonder how different

human life will become in the long term as it is inevitably drawn into the web. Consider that American TV sets are turned on about 7 hours a day, nearly half our waking time, fifty years after they came into use. Will the new interactive partner take a bigger chunk of time, and slowly draw us away from the real world to captivate us in a virtual one? What are the implications, physical and social, of couch potatoes becoming captives of keyboards? What happens if we are free from the keyboard by voice-recognition technology, and can talk, hands free, at low cost, to friends in-country or strangers ten time zones away? Or, could it be that we are vastly overestimating how many of our fellow earthlings will ever sign on, if many of them these days will not program a VCR or confront an ATM? Is it likely that network online use will level off with only a sophisticated and elite minority as its patrons? Will privacy be a crucial program, or will smart coding give us a level of security that the cell phone and e-mail links never have? Can we expect a new level of prosperity as electronic commerce slashes the cost of doing business? (Can we, for heaven's sake, hope to end the flood of mail order catalogs?) Will the bond of local communities weaken in competition with cyberspace peer groups, and local clubs dwindle because virtual communities involve less commitment? If the web hampers legitimate government control, how does it guard against anarchy?

It is indeed interesting to wonder. We want to believe that homosapiens will harness this newest communication tool as a net positive vehicle, as it has all the others since the human tribes and tongues were scattered at that biblical tower of Babel. Log on, and hope for happy browsing in the space that web hath wrought!

Correction...

In our Spring 2000 issue, we made an error in listing an author. The correct spelling of the name of the author of "The Civilizing Alphabet" is Dominick J. Fanani and his degree is Ed.D. We deeply regret our error and offer our apologies to Dr. Fanani.

What makes a community?

The Communal Quest

by Elizabeth Reader



About the Author

The daughter of a career Naval officer, Elizabeth Reader was born in Lakewood, California and had lived in eight places by the age of twelve. She graduated from a high school in Virginia Beach, Virginia and then graduated Magna Cum Laude in 1986 from Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University with a Bachelor of Architecture degree.

She worked in several architecture firms before beginning the firm of Reader & Swartz Architects, PC in 1990 in Winchester, Virginia with her husband and business partner, Charles Swartz, AIA. The firm has won numerous design awards and their work has been published in both regional and national magazines.

This paper was presented to the Winchester, Virginia Torch Club on March 5, 1997.



I grew up in a military family. Which means I moved around a lot growing up. When people ask me where I'm from, my most honest answer is "everywhere and nowhere." My fondest memories are of the year I spent in the small town in Illinois, where my family lived six blocks from my grandparents and within thirty miles of our extended family.

My last few years living with my family prior to college were spent in Virginia Beach, which was then a relatively large city of about 250,000 residents, many of them military personnel. My impression of Virginia Beach was that it was a large, suburban sprawl, with subdivision upon subdivision of vinyl-sided houses. It really had no urban center or historic district or downtown, other than the Atlantic Avenue beachfront strip largely devoted to tourists. Not only did the tourists give the city a transient feel, but so, too, did the city's military personnel that cycled through Hampton Roads on two year stints.

Ironically, I married someone with just the opposite experience. With the exception of his college years, my husband has lived in Winchester his entire life, and so has his extended family. Moving to Winchester in 1986 was, quite frankly, a shock to me. My initial impressions of Winchester as a charming, novel place gradually changed into a phase when I felt I'd taken up residence in a fish bowl. I couldn't be anonymous anymore. I had to be careful of what I said in public because, as one friend of mine put it, "even the side-walks have ears in this town." Now that I've lived here for over ten years, I've grown to enjoy Winchester and also appreciate the fact that it has a very unique sense of community. It is unlike anywhere else I've lived.

I find the idea of community intriguing, maybe because I'm a rootless transplant. In our highly mobile, high-tech society, are more and more people feeling the sense of rootlessness, of placelessness, that I grew up with? Do people have an innate need to belong to a community, to feel part of a larger whole? Or does our strong sense of individualism constantly conflict with the need for community, which requires of us a commitment to both a physical location and to the emotional support of others? Can communities be created through thoughtful planning principles? Or do true communities need to evolve over time? Is it easier to destroy a community than to build one? And is the World Wide Web making the idea of physical community an arcane notion? Have central air conditioning, satellite television,

and our dependence on the automobile destroyed what the front porch once fostered?

Most people would define community as a "support network." Schools, churches, and community service clubs are avenues by which people meet, form friendships, and connect with one another. I think we'd all agree that these networks are important to our well-being. Some psychologists contend

that "well-connected" people live longer, healthier lives, and therefore

they advocate interconnected systems of family, friends, and community to foster a sense of connectedness and belonging.

They believe identity is partially molded through identifying with, and also incorporating the qualities of, a larger group. They propose that many people have unexplained feelings of

emptiness largely because we're social animals who must live, interact, and work within communities to feel fulfilled.¹

When *Metropolis* magazine recently surveyed architects, designers, educators, and activists about how they "define, build, seek, and strengthen" community, the respondents all agreed that community is an essential component of human life. Their consensus was that community provides "comfort, interaction, acceptance, and familiarity," and that it is founded in "participation, cooperation, and shared goals." Those who responded to the poll agreed that the concept of community is ubiquitous—it's much easier to describe how it feels than to explain how it's fostered. And most believe the concept of community has changed over time. While their parents' generation defined community as the places



where they lived or the circle of friends they played bridge with, their generation unanimously blames the mass exodus from the cities to the suburbs as the death blow to community. These respondents thought that the personal computer and the virtual world of cyberspace have changed their perceptions of community.² Perhaps their parents would say television had a similar affect on their generation.

While I think that most people generally have positive associations with the concept of community, London-based architect and critic Deyan Sudjic, in his essay entitled "The Myth of Community," takes the opposite stance. Sudjic contends that the communal order of urban organization is based on the now-defunct farming hamlet or fishing village, where the inhabitants all know one another, people don't stray far from home, and families all keep in touch. He takes issue with the presentation of community as the natural order of things, tampered with at society's peril. He scoffs that "recurring dream of community" is "the most cherished of contemporary myths," and derisively calls it a "fantasy that celebrates the corner shop, borrowing a cup of sugar from the neighbours, and all those other unimpeachable suburban virtues that range from motherhood to apple pie." He observes that, "In the same way that Ronald Reagan talked constantly about the importance he places on religion, without ever attending a regular act of worship,...so the idea of community as a desirable, but essentially abstract quality is much more powerful than its reality."

Sudjic believes that the concept of community has its origins in behavioral and anthropological studies, but that this concept fails to acknowledge the constant movement that is part of urban life. To him, the dated notion of passing down the family home to one's children is laughable, since, "the vast majority of the motivated and the ambitious are only too eager to leave [it] behind." He theorizes that, "It is only the very poor, who have no freedom, who need the security of a tight-knit community around them." Sudjic believes that when family members have the opportunity to leave their old neighborhoods behind, they do so gladly, quickly outgrowing their former acquaintances and surroundings. He calls the resulting freedom from "obligations and ties" a "liberating development," and observes that "the world retreats, for better or worse, into privacy, adopting starter

homes, personal headphones, pot noodles and portions for one."³

While I find Mr. Sudjic's opinions a bit cantankerous, I will allow him that small, close-knit communities aren't for everyone—some people *do* prefer the anonymity associated with larger metropolises. Perhaps Mr. Sudjic's definition of community is too narrow. I would argue that even those who reject the concept of belonging to a physical community have, at some point in their lives, sought out nonphysical or nontraditional communities. By nonphysical communities, I mean communities created by groups of people who are drawn to one another through the sharing of common interests or experiences.

One example of such community is the community we create when in crisis situations. For example, strangers will often form intense, short-lived bonds while in the waiting rooms of emergency or intensive-care wards, exchanging medical histories and divulging apprehensions. On a larger scale, natural disasters, like floods or hurricanes, as well as acts of terrorism, like the Oklahoma City bombing, instantly bring people together into communities of crisis. In these types of situations, people usually become extremely generous and selfless in their humanitarian efforts to aid the injured or displaced. This "sudden consciousness of our common humanity," however, usually passes once the crisis is over, sometimes leaving people sensing a loss over the intense feelings of connection that were established during the crisis.⁴

Emotionally-based communities need not be short lived, as in the case of groups like Alcoholics Anonymous. Author and psychiatrist M. Scott Peck, MD, cites Alcoholics Anonymous, or the "Fellowship of AA," as "the most successful community in this nation—probably in the whole world." Individuals only enter AA groups when in crisis, when they've realized they "can't go it alone." Even their self-described status as "recovering alcoholics," rather than "former alcoholics," implies that crisis is omnipresent, relapse is always lurking. Since the inception of AA in 1935, it has spawned similar support groups, such as Alanon, Alateen, and Overeaters Anonymous, throughout the country. Interestingly, these groups are very loosely structured—for instance, there are no dues or budgets—because the organization's founders "sensed that excessive organization is antithetical to community."⁵

Another intriguing form of nontraditional community lies in the relatively new realm of cyberspace, as people look to the Net to connect with others. Self-described "cyber-philosopher" Avital Ronell theorizes that virtual reality and cyberspace are "inscriptions of a desire whose principle symptom can be seen as the absence of community."⁶ And in an electronic document known as "The Magna Carta for the Knowledge Age," authors Alvin Toffler and Esther Dyson theorize that cyberspace "will play an important role in knitting together the diverse communities of tomorrow, facilitating the creation of 'electronic neighborhoods' bound together not by geography, but by shared interests."⁷

Are people communing on-line, where they can be anonymous, even dishonest about their identities, rather than committing to true, interpersonal relationships with their colleagues and neighbors? *Metropolis* magazine observes that "[the Net] offers what seems the ideal community—ethereal and without responsibilities." Cyberspace offers us the opportunity to explore the world without leaving home, to seek rewards without taking the associated risks. In a time rife with the fear of AIDS and violence, cyberspace romance is safer than dating. And we've all read those "Dear Abby" letters from distraught men and women who've recently discovered their spouses' on-line "cyber affairs." Thus, for many, cyberspace is not just a place to check out sports stats or air fares, but an "unlikely gateway for the soul." Professes Kevin Kelly, executive director of *Wired* magazine, the Net is "a place to go deep," a place to "experience soul-data through silicon."⁸

In his *Metropolis* magazine survey response, esteemed New York architect James Stewart Polshek declared, "When I want community, I go to work. In the office there is a diversity of gender, age, and nationality. But there also exists a shared set of values and intellectual preoccupation—a culture that defines a community." But how will the "virtual office" and the rise in the number of telecommuters affect the community of the workplace? Will it erase an important form of social contact and promote feelings of alienation? Will we soon be, as one *Metropolis* survey respondent put it, "texting instead of talking"?¹⁰

Retirement communities are one place where both physical and nonphysical types of community come together, as people of like interests or backgrounds establish a

community with physical definition. I think more often than not this joining of physical and nonphysical communities runs the risk of becoming too narrow in its focus, too exclusionary, a clique rather than a true community. The retirement community of Sun City West, built in 1978 on the outskirts of Phoenix, is an enormous housing development of about 15,000 one story houses built on cul-de-sacs. Its inhabitants are fairly homogenous—primarily white, middle class couples; thus, the makings of “instant community” are in place. Renowned Arizona architect Will Bruder, whose parents have taken up residence in Sun City, laments the fact that such places are “enclaves of escapism, taking away a valuable part of society.” He thinks this segregation is “quite detrimental, eliminating the magic of youth, the texture of working people, the challenge of dealing with changing social ethics. It’s about safe, comfortable ideas, not life as change and movement, but life laid out by careful diagram.”¹¹

Unfortunately, this “phenomenon of self segregation” has become an aspiration for many segments of society, due to the fear of crime. Mayor Richard Daley’s recent controversial proposal to “cul-de-sac” high crime neighborhoods in Chicago, in an attempt to ameliorate that city’s crime problems, is an example. And the gated communities sprouting up across the country are inciting public debate about safety versus community. Approximately eight million people now live within the 20,000 gated “communities” nationwide; a surprising fifteen percent of all new homes in the South are being built behind walls. Proponents contend that the “safety, livability and neighborliness” of these developments restore a lost sense of community, yet many are concerned that they will have the opposite effect, walling off the “haves” from the “have nots.” Edward Blakely, Dean of the School of Urban Planning and Development at the University of Southern California, believes that gated communities “will accelerate the economic and social fragmentation of the nation.” According to a recent study of gated communities conducted by the City of San Antonio, which is the U.S.’s most gated city, this economic segregation has the potential to divide the community “in ways similar to the divisions caused by racial segregation in years past.”¹²

Crisis, common interests, and self-segregation can be important catalysts for

community. The creation of a true physical community, one that is economically and socially viable and diverse, is a much more complex issue. We can all think of well-developed existing communities, but can such places be created through the application of good planning principles?

At an architecture symposium in Virginia last November, Pulitzer Prize-winning editorialist Thomas Hylton told a group of architects that many of society’s ills can be absolved by changing the way we plan our communities. Hylton asserted that “virtually every problem we have in America—crime, poverty, the degradation of our cities, the loss of farmland and forests, pollution, [and] the high cost of living—could be greatly alleviated by building real communities.” According to Hylton, a whole generation of Americans doesn’t know what a fulfilling experience living in a city or town can be. Most suburbanites think that cities are awful places to live because they’ve witnessed the results of fifty years of “senseless public and private policies, which have given every incentive for middle-class and affluent people to abandon cities instead of improving them, and which have mandated an ugly, inefficient, environmentally damaging, and socially divisive way of life known as sprawl.”¹³

Jane Jacobs was the first to diagnose these problems, these negative reactions to modern, post- World War II planning theories, in her then- controversial, 1961 book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In this pivotal work, Jacobs critically questioned modern planning principles, arguing instead for a “dense, tried- and- true vitality.” In post War suburban development, houses were placed too closely together to be considered rural, yet too scattered to be urban; streets were too wide and pointlessly winding, making navigation and walking difficult and inconvenient. The primary guiding force in many of these subdivisions was the traffic engineer, designing for the car, rather than the urban planner, designing for the pedestrian or the resident.¹⁴

Author James Howard Kunstler, in his recent book *Home From Nowhere*, is also scathingly critical of post War planning. According to Kunstler, few people realize that the “trashy and alienating environment” resulting from the post World War II migration to the suburbs is the culprit for many of our social and economic ills. He notes the loss of civic life in this exodus to the suburbs, and blames this loss on the

suburbs’ “illegalization of proximity,” with zoning mandating “large lots, acres of parking, and wide, car-friendly streets.” Kunstler labels these post war suburbs as “irredeemably ugly, shredding the fabric of urban life and slowly bankrupting the nation.” In *Home From Nowhere*, he crusades against America’s automobile-dependent “suburban crudscapes,” which he loathingly describes as “one...office park after another, pod-upon-pod of income-targeted houseburgers, strip after numbing strip of chain stores, fry pits and multiplexes.” Kunstler advocates instead a return to traditional city and town planning, a movement known as “New Urbanism,” although he fears its emerging popularity may be too late.¹⁵

The central tenets of New Urbanism state that planning “should be in the form of complete and integrated communities containing housing, shops, work places, schools, parks, and civic facilities,” and that these activities should be within walking distance of each other and public transportation. Furthermore, communities should contain a diversity of housing types for people from a wide range of economic levels and age groups. As opposed to the modern planner and traffic engineer’s approach, New Urbanist planners stress networks of streets and paths that encourage pedestrian and bicycle activity; open space in the form of squares, greens, and parks; and greenbelts and wildlife corridors that define the edges of communities and protect them from development.¹⁶ New Urbanists believe that the “disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income...loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society’s built heritage are one interrelated community-building challenge.”¹⁷

Perhaps the most well-known physical manifestation of these New Urbanism planning principles is Seaside, Florida. Located on the Florida Panhandle, facing the Gulf of Mexico in an area known locally as the “Redneck Riviera,” Seaside is a small beach community that will have only a couple thousand residents, many of them seasonal, when completed.¹⁸

Seaside’s developer was Robert Davis, who had the notion, as author Kurt Andersen puts it, to “turn his grandfather’s scrubby Gulf Coast tract into an architecturally ambitious resort community

for enlightened Southerners.”¹⁹ Davis hired Miami-based husband-and-wife architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk to design this new community. The architects approached the project by reading the theories of European architect Leon Krier, by analyzing other small towns in Florida, and by studying the vernacular architecture of the South. According to Krier, cities should be pedestrian-scaled, built-up by accretion, dense in their fabrics, and understood through visual clues.²⁰ In formulating their plan for Seaside, Duany and Plater-Zyberk deliberately avoided the tenets of modern, post War suburban development criticized by Jane Jacobs. Instead, their premise for Seaside is that eighteenth and nineteenth-century towns are wonderful, forgotten models of “urban convenience and felicity.” The Seaside model takes the “old-fashioned, densely built, small-scale, mixed-use, pro-pedestrian approach” in its attempts to become the new “American planning paradigm.”²²

Duany and Plater-Zyberk consolidated their discoveries about what makes a town viable into three documents for Seaside—an urban plan, an urban code, and an architectural code—which have been described as an “ingenious graphic formulation of the critique.”²³ Together, these three documents regulate the size, placement, materials, and basic shapes of the buildings. The urban code is a succinct, one page graphic matrix that identifies eight different building types, and specifies the proportion of each building type’s yard, porch, balcony, outbuildings, parking, and height, relative to the building type’s function. Duany and Plater-Zyberk had architectural prototypes in mind when they created these different building types, including the Charleston “single house” and the French Quarter in New Orleans. Because the architects realized that a successful town’s vitality comes, in part, from the accretion of buildings created by different designers over time, they prescribed a fairly loosely structured code, able to be used by the layman designer. They also refrained from actually designing any of the buildings themselves. Duany claims that the primary concern of Seaside’s traditional town layout and urban code are “the making of the public realm through the definition of space....help[ing] the town to exist socially and...be a viable organization.”²⁴

While Seaside has received vast amounts of accolades and press, including

a pronouncement by *Time* magazine that it’s a “downhome utopia,”²⁵ it’s not without its critics. Many people claim that picturesque Seaside is “precious, simply too perfect.” It’s been called an “exercise in nostalgia, seeking (like practically every suburb in the country) to indulge middle class America’s pastoral urges.”²⁶ While diversity was both intentionally encouraged and anticipated in the urban code, and while the town has been built slowly over the past ten to fifteen years, many see Seaside as too homogenous. It’s also been accused of being elitist, comprised primarily of second homes for those able to afford them. If these criticisms are true, then are we back to the Sun City West or gated community models of exclusivity, with people of similar economic backgrounds segregating themselves into physical communities? While I think Seaside is very successful on an architectural and urban design level, I think as a *true* community it has some shortcomings.

Alex Marshall, a staff writer on urban affairs for the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* newspaper, takes Duany and Plater-Zyberk’s latest New Urbanism project, Kentlands, in Maryland, to task in an article entitled “Suburb in Disguise.” Claims Marshall, “a grand fraud is being perpetrated in America. Across the country, developers and planners are selling repackaged subdivisions as ‘new urban’ communities. Billed as the modern equivalent of Charleston, Georgetown, and ‘Our Town’ all rolled into one, these are supposed to be places where people of all backgrounds will be magically freed from their chaotic, car-dependent lifestyles to reunite in corner cafes along civic squares and lead healthy public lives.” Marshall points out that although the virtues of a traditional city or town are attractive and desirable, they cannot be “replicated on empty land at the edge of town.” Even when cities are designed by a single hand, like the District of Columbia, they “take shape in the context of larger economic and social forces.” Marshall believes that New Urbanism, in its attempts to reproduce traditional towns, avoids the major, inherent sociological and economic issues. New Urbanism communities can’t “save us from our suburban sins” or cure the ills of sprawl, because they *are* sprawl.

Marshall points out that the New Urbanists propose building what are essentially streetcar suburbs, without the actual transportation systems that created those neighborhoods. Their best results are

places that look like Georgetown, but in actuality function like “any other subdivision built off the Beltway.” Marshall predicts the failure of developments like Kentlands because they don’t stimulate commerce within their boundaries. He concludes that New Urban communities are improvements over conventional suburbs, but is annoyed that its proponents pretend that they’re something else. As “models of urbanism,” they are “deceptive;” the issues are more complex. The subject of New Urbanism is so “beguiling, confusing, and emotional” because “whether homes have front porches has come to be an argument about how best to obtain friendship, love, community, and an end to the fragmentation that characterizes so much of American life.”²⁷

It seems as though this nebulous entity we call “community” is an issue very much in the public conscience. In our fragmented, fast-paced, cell phone society, people seem to recognize their innate longings to connect, at some level, to a larger whole—whether it be a physical community, in the form of a town, or a nonphysical community, in the form of a group of like-minded people. The basic tenets of New Urbanism—mixed use buildings designed to a more human, as opposed to vehicular, scale—seem to be a step in the right direction towards making physical community, as long as these developments don’t become elitist suburbs.

Recognizing the factors that make a community is the first step. But communities are nebulous entities—difficult to define, let alone recreate—and they are much easier destroyed than fostered. On the physical front, the highway, automobile, and suburban sprawl have all eroded communities. And televisions, personal computers, central air conditioning, and the time-consuming carpooling of kids through the suburbs have all contributed, to some extent, to the breakdown of our nonphysical communities. Are communities in trouble when places like “Mom and Pop” stores on our Main Streets close, and are supplanted by Wal-Mart Superstores? Or should we embrace growth, because without it our communities can’t retain future generations, and become economically unviable, “dying on the vine” places to escape from? If growth is necessary and unavoidable, can it occur without the destruction of community?

In a recent article for *The Washington*

Please see "Quest," page 35

Unwrapping the season of joy.

A Look at the Other Side of the Holidays

by LeRoy Aden



About the Author

LeRoy Aden is Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. He earned his B.D. at Wartburg Theological Seminary in Dubuque and his M.A. and Ph.D. at the Divinity School, the University of Chicago. He retired from the seminary in 1994 after twenty-seven years of teaching but then was called back to serve parttime for the next five years. He has co-edited four books in pastoral care and has contributed articles to many journals and to three professional dictionaries.

This paper was presented to the Torch Club of the Lehigh Valley on December 17, 1998.



Let me paint a picture for you: The snow is falling lightly to the ground. The street lights cast a luminous circle on the streets below and help you find your way toward home. The temperature is nippy, but just cold enough to hasten your walk home.

You arrive at your doorstep and when you open the door the voices of excited children greet you and the smell of your favorite dish arouses your appetite. A lazy fire is burning in the fireplace. The family dog looks up at you, but the warmth of the fire soon puts him back to sleep.

Your wife comes out of the kitchen and greets you with a relaxed hug. You are home to celebrate one of three holidays. If you are home to celebrate Christmas, which commemorates the birth of Christ, the Christmas tree is brightly decorated and the four Advent candles have been burned to different heights. If you are home to celebrate Hanukkah, an eight day festival of lights, the Menorah, with its nine candles, is polished and ready to use. If you are home to celebrate Kwanzaa, a seven-day African-American festival that emphasizes family and community unity, the *kinara*, a candle holder with three red candles, three green ones, and one black one, is sitting ready on the buffet

Whatever the celebration, excitement fills the air and you savor the moment of magic.

Does this scene sound familiar to you? If it does, it is probably a remembrance from childhood, and not something you've experienced recently. Times have changed. What we once saw, we now can see no more, for the holidays are not as magical, or for that matter as satisfying, as they once were. We have lost something along the way, and



as the holidays approach we anticipate the loss as much as we do the excitement.

Where has the magic gone? What has happened to the holidays? Tonight we ask that question. We want to take a look at the other side, the underside of this season of joy.

I think several things have happened to the holidays. The hunch I want to pursue has to do with what we bring to this season. *My hunch is that our expectations of the holidays are unrealistic and off-center.* Let me put that another way: The holidays cannot give us what we want from them, because we have shaped them to meet our needs rather than being shaped by them. It is our expectations of the holidays that exaggerates our negative experience of them.

So what are our expectations? What do we want from the holidays? I will deal with three possibilities.

First, we expect the holidays to be a reprieve from our hectic and busy life.

I think one of the chief characteristics of modern life is busyness. And I don't mean just busyness. I mean that we are busy being busy, busy finding things to do and places to go. We find meaning in busyness and

emptiness in quietness.

My wife and I have been retired for four years. We are as busy, or busier, than when we were working full-time. And I don't think we are the only retired couple who has this problem. Ask most retired people how retirement is going, and invariably the first thing they say is how busy they are. Oh, they may say that it is a different kind of busyness, partly because it involves things they want to do—but it is busyness nevertheless.

- Busyness has its own rewards, but it also has its own pitfalls. I can think of three: Busyness creates distance between people. If people are hurrying from one thing to the next, there is not much time left for genuine encounter. We have filled that empty space with interactive TV, or for our kids we have interactive toys, to bring us back in touch with others. Then again, we have "think tanks" to give us time to stop running, or we go on retreats and relish the chance to spend time together.

Meanwhile, we are on the run. An old proverb says, "The busy bee has no time for sorrow." (The Marriage of Heaven, ca. 1793). Yes, no time for sorrow—and very little time for each other.

- Busyness also creates gaps inside us. We become separated from our deeper moments, our quiet thoughts, and live on the surface of activity.

I remember an old saying from my younger years. My mother would occasionally say to me, "A quiet river runs deep." I'm sure she said this to me in my manic moments when I would not settle down, but beyond that there is a truth that we have lost. We have lost the ability to be in touch with ourselves. When was the last time that you sat quietly and contemplated the world or reflected on your life? When have you walked out into the starry night and felt both overwhelmed and connected?

- If busyness creates a distance between people and gaps within us, it also creates distance between ourselves and God. It is said that we modern folks have a spiritual hunger. I would guess that it is our busyness in part that makes us spiritually deprived.

And what do we do about it? We get ourselves busy taking courses in spirituality. We get a spiritual director who, hopefully, can slow us down enough to see the presence of God in our hectic lives.

Busy! Always busy! And then the holidays come. Surely the holidays will slow us down, will give us a reprieve from our busyness. Not so! In fact, the holidays are full of a busyness of their own. Starting the day after Thanksgiving, we get caught up in a swirl of activities in order to prepare for the holidays. And the holidays themselves may drain us, so much so that we may be glad to get them over, so we can take it a little easier.

The holidays have a busyness of their own, but there is a deeper reason why they cannot serve as a reprieve from your hyperactivity. We cannot suddenly change our stripes. If we spend eleven and one half months hurrying around, we find it very difficult, if not impossible, suddenly to lay back and take it easy. There is no way the holidays can take us by the knape of the neck and get us to relax. On the contrary, we come to the holidays hoping for relaxation, but in fact we bring to them a hectic mind-set that keeps us running at full clip.

One of the themes of both Christmas and Hanukkah is the message of deliverance. Christmas deals with our deliverance from a broken relationship with God, and Hanukkah celebrates the deliverance of the Jewish people from the plunder of Antiochus and his Syrian soldiers. The holidays can be a reminder of deliverance, but it is a misplaced hope to think that they can rescue us from our feverish activity. That is not going to happen. We are in no position to accept it, and actually it is not the intention of the holidays to deliver us from our own drivenness. We must stand still long enough to let the message of the holidays sink in. We must be quiet and hear the still small voice of our God.

We bring to the holidays a second expectation. We expect the holidays to reconnect us to the family.

In this day, members of a family may do more things with each other than families of old. Mothers are busy taking their children to school activities, and fathers are busy driving their children to sports events. With all the Little Leagues around, the running may begin when the child is what? Five or six years old? All this activity does not mean that family members are close to each other. In fact, the running may create quite a distance between them.

Our jobs, too, pull us apart. Often work is so demanding, or so stressful, that mothers or fathers can feel very separated from the family.

We expect the holidays to be a reprieve from this separation—an oasis in the midst of brokenness. Can they deliver what we hope? Maybe, but then again maybe not. At best, they may be only a temporary reprieve, a tenuous reconnection.

The greater truth is that family conflict and separation runs deeper than the present moment. The trouble lies on a systemic or even on an intergenerational level. Before I tell you what I mean by that, let me illustrate it by way of a personal story.

Several years ago when I was working at Lehigh Valley Hospital as a chaplain, I volunteered to spend Christmas Eve as a chaplain on call at the hospital. I was to respond to emergencies and various other situations that needed the service of a pastor. I thought the evening would be relatively quiet. I soon found out that things were anything but quiet. I barely finished dinner when the beeper went off. And it kept going off—all night. I think I spent a total of 15 minutes in bed. There were so many emergencies and so many other requests that I was on the go all night.

The medical staff was not surprised by the rush of requests. They got a kick out of my naivete. Someone was kind enough to explain the situation. He said, "The holidays are a time to drink and when families drink, long-term conflicts and disagreements come out. One thing leads to another and soon someone lands in the emergency room." Christmas Eve! A time for family unity? No, not necessarily. It may be a time of family conflict instead.

The problem must be seen in intergenerational terms. For one thing, it is a matter of what is called family loyalties. All of us are indebted to our families for the nurture and care that they gave us when we were children. This indebtedness yields loyalty ties, often invisible loyalty ties. I say "invisible ties" but those ties can quickly be made visible. Just have a spouse criticize, or say something derogatory about, our family, and immediately our loyalty ties come out. We defend our families, sometimes with great passion.

The holidays are a natural time for loyalty ties to express themselves. How we are going to celebrate the holidays and who we are going to celebrate the holidays with, involve deep-seated loyalty ties that may

bring long-standing conflicts to the surface.

Loyalty ties are not the only source of intergenerational conflict. An even deeper source is what is called an unbalanced ledger. All of us grew up with a sense of family justice, a sense of fairness or unfairness. Usually, the ledger is unbalanced. We may feel that we have received more from our families than we should have or that we have received less than we should have. Family therapists tell us that the latter is generally true, that most of us feel cheated of our just due, that we feel that we have received *less* from a father or a mother than we should have.

Family therapists also tell us that if we feel cheated, we may spend a lifetime trying to get our just due. We think that the world or our parents or our siblings or our spouse ought to make up for what we have not received.

The holidays are a time when unbalanced ledgers easily become an issue. Who received what, not just in the present moment of gift-giving but also in the past moment of daily living, can fuel family conflict without ever being brought up directly.

A loved one does not have to be living to be part of this conflict. Holidays also bring up memories of those who have died. Many of the memories are pleasant, and we are sad because the loved one is no longer with us. But some of the memories may open up old scars. Troubled relationships come out in the open, especially if people have been drinking, and the holidays become a time of conflict rather than a time of unity.

That is not what we plan or hope for in this season. We look forward to the holidays as a time to become reconnected and reunited with our families. We vow to be nice to grumpy Aunt Mary. We hope that Uncle Ted would not drink too much. We thought that for once the kids will be nice to each other. We are eager to gather the family together and have a good, and uncomplicated, time with each other.

The holidays do indeed give us some of those moments. But they also bring moments of tiredness and sadness and discord. The holidays can become a time of deep disappointment with the family: A married son decides to spend time with his own family; a daughter still resents the attention that her sibling gets; a father or mother feels very rejected by the family. A time of reunion and reconnection? No! The holidays become a time when family conflicts

come to the surface.

All three religious celebrations, Kwanzaa, Hanukkah, and Christmas, emphasize the gift of peace. That gift is not easy to come by. It can easily be taken away by stress and family conflict. The holidays hold out the hope, however. Unity and peace, at least for these few days. The holidays will grant us a measure of it. It is a gift that families can unwrap during this season. But it is a gift that will come in the midst of family turmoil.

We bring a third and final expectation to the holidays. We expect the holidays to give us a sense of spiritual renewal.

We are a spiritually hungry people. We struggle with the meaning of life. We try to make sense of human suffering. We find that the pursuit of materialism leaves us empty and the pursuit of happiness evades us. We don't know what to do with death and our creaturely limitations except to deny them. We are so zealous to be affirmed and accepted that we cannot say "No," either to ourselves in the form of self-discipline or to others in the name of setting boundaries. We are adrift in a world of ethical relativism where "anything that *feels* right or good" must be OK.

We are spiritually hungry. And we look to the holidays to fill us with spiritual food. Instead we often experience famine. We go through the forms or motions of our religious traditions, but end up empty-handed.

Our disappointment is exaggerated by our childhood memories. We remember what the holidays were to us as children. They were a time of anticipation and excitement, but more so they were a time when the earth was aglow with God's presence. As we lit the candles or sang the holiday music or traveled home after a religious service, we knew that God was close at hand and that "all was right with the world."

Now things are different, sometimes in a confusing way. The point is made by a story that is making the rounds on the internet.

Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson went on a camping trip. After a good meal and a bottle of wine they laid down for the night and went to sleep. Several hours later, Holmes woke up and nudged his faithful friend. "Watson, look up at the sky and tell me what you see." Watson replied, "I see millions and millions of stars." "What does that tell you?" asked Holmes.

Watson pondered for a minute and replied: "Astronomically, it tells me that there are

millions of galaxies and potentially millions of planets. Astrologically, I observe that Saturn is close to Leo. Horologically, I deduce that the time is approximately a quarter past three. Meteorologically, I suspect that we will have a beautiful day tomorrow. And theologically, I can see that God is all powerful and that we are small and insignificant."

Holmes was silent for a minute and then said, "It's elementary, Watson. It means that somebody stole our tent."

It's elementary, folks. Someone stole our holidays and wrenched the religious meaning out of them. We can point to any number of villains. We live in a secular society that is concerned only about the here and now. We live in a multicultural society where no one viewpoint defines our values. We live in the present moment and are relatively unconcerned about the hereafter. We are saturated by merchants who rob us of our holiday songs and entice us to spend more and more.

But in some sense these explanations are like Dr. Watson's explanations. It's more elementary than that. The real villain is us. Merchants are not the only ones who hope that the holidays will bring prosperity. We all do. We may not share totally in the merchants hope for a materialistic shot in the arm, but if we understand "prosperity" in a wider sense (as a general state of well-being), we all fall into the same trap. We come to the holidays with high expectations. We expect deliverance where there is busyness, peace where there is conflict, and fulfillment where there is emptiness.

The holidays cannot fulfill our expectations. They are designed to deliver us not from our busyness but from our isolation from God. They are designed to give us peace not from our family conflicts but from our fragmented and misdirected lives. And they offer us fulfillment not in the goods of this world but in a life that is lived under the will of God.

Conclusion:

So how are we to celebrate the holidays? How are we to wrestle some meaning from them?

I have no simple answers. I have seen numerous articles and some TV shows that tell us what we must do. My own church ran an adult forum in November called "Stopping the Christmas Machine."

But we are all still part of the problem. Even as we talk of togetherness during the holidays, we are busy running. Even as we

hope for peace among family members, we are still carrying the same grudges. Even as we hope to draw closer to God, we live in the mind-set of a secular, this-worldly society.

The holidays require of us a major transformation, a radical turning around.

To begin with we must see with the eyes of a child. William Wordsworth, a 19th century English poet, expresses part of our problem in a poem about recollections of early childhood. He says:

There was a time when meadow, grove,
and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Apparelled in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.
It is not now as it hath been of yore—
Turn wheresoever I may,
By night or day,
The things which I have seen I now can
see no more.

We cannot bring back the holidays of our childhood. Times have changed, and we have grown up. But we can still see with the eyes of a child, or at least we can see through the eyes of our grandchildren. There is anticipation in the air, there is magic in the coming moment, there is the nearness of God in the silence of the night. Take off the veil of adulthood and see what children see.

The rest of it is harder to come by. It is to *live by faith*—the faith of our religious tradition, the faith of our forefathers and foremothers. For the celebrant of Kwanzaa, it is the faith that liberation, peace, and justice through cultural identification and expression can be achieved. For the celebrants of Hanukkah, it is faith in God's mighty deeds of redemption whereby God delivered the strong into the hands of the weak, the arrogant into the hands of those who live by God's Law. For the celebrants of Christmas, it is faith in a God who humbled himself, taking the form of a servant and being born in human form in order to redeem His people.

If, with God's help, we can live in this faith, our world will be transformed. The snow will fall lightly on the ground. The street lights will cast a luminous circle on the streets below and help us find our way home. When we arrive and open the door, the voices of excited children will greet us and the smell of our favorite food will whet our appetite. Our spouse will approach us and embrace us with a loving hug. Excitement will fill the air, and we will be able to savor the moment of magic. Happy Holidays!

Leadership

by Patrick W. Carlton, Ph.D.



About the Author

Patrick Carlson recently retired from his position as Associate Professor of Educational Leadership at the College of Human Resources and Education at Virginia Tech. He specializes in administrative and leadership theory and has written extensively in that field. He is also a graduate of the Army War College and retired from the army reserve with the rank of colonel after 30 years of service. Before retirement, he served a tour as Acting Assistant Director for Training of the US Military History Institute. During Operation Desert Storm, he was called to active duty with the Joint Staff in Washington. He is now a Professor of Educational Leadership at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

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Leaders come in many forms, with many styles. Some find their strength in eloquence, some in judgment, some in courage.

John Gardner¹

Article Summary

This article explores the leadership achievements of Brevet Major General J.L. Chamberlain, the “hero of Little Round Top”, describing his activities as pre-war professor, Civil War leader, and post-war governor, college president and federal official. Chamberlain, a military novice at the beginning of the war, was appointed second-in-command of the 20th Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiment, in August, 1862. Quickly learning the soldier’s craft, Chamberlain was promoted to Colonel and regimental commander in June, 1863, just prior to the battle of Gettysburg. There the unit, profiting from Chamberlain’s inspired and creative leadership, is credited with preventing the extreme left flank of the Union line from being “turned” by Confederate

forces on July 2, 1863. For this feat Chamberlain later received the Medal of Honor.

Chamberlain next commanded a brigade and, near the close of the war, a division in the Fifth Corps. Desperately—it was thought mortally—wounded in June, 1864, near Petersburg, Va., he nevertheless returned from convalescence in time to participate with conspicuous bravery in the Appomattox campaign and was named to receive the surrender of a portion of Lee’s army on April 12, 1865. By orchestrating a military salute to these former enemies, Chamberlain gained military immortality and the undying gratitude of the southerners.

There follows an account of Chamberlain’s post-war activities, including his service as four term governor of Maine, President of Bowdoin College, and Surveyor of Customs for the Port of Portland, ME. His career is traced to its termination in 1914, the year of his death and burial near the Bowdoin College campus.

Throughout the article the writer compares and contrasts Major General Chamberlain’s behavior and deportment with the tenets of the Kouzes and Posner leadership model, suggesting that he intuitively applied the principles set forth therein. This model, which employs the Leadership Practices Inventory as its data gathering instrument, is composed of 5 major behavioral components: Challenge the process; Inspire a shared vision; Enable others to act; Model the way; and Encourage the heart. The author concludes that Chamberlain was both an American hero and a prototypical leader of the type who might well be emulated by those seeking to learn “the art and science of leadership.”

Leadership Theory in Summary

Management theorists have contended for many years about “nature versus nurture” in the development of leaders, with one camp taking the position that leaders are “born”—that is, imbued by nature with certain qualities that insure their emergence at the top of their professions or trades; and the other group avowing that leadership skills and

characteristics can be acquired through proper training. While no final resolution to the argument has been reached to date, it is generally accepted that Truth probably lies somewhere “between the horns of the dilemma”—a combination of the two approaches. Modern military theorists have tended to concentrate on psychological characteristics of their subjects, suggesting that it is possible to identify good leaders by their exhibition of appropriate personal qualities.²

In recent years the U.S. Army has taught budding officers and non-commissioned officers that the good leader exhibits: bearing, courage, decisiveness, endurance, initiative, integrity, judgement, justice, loyalty, tact and unselfishness.³ Presumably, erstwhile leaders are encouraged to develop and demonstrate these characteristics as they achieve successively more responsible positions within the military hierarchy.

Another approach to leadership currently enjoying considerable celebrity is predicated upon observed behavior. One such model, promulgated by Kouzes and Posner, comprises a framework composed of five sets of readily observable behaviors: Challenge the process; Inspire a shared vision; Enable others to act; Model the way; and Encourage the heart.⁴ A discussion of these five sets of practices follows.

Challenging the process refers to a leadership mind-set which involves the constant search for new opportunities to improve organizational procedures. Integral to the process is the willingness to take risks, innovate and experiment with new approaches to problem resolution. Effective leaders make their contribution through the continual recognition, support and adoption of good ideas.

Inspiring a shared vision refers to the development and communication of a coherent organizational mission, purpose, goal, or agenda for the future. Effective leaders develop a picture of a desirable future state, based upon their own inspiration and that of other organizational members, and then breathe life into that picture by, first of all, believing in the dream and, secondly,

communicating their vision through the use of passionate and vivid language. They enable others to see the exciting possibilities that lie ahead

Enabling others to act refers to the fostering of cooperation among those who must be involved in order for a project to succeed. Good leaders help their associates feel capable, strong and committed. They “empower” others by vesting them with organizational decision power, thereby demonstrating trust and confidence in the competence of these individuals. Effective leaders also enable other people to get their jobs done by facilitating, “running interference” and strengthening others in their resolve to succeed

Modeling the way has to do with acting in ways that are consistent with one’s beliefs in pursuit of the organizational mission. Effective leaders set a good example, never asking their subordinates to do those things that they are unwilling to do—or try to do—themselves. They “lead from the front.” In modern parlance, they “walk like they talk,” showing the way through personal example and competent performance.

Encouraging the heart involves the recognition of individual contributions to the organization’s mission and the urging of subordinates to continue “the good fight.” Clearly, all humans arrive at places in their lives and careers where they feel discouraged and unsure of the value of past contributions and of their potential for continued success. The effective leader “holds up the mirror” of positive personal feedback for his subordinates, celebrating their past successes and urging new efforts designed to insure further organizational progress. These leaders employ recognition to visibly and behaviorally link rewards with desired organizational performance, making sure that those whose behavior is aligned with organizational values are rewarded for their efforts.

Application of the Kouzes and Posner paradigm can yield useful insights into the nature of leaders and leadership. It is the writer’s contention that the nature of human beings has not changed significantly during the time since Joshua L. Chamberlain departed the human scene, and that many valuable lessons can be learned from analyzing his behavior as it relates to the K-P theoretical model. It should be kept in mind that Kouzes and Posner’s model is empirically based, being predicated upon observation and interviewing over an extended period of time. Thus, it tends

toward the pragmatic, rather than toward the theoretical. Perhaps surprisingly, Chamberlain’s outlook on management and leadership also tended toward the pragmatic. Far from being influenced primarily by irrelevant and high-flown notions based upon “book learning,” Chamberlain learned through study and application and by working with mentoring associates to put theory into practice, discarding those approaches which proved non-useful and carefully preserving those precepts and practices which had been successfully applied in both military and civilian settings.

As mentioned, the K-P model includes five sets of practices attributed to the most effective leaders. Each will be considered more fully in the next section of the paper.

Challenge the Process

Chamberlain was an acute observer and quick learner, one who spent much time seeking the most expeditious and efficient manner in which to achieve his daily goals. As a highly trained intellectual, he was able to conceptualize with the best thinkers of his time but developed, by mid-thirties, a practical turn of mind. Consequently, he came naturally to that openness of perspective that allowed him to accept the best of current thought while constantly seeking ways to improve on practice. He recognized that some routines are necessary to an efficient and relatively predictable operation, but also understood that, absent an appropriately questioning attitude, the “system” almost unconsciously conspires to foster a comfortable status quo. Chamberlain was attuned to the searching out of opportunities to change, grow, innovate and improve; and to experiment, take risks and to treat his mistakes as learning experiences. He developed a sharply attuned ability to scan the environment for new conditions and ideas, employing what is sometimes called “outsight.” Those practicing the process keep their eyes and ears open, constantly monitoring the environment for relevant “input” which can contribute to a clearer understanding of current operating conditions. Leaders operating under rapidly changing circumstances must seek more sources of information, spend time in direct contact with more knowledgeable people. One of the most dramatic instances of this day-to-day ability not only to innovate, but also to think quickly under extreme pressure occurred during the battle of Gettysburg on 2 July, 1863, when

Chamberlain’s 20th Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiment was assigned the mission of defending the extreme left end of the Union line on Little Round Top against the determined attacks of elements of at least two Confederate regiments. Having seen his own unit reduced to approximately 200 personnel by an hour or more of fighting, Chamberlain ordered a bayonet charge as a way of gaining the moral (psychological) ascendancy and bringing to culmination a battle that his unit was in imminent peril of losing.

Throughout the battle Chamberlain sought information, both from the oral reports of his subordinates and through the testimony of his own eyes. He was constantly moving along the line of combat, watching, assessing, and weighing the situation. Once having made his decision, he moved rapidly to put it into effect. To implement the plan, apparently formulated in a matter of minutes, Chamberlain was forced to instruct his unit officers in a complicated “wheel to the right” which would have been difficult of execution even under parade ground conditions. Amid the noise, smoke and confusion of battle it can be imagined just how hard it must have been to communicate his desires. Chamberlain successfully conceived the idea, communicated it to his subordinate company commanders under fire, and facilitated its execution, routing the enemy in his front. For that day’s work he would receive the Medal of Honor in 1893.

Kouzes and Posner’s work sheds light on Chamberlain’s success. They state:

- People who become leaders don’t always seek the challenges they face. Challenges also seek leaders.
- Opportunities to challenge the status quo and introduce change open the door to doing one’s best. Challenge is the motivating environment for excellence.
- Challenging opportunities often bring forth skills and abilities that people don’t know they have. Given opportunity and support, ordinary men and women can get extraordinary things done in organizations.⁵

Examined critically, one must conclude that Chamberlain was able, having received his assignment for the battle, to draw upon existing doctrine—both bayonet charges and “right wheels” had been used many times in the past—and to apply it in an innovative manner under stressful circumstances. To Chamberlain’s regular army superiors, Chamberlain’s behavior smacked almost of genius, as well as of extraordinary courage. Warren Bennis argues that this type behavior

demonstrates a willingness on the part of leaders to trust what Ralph Waldo Emerson called the “blessed impulse”—the hunch or vision that comes to an astute person in times of need. Bennis suggests that at such times the leader knows “in a flash” the absolutely right thing to do.⁶

Chamberlain had obviously studied his unit and knew what he could expect of them. They, in turn, had apparently taken his measure, decided they liked what they saw, and were willing implicitly to trust his judgment—even unto death. Many of the men were so in tune with their leader’s thinking that they could almost “read his mind,” thus allowing them to “anticipate the command,” in modern parlance. This is the kind of bonding that successful leaders often inspired.

Following the war Chamberlain gave many additional evidences of his willingness to challenge the process. As Governor of Maine he introduced a number of initiatives designed to attract new industry and to improve commerce and trade within the state of Maine. While President of Bowdoin College, he introduced significant curricular innovations, including a scientifically oriented program of study leading to a Bachelor of Science degree; study of the classics in translation, and student military instruction. These ideas were considered heretical at the time by various segments of the academic community.

In sum, it appears that Chamberlain had the ability to absorb large amounts of information rapidly; to quickly assess the utility thereof and to save that which was useful while discarding the rest; to draw upon these bits of data at will in the formulation of his plans of action; and, once committed, to vigorously pursue his innovative approach(es) with zeal and steely determination. It would be less than totally truthful to suggest that Chamberlain was invariably successful in his efforts at leadership, however. He made his share of mistakes during his long and eventful life.

As an example, during the assault on Rives Salient, near Petersburg, Va., on 18 June 1864, Chamberlain recovered the brigade banner dropped by his wounded flag bearer and attempted to employ it and his saber as signaling devices—part of his command and control of the developing charge. Unfortunately, the flag, along with the presence of the sword and shoulder straps of a Colonel of Infantry attracted the attention of Confederate sharpshooters. Chamberlain

was quickly shot down with a grievous and near-mortal wound—the one that resulted in his battlefield promotion to Brigadier General and in the printing of his obituary in the New York newspapers! Despite this instance and other obvious miscalculations occurring in later life, Chamberlain’s track record was sufficiently pristine that his memory as statesman, scholar, hero and leader is revered throughout the region and, more recently, within the ranks of the US Army.

Inspire a Shared Vision

Inspiring a shared vision, the second of the observed behaviors in the K-P paradigm, refers to the ability of effective leaders to conceive of a desirable future state based upon the best that circumstances will allow. Having done so, the leader is able, through eloquence, sincerity, determination, and personal zeal, to communicate his views to potential followers in a manner designed to enlist their support and assistance. Such persons are often described as “forward looking” or as having “a calling.” As Kouzes and Posner state, “...if a leader displays no passion for a cause, why should others?”

In his role as Governor of Maine, Chamberlain proposed a number of forward-looking projects based on his ideas of a desirable and prosperous future for the state. To cure the manpower shortage he proposed importing Scandinavian immigrants to augment the farming population, improving the facilities for the insane, strengthening the agricultural and mechanical college at Orono, and instituting a program of publicly financed loans to businesses and industries interested in locating in Maine. In each instance he eloquently advocated his position, explicating his vision of a brighter and more prosperous future for the state.

During the Civil War itself, Chamberlain had many opportunities to demonstrate his vision—his firm commitment to the Union cause. A number of these opportunities involving exposure to bodily harm. At Little Round Top he realized early in the fight a need to extend his lines to the left while engaged in close combat with the Confederates, then to “refuse” his left flank in order to prevent an attack from that quarter. Finally, after over an hour of combat he realized the need to stage the famous bayonet charge which earned the 20th Maine’s place in history. In all these instances he was able, under extremely unfavorable conditions, to communicate his mission/vision to his subordinate company

commanders, who quickly accepted the necessity for these actions and hastened to carry them out. In the case of the bayonet charge, the soldiers in the ranks saw the appropriateness of this move and made the charge almost “on their own.”

In later years Chamberlain embellished a reputation as a skilled and inspiring public speaker, one who always brought a useful message to the audience. Chamberlain held up the mirror of “constructive feedback” to his audiences, helping them to define themselves and their contributions to the nation. Wallace points out that “. . . there are too many testimonies from contemporary individuals and newspapers for one not to realize that between this man . . . and his audiences there passed a kind of magnetic sympathy. Normally reserved . . . Chamberlain often became impassioned before an audience . . . the General’s intellectual power, his utter sincerity, and his love of God and his fellow men invariably moved people.”⁷ His power to reduce strong men—the hardened veterans of the Union Army—to tears was legendary.

To summarize, effective leaders practice their oral and written skills, seeking always to communicate more effectively in their encounters with constituents. This is a prerequisite since, “. . . if someone is to lead us, that person must be able to stand before us and confidently express an attractive image of the future, and we must be able to believe that he or she has the ability to take us there.”⁸

Enable Others to Act

Effective leaders must “enable others to act,” to carry into effect the visions/missions/designs promulgated by the leader. In this regard Chamberlain was both successful and unsuccessful in turn. As a combat leader he was exceptionally successful in motivating his subordinates to go well beyond their conception of the possible. He accomplished this through careful training prior to the event, by on-the-spot coaching during the various actions, by providing a good role model, as will be discussed below, and by providing appropriate and judiciously applied feedback after-the-fact as a way of insuring that the appropriate behaviors he had elicited were repeated in future engagements.

He describes one instance (March, 1865) in which he came upon a soldier cowering on his hands and knees behind a stump during a sharp fire-fight near Five Forks, Va. Approaching the man and urging him to move

to the front, he was asked by the man what a single person could accomplish—"I can't stand up against all this alone"—it all seemed so hopeless and confusing to him. Chamberlain quickly assured the man that they were planning an immediate unit rally and needed brave fellows such as he to form the nucleus of the formation and that he wanted the soldier to serve as "guide center." This convinced the cowering man of his duty. "Up and out he came like a hero," Chamberlain reported, assisting materially in rebuilding the fighting team by helping with the rallying of a broken unit. Chamberlain indicated that he had helped restore the man's self-respect and confidence and that, in giving the soldier a clear sense of what was required in order to accomplish the mission, had cleared the confusion and fear from his mind.⁹ Clearly, he had empowered that individual by helping him to feel stronger, more capable and committed to the mission—stemming the tide of Confederate advance.

Chamberlain's major failures in enabling others to act came later in life. One of his most difficult experiences dealt with the implementation of military drill at Bowdoin College during his tenure as President, from 1871-83. Despite his best efforts at communication of his goal/vision, and the initial enthusiasm of the students for this novel activity, within a year the "bloom was off the rose" and the program was in trouble. After the students staged a minor demonstration against further conduct of drill, Chamberlain apparently lost patience and ordered the immediate suspension of all involved, followed by threats to expel the malefactors. While he "won the skirmish," he definitely "lost the war" in this instance. The students, along with some faculty members and many townspeople, came to view his actions as peremptory and, perhaps, as an arbitrary exercise of power. He had learned and adopted as his own the habits of command routinely employed within military circles. Applied in a military setting they were both appropriate and acceptable. Not so at Bowdoin, a liberal arts oriented college campus where vigorous and continued debate traditionally characterized the decision-making process.

Hersey and Blanchard speak of situational leadership, described as depending upon the interaction of the leader; the followers; and the situation. They state that:

"...leaders may... not be effective unless they can *adapt* their leadership style to meet

the demand of their environment. . . . If the needs and motives of . . . subordinates are different, they must be treated differently."¹⁰

Failing to adapt one's leadership style in order to address the prevailing situation, according to the situational leadership model, foredooms the efforts of the leader to failure, as illustrated by Chamberlain's difficulties and eventual resignation.

Model the Way

Modeling the way is the K-P model's fourth behavioral premise. Showing one's subordinates what is required of them, demonstrating that the leader is aware of what they are going through and that he will not ask them to do anything he is unwilling to attempt himself are central to this mode of action. The phrase "walk like you talk," which came into vogue during the Vietnam War, encapsulates this concept rather concisely. It has been pointed out that one's job provides authority, but that one's behavior earns respect. This is so because, while leaders are appraising their subordinates they, in turn, are "sizing up" their leaders. As Kouzes and Posner suggest, subordinates apply a simple test: "Does my leader practice what he preaches?" They indicate that leaders may speak with great eloquence, but that if their behavior isn't consistent with their stated beliefs, followers soon lose respect for them.

Chamberlain was masterful in his practice of this precept. He consistently "led from the front," whether it was in the learning of unfamiliar military tactics and movements, sharing the privations of the march and the camp, or assuming a forward and exposed position in time of battle. Chamberlain had fourteen horses shot from under him during Civil War, and was wounded a total of six times. He sustained a near-fatal wound at Petersburg, Va., while leading an infantry charge. Following this event he remained in convalescence for a brief time and then returned to his troops, probably too soon to suit his doctors and definitely so sore that he had to be lifted into the saddle for a time. During the Five Forks Campaign in March, 1865, he repeatedly exposed himself in an effort to provide command and control and to inspire wavering groups

In time of battle Chamberlain, like many effective Civil War leaders, seems to have concentrated so completely on the performance of his mission-related duties that he became almost totally oblivious to personal danger. MG Griffin, deeply

impressed with Chamberlain's leadership abilities and his impact upon the soldiers, commented that it was always an inspiration to watch Chamberlain dashing from flank to flank of his brigade as he managed the battle and inspired his troops by personal example.¹¹

Part of modeling the way involves breaking large and seemingly insuperable tasks down into readily understandable portions. In modern parlance this is referred to as setting objectives or, at a still more specific level, assigning tasks. Effective leaders are masters of this process which, in the final analysis, often involves convincing subordinates that they can do more than they believed possible. Peters and Austin refer to this process as "planning small."

The key to Chamberlain's success lay in personal attention and personal presence, coupled with a phenomenal ability to capture the imagination and enthusiasm of his troops—even when it involved them in activities that resulted in death or maiming. The credibility that he established with the troops did not come overnight. He worked hard at it, was tested on a number of occasions by the men themselves, and was never found wanting.

Thus, Chamberlain gained a certain moral superiority and influence within the Army of the Potomac, a situation which rendered him increasingly useful to the command structure, which was frequently willing to assign him the command of a "forlorn hope," sending him into the hottest part of a failing fight in an attempt to stabilize the line and to salvage the situation. Far from being isolated phenomena, his heroic performances came with remarkable consistency and in substantial quantities during the the Civil War.

Kouzes and Posner indicate that effective leaders: have a high degree of personal credibility; are effective in meeting job-related demands; are successful in representing their units to upper management; and have higher performing teams than less effective leaders. Clearly, Chamberlain excelled in all four areas.

Encourage the Heart

Encouraging the heart refers to those activities engaged in by leaders which help their subordinates keep hope and determination alive, raising their spirits and generally "bucking them up" in times of discouragement, despair, and frustration. Success in this area requires that the leader have a positive and buoyant outlook on life in general and on the prospects for immediate

success in particular. This perspective is communicated to the subordinates in a form of behavior sometimes called “cheerleadership,” a combination of coaching and counseling designed to “bind up the broken heart” and to lend support to those in doubt concerning their personal or professional situations.

Chamberlain was possessed of a pleasant and positive disposition. He learned early in life to engage in the practice of “encouraging the heart” and is reported to have been exceptionally well-respected and liked by the officer and enlisted personnel who served with him in the Union Army. Just prior to the battle of Gettysburg, the 20th Maine was assigned a group of around 120 soldiers from the 2nd Maine Volunteer Infantry, soldiers who had been led to believe that their term of enlistment would expire at the end of June, 1863. Through a mix-up in enlistment procedures they had been mustered for three years, rather than the two-year enlistment agreed upon by the rest of the unit. They had been informed that they would not be released and would be required to serve out the full term of their enlistment, a matter of considerable annoyance to those affected. Many of the men had expressed mutinous sentiments, and they had been marched to Chamberlain’s unit under guard Chamberlain, exercising his usual tact, civility, and genuine concern for all soldiers, assured these men that he would do what he could to have their grievances addressed on the condition that they perform their regular military duties in the meantime. Over the space of a few days Chamberlain’s quiet comments and “firm but fair” behavior convinced all but six of the “mutineers” to accept his offer, and many of these men gave a good account of themselves at Little Round Top on July 2, 1863.¹²

Following the action on March 29, 1865, on the Quaker Road, near Petersburg, VA., in which Chamberlain received additional personal wounds, he spent some time at the end of the day walking among the wounded, bringing such cheer as he could to the fallen. Pausing by Brigadier General Horatio Sickel, commander of Chamberlain’s Pennsylvania regiment, (198th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry), who was awaiting surgery, he sat down and commiserated with his subordinate. Chamberlain reports that Sickel expressed his appreciation for his commander’s solicitude by indicating that Chamberlain had “the soul of the lion and the heart of the woman.”¹³ His tendency was, obviously, to do all in his power

to uplift the spirits of those for whose welfare he was responsible.

At Appomattox, he went beyond the normal responsibilities of a commander by lending cheer and comfort to the defeated Confederate troops who laid down their weapons and flags on April 12, 1865. Chamberlain arranged a soldierly salute to these troops as they passed before their conquerors, adding a measure of dignity to what would otherwise have been, at best, a humiliating experience. He spent a portion of the day conversing with the officers and enlisted men of the Confederate Army, doing what he could to cheer them up and to provide them with hope for the future.

Following the war and for the rest of his life Chamberlain was a major spokesman for reconciliation, for bringing the sections back together again and for working in harmony.

Chamberlain appears to have felt that his mission in “encouraging the heart” should be extended to the entire nation! He and Major General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, Chamberlain’s former enemy and now lifelong friend, were among the most articulate “reconcilers” in the country, doing much to heal the bitterness engendered by four years of fratricidal combat.

Throughout his long speaking career, Chamberlain presented and emphasized the idea of altruism—of giving of oneself in support of a great cause and for one’s fellow men. In many of his speeches to Union veterans he suggested the true nobility of self-sacrifice. He further suggested that “...the consciousness of belonging...to something beyond individuality...greatens the heart to the limits of the soul’s ideal...”¹⁴ Thus, participation in events of “...great pitch and moment...”¹⁵ ennobles the individual actor and provides him with a sense of great and long-lasting personal satisfaction.

Chamberlain went to great lengths to maintain the connection between the living veterans in attendance at his talks and their comrades who had previously “crossed the river.” He often indicated that, as he gazed upon his audience “...this living and firm array melts into the vision of that other army, which *was* the Army of the Potomac ...it rises and stands before me...the ranks are full—you the living, they the immortal...that great company of heroic souls that were, and are, the Army of the Potomac.”¹⁶

His discussions of the bond between the living and the dead emphasized a continuing common relationship that transcended the experience of death. As a man of the times, he

seized upon this transcendently oriented theme and conveyed it repeatedly and effectively to his listeners. This was characteristic of the man who served in the multiple roles of leader, informal spiritual advisor and teacher in his relationship with old comrades. In his daily behavior he “encouraged the heart” abundantly.

Analysis and Reflections

In a study conducted during the 1980’s, Kouzes and Posner sought to determine the personal traits or characteristics that 2600 top-level managers ascribed to effective leaders. The list which evolved suggested that the majority admired leaders who are: Competent; Honest; Inspiring; and Forward-looking.

It is contended that Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain exhibited all these qualities in abundance. He was competent at what he did. He was honest and honorable in his dealings with superiors, peers, and subordinates—a man to count on. He was inspiring both in speech, writing and action, a person who captured the imagination and quickened the heart. Chamberlain was blessed with both good nature and good nurture. He seems to have inherited “good genes.” He certainly received excellent training, both as a youth and as a young man. He had the good fortune to be born at the “right time,” one in which there were numerous opportunities to excel—to “make a mark.”

In addition, Chamberlain determined early in life to develop within himself the ability to confront life’s challenges directly, and to perform high quality work in all his varied endeavors. He “did things right,” never compromising strongly held principles for the sake of bureaucratic advantage—and he “did the right thing,” demonstrating both intellectual acumen and “the right instincts”.

Another characteristic, commented upon by a number of writers, is the nearly palpable goodness one senses as he learns more about the man. He apparently accepted and understood that all human beings have value and that they share a universal experience—a journey that leads to a common ending. It seems likely that he would have argued that the journey, for all its trials and tribulations, is a good one, full of excitement and opportunity—and one that he would not have wished to forgo.

Chamberlain did not capture the nation’s highest offices following the Civil War, perhaps because of his constant physical afflictions, but more likely because of his

unflinching commitment to a stern code of ethics and high morality that made most politicians of the period turn away sorrowfully. Further, he was much opposed to public self-aggrandizement—a man of humble spirit. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the inscription on his gravestone in the Pine Grove Cemetery, Brunswick, ME, next to the Bowdoin College campus. The engraving on the stone includes only his name and dates of birth and death, 1828—1914. All indications of his temporal fame have been omitted.

Contemporary scholars, both military and civilian, have found Chamberlain to be both an appealing and intriguing personality.

While he was not always successful, he was always “in the game,” doing what he could to make his world a better place to live. In a symbolic sense Chamberlain exemplified those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray during the Civil War, and who returned to pick up the strands of their interrupted lives when that great conflict ended. Many, if not most, of these men probably never knew for sure just what the war had meant in “the greater scheme of things.” Fortunately, they had philosophically inclined comrades such as Chamberlain to interpret past times and events in ways that were clearly discernable.

100 years later Bruce Catton wrote poignant words that seem to characterize Chamberlain’s life and contributions, along with those of thousands of others, clad both in blue and gray.

“...these heroes of ours, who lived so long ago, and who struggled so greatly against something greater than themselves, were part of an undying procession, men who marched bravely on the undiscovered road to tomorrow; and as they marched, they marched to the sound of trumpets.”¹⁷

Notes:

¹ John Gardner, *On Leadership* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), p.5.

² General Sir Frank King, “Thoughts on Leadership,” *The Army Quarterly and Defense Journal*, Fall 1984, p. 136.

³ Ibid.

⁴ James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner, *The Leadership Challenge* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1995), p.9. Hereafter *Challenge*.

⁵ Kouzes and Posner, *Challenge*, p. 53.

⁶ Warren Bennis, *On Becoming a Leader* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1989), pp. 104-105.

⁷ Willard Wallace, *Soul of the Lion*. New York: Thomas Nelson, 1960, p.282. Hereafter *Soul*.

⁸ Kouzes and Posner, *Challenge*, p.25.

⁹ Joshua L. Chamberlain, *The Passing of The Armies* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1974), p.130. Hereafter *Passing*.

¹⁰ Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behavior*. Fifth edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988), p. 169.

¹¹ Wallace, *Soul*, p.126.

¹² John Pullen, *Twentieth Maine: A Volunteer Regiment in the Civil War* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1980), pp. 77-80.

¹³ Chamberlain, *Passing*, p.57.

¹⁴ Joshua L. Chamberlain, “Address of GEN Joshua L. Chamberlain at the Dedication of the Maine Monuments on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, October 3, 1893” (Augusta: Maine Farmers’ Almanac Press, 1895), pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ *Hamlet* 3.1.86.

¹⁶ Joshua L. Chamberlain, “The Army of the Potomac.” Address to the Organization of the Society of the Army of the Potomac (New York: n.p., 1869), p. 6.

¹⁷ Bruce Catton, *The War of 1861-1865: Virginia and the War* (Richmond: Richmond Newspapers, 1961), p. 39.

2001 Paxton Lectureship Award

The Paxton Award, created in honor and remembrance of W. Norris Paxton, past president of the International Association of Torch Clubs and editor emeritus of The Torch magazine, is given to the author of an outstanding paper presented by a Torch member at a Torch club meeting during the calendar year 2000. The winning author will receive an appropriate trophy, \$250, and paid registration fees at the 2001 annual IATC convention in Ontario, Canada. The winner will be introduced at the 2001 convention banquet where he or she (or a designated representative) delivers the paper, on June 23, 2001.

Eligibility: The author must be a member of a Torch club and the paper must have been delivered at a Torch club meeting or a regional meeting between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2000. (Note: Current officers and directors of the IATC are ineligible for this award during their terms of office.)

Procedure: Entries are to be typed (double or triple spaced). Include a cover sheet with the author’s name, address, daytime telephone number and the date and place of the presentation of the paper. All identification, including identifying references within the paper, will be masked wherever possible prior to submission to the panel of judges. Entries may be submitted at any time but the deadline for receipt is March 1, 2001. Send to Paxton Award, International Association of Torch Clubs, Inc., 749 Boush Street, Norfolk, VA 23510-1517.

Judging: The reading and judging panel is composed of five people: a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee, a member of the board of directors of the IATC, one of the last five winners of the Paxton Lecture Award, and two Torch club members selected by the IATC board of directors. Judging is based on the principles set forth in the IATC brochure “The Torch Paper.” The winner of the Paxton Award and the authors of all other entries will be notified than May 1, 2001.

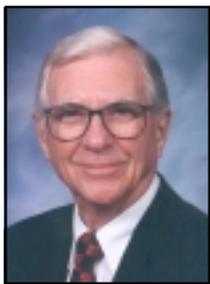
Additional Information:

- There is no limit to the number of papers submitted by any one Torch club for this award.
- A paper may be submitted by the author, by a Torch club colleague or by an officer of the Torch club. It is preferred that, however the paper is submitted, it receive the endorsement of the club as a Paxton Lecture Award submission through its officers, secretary, or the executive or program committee.
- The winning paper is to be presented at the 2001 annual convention by the author or an author-designated representative from the author’s local Torch club.
- The Paxton Lecture Award paper will be published in the Fall 2001 issue of *The Torch* magazine. Other entries will be forwarded to the Editorial Advisory Committee for review for possible publication in the magazine.

“America is beautiful/America is great/Oh, for newsmen/Who would tell it straight.”

Journalism Ethics—An Oxymoron?

by Robert P. Clark



About the Author

Robert P. Clark, a native of Vermont, graduated from Tufts University with a major in English. He subsequently earned a masters degree in journalism at the University of Missouri and was Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard University.

He began his career with the *Owensboro, Kentucky Messenger-Inquirer* in 1948. Moving to the *Louisville Courier-Journal* in 1949, he worked with Louisville papers for 30 years, serving as reporter and rising to the position of executive editor for two papers. During his tenure as managing editor and executive editor, the Louisville papers won three Pulitzer prizes and he served as a Pulitzer prize juror four times. He moved from Louisville to the *Florida Times-Union*, where he was editor for three and a half years. In addition to his work in the newspaper field, he has taught and lectured in journalism courses in several colleges and universities and been an active participant in professional societies. He was an infantry officer in the Southwest Pacific in WWII.

This paper was presented to the San Antonio Torch Club on March 12, 1998.



Is journalism ethics an oxymoron—a contradiction in terms, like a “deafening silence?” When a professor of ethics at Washington and Lee University told a friend he was writing a speech on journalism ethics, the friend said, “That will be the shortest speech you ever wrote.”

Ethics. What *is* ethics, anyway?

Aristotle and other philosophers have offered their ideas on it over the centuries. Ethics involves moral principles and values. Fairness. Right versus wrong. Do no harm. Do things that help, not hurt.

Although ethics is not easy to spell out, in specific terms, I heard a story that may or may not help:

A young man asked his father that ethics was. “Well,” said the father, “you know that

I run a hardware store with Uncle Harry. Now let’s say I’m in the store one day and a man gives me a \$20 bill for something he bought. I make a mistake and give him change for only \$10. So now I have a problem of ethics. Should I keep the extra \$10, or should I split it with Uncle Harry?”

What a time this is to be talking about ethics in journalism!

Millions of words are being written and broadcast, and put on the Internet, about some sort of relations between a White House intern and the President of the United State. And about whether people may have lied under oath about those relations, or encouraged other people to lie about them.

The media are full of those reports. Yet the media are not sure whether these things really happened or not. “Sources say” they happened.

Are journalism ethics being violated here? Is it fair to publish these things? Are the media helping—or doing harm?

Or is it possible that the media *have* no ethics?

Is it also possible that where there is so much smoke, there must be fire? If these things occurred, then it is important that we know about it, I think, despite the feeling of many that even a President’s sexual affairs are his own business not ours.

And what about the media’s habit of “ambushing” newsworthy figures and giving them no peace or privacy? I read last week that four camera crews were camped outside Monica Lewinski’s apartment in Washington, all but trapping her inside.

And what about hidden tapes and hidden cameras? What about bias in the media, and arrogance, and all those errors that go uncorrected? Are these ethical problems?

Let’s look a little further at all those unnamed sources—those shadowy folks who talk freely to the press but whose names never seem to appear.

I once had a cartoon panel, framed, on my office wall. It showed a man saying to his wife, “I was mentioned on the news today—I was referred to as a reliable source.”

Well, without unnamed sources, we wouldn’t have had the resignation of a

President, Richard Nixon. Remember Deep Throat?

But anonymous sources are a subject of much concern by journalists. There is too much anonymity in the media. It raises the question of the media’s credibility—its believability—and it may hurt innocent people.

I have a study showing that in the first six days of the Lewinski/Clinton story, only 25 percent of the statements in the national press came from sources that were identified.

This study was not done by some group hostile to the press. It was sponsored by the Committee of Concerned Journalists, a new group set up by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard. The committee is seriously concerned about the state of journalism in America and what can be done about its shortcomings.

Of course a jaundiced view of the press is nothing new.

Harold Evans is a British editor who is now editorial director of the *New York Daily News*, *Atlantic Monthly* and several other publications. He tells this story about one of his first assignments as a young reporter.

He was sent to cover a meeting of the Salvation Army, and people were asked to stand if they were ready to be received into the Lord’s care. Almost everybody stood, but Harold Evans kept his seat.

The commanding general of the Salvation Army said to Evans, “Won’t you stand for Jesus, son?” Evans replied, “I’m press.”

The general said, “But you can still be saved.”

Criticism of the press has been with us since the start of the Republic.

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in 1831 and 1832, he praised the newspapers for their important role in a democratic government. But that was also a time when newspapers regularly wrote about politicians’ sex lives—real or fictitious.

One newspaper called President Jackson’s mother a “common prostitute, brought to this country by the British soldiers.” And President Jefferson was called a fornicator.

More recently, about 75 years ago,

Walter Lippman wrote:

“There is everywhere an increasingly angry disillusionment about the press, a growing sense of being baffled and misled; and wise publishers will not pooh-pooh these omens...If publishers and authors themselves do not face the facts and attempt to deal with them, some day Congress, in a fit of temper, egged on by an outraged public opinion, will operate on the press with an axe.”

So are we now returning to the days of brickbat or sleaze journalism? We see tabloid headlines—in huge type, on Page One—like those in the *New York Post* and the *New York Daily News* one day in January. Both headlines said the same thing and both were with pictures of Monica Lewinski and Bill Clinton.

“CAUGHT IN THE ACT” was the headline in both papers. “Secret Service found them together” was under one of the headlines. Both stories, of course, relied on unnamed sources.

The story had come from ABC News, which also cited unnamed sources. Nobody knew for sure, apparently, whether the story was true or not. It was denied, as you would expect, by the White House, and this was duly reported.

There was one hopeful sign that day: *The New York Times* came close to publishing the same story, but decided at the last minute not to do so. The executive editor, Joseph Lelyveld, said, “We worked very hard on this story and in the end we weren’t sure what was true.”

You have read, no doubt—or perhaps you have read him on the Internet—about that Internet gossip Matt Drudge. He’s a guy who sits in his apartment in Los Angeles and sends anything he likes out into cyberspace. He carried the first report about Clinton and Lewinski. He doesn’t claim his stories are true; he is just passing stuff along.

Well, that’s not journalism. Journalism has something to do with the truth—at least, as Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame puts it, “the best obtainable version of the truth.”

You may wonder if there are any standards of journalism about unnamed or anonymous sources. Yes, the Statement of Principles of the American Society of Newspaper Editors says this, under a section entitled Fair Play: “Unless there is clear and pressing need to maintain confidences, sources of information should be identified.”

Also, most news organizations have their own rules, requiring a second source.

But they often feel they are against a wall. They believe the information sought is important, yet sources will not reveal themselves publicly for fear of consequence.

Bob Woodward, who with Bernstein uncovered the information that forced Richard Nixon out of the White House, says this:

“The job of journalist...is to find out what really happened. When you are reporting on inside the White House, the Supreme Court, the CIA or the Pentagon, you tell me how you’re going to get stuff on the record. Look at the good reporting out of any of those institutions—it’s not on the record.”

Those who argue against this kind of reporting say that the media’s credibility is at stake. You have to have faith in the media that brings such information to you—faith that the media at least believe the information is true.

I mentioned the Statement of Principles of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. This group adopted its first Code of Ethics in 1922, and I had a hand in revising it in 1975. It has several key points, under the headings of Responsibility, Freedom of the Press, Independence, Truth and Accuracy, Impartiality, and Fair Play.

The Society of Professional Journalists, which includes broadcast as well as newspapers, also has a code. So do the editorial writers, the sports editors, the radio and TV news directors, even food writers. They all call for high standards of journalism in their specific areas of activity.

There is no single code for journalists. And there are no enforcement provisions.

The Society of Professional Journalists, for many years, called for “actively censoring” members who broke the rules. But that provision was dropped about 10 years ago. There were two main reasons for the change. First, no one could figure out how to go about “actively censoring” someone. And second, it was feared that lawsuits might well follow any enforcement of the code.

As everyone knows, we have a free press in this country. Yes, there are libel laws protecting citizens from deliberate or reckless falsehoods. But journalists are not licensed, nor should they be. Licensing would mean that government—some arm of government—would set the standards and enforce the rules.

The Supreme Court has reportedly held that free expression and lively debate, even

if disagreeable, are absolutely essential to the functioning of a democracy.

Ethics in journalism has to be, therefore, a voluntary affair. Journalists can set standards, and they do. But that does not mean that they will always be followed, for whatever reasons—maybe lack of skill, lack of knowledge, lack of commitment, even deliberate intention not to follow someone else’s prescribed rules.

One of journalism’s most controversial areas is deception in newsgathering—misrepresentation. A reporter poses as a nurse’s aid to learn about dirty nursing homes. A reporter conceals a tape recorder to uncover possible criminal activity. Hidden cameras are used to expose filthy restaurants or an unsanitary meat-packing plant.

You probably know about Upton Sinclair. In 1904, as a young journalist, he went undercover to find filthy conditions in the Chicago meat-packing industry. He wrote a classic book about it, *The Jungle*. The situation outraged President Teddy Roosevelt and led to passage of the Food and Drug Act.

You may also recall the recent case of Food Lion, the North Carolina grocery chain. Reporters for ABC’s PrimeTime Live went undercover with hidden cameras. They reported that Food Lion was selling cheese that rats had gnawed on, fish that was washed with bleach, and moldy meat.

The company responded by suing ABC News for about \$2 billion. Food Lion’s complaint was not that the allegations were false—in fact the judge’s order to the jury was to consider them true. The complaint was that the reporters had gotten themselves hired as employees, using false information on their job applications, and then didn’t act like loyal employees: They used hidden cameras to spy on the company.

A jury was sympathetic. They found that Food Lion suffered only \$1,402 in actual damages, but they punished ABC to the tune of \$5.5 million. A federal judge later reduced the \$5.5 million in punitive damages to \$315,000.

There is certainly an ethical question here. Is deception ethical? In other words, do the ends justify the means?

Roone Arledge, president of ABC News, defended his news staff. He had this to say:

“We were following a great tradition of American journalism. [This] kind of investigative reporting was denounced by some. Yet it had produced a stream of prizes and, more important, it has helped make this

country a better place to live.”

About hidden cameras, he said, “Not one of the institutions we [have] investigated [on PrimeTime Live] would have volunteered to tell all if a reporter has shown up with a camera.”

Many journalists, on the other hand, question such methods. One poll of media leaders, by Louisiana State University, found that 85 percent rated ABC’s methods in this case either illegal or unethical.

The code of ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists has this to say: “Avoid undercover or other surreptitious methods of gathering information except when traditional open methods will not yield information vital to the public.” The code adds, “Use of such methods should be explained as part of the story.”

Professional ethicists such as Dani Elliott, who teaches college ethics, discusses four degrees of deception by journalists. The first three might be excused under some conditions, she says, but even then a reporter must reveal that he or she is a journalist before anything is published. The fourth and worst form of deception is what she calls “masquerading,” as in the Food Lion case.

Deception is wrong, Elliott says, and it damages the trust that people have in journalism. The harm it does, she says, “can only be balanced by equally great benefit.”

Most journalists agree that if there are other ways to get the same information, they should be used rather than deception. The question often is: Could it be done, with equal results, any other way?

Journalists have known for many years that their credibility is slipping. One national survey a while back found that, of all things, Americans put more confidence in their *garbage collectors* than in the press. The press was down in the middle, behind doctors and churchmen, but still ahead of the House of Representatives, law firms and the White House.

When I was with *The Courier-Journal* and *Times* in Louisville, a letter writer wrote in with this:

“An honest confession from the news media to America would read thus: We know that our responsibility is to gather the news and to relay it to the public just as it is, but instead we distort, slant, dilute, blow up and twist the news to suit our own selfish purpose...” The writer wound up with a little poem:

“America is beautiful
America is great.

Oh, for newsmen

Who would tell it straight.”

This business of press credibility has been the subject of numerous studies. Another editor and I made one of the earliest surveys on it for the Associated Press Managing Editors Association back in the 60s. And the American Society of Newspaper Editors right now is engaged in a three-year study of the subject and what can be done about it.

Another major problem for the media is conflict of interest. Can a reporter be truly impartial in his coverage if he accepts a big junket to Disney World, or even free tickets to the Symphony? What if he or she is getting \$20,000 to make a speech to the Home Builders of America—and then the Home Builders just happen to pop up making news by testifying before Congress?

In Louisville we had detailed rules of conduct to try to avoid conflict of interest, or even the appearance of it. No work of any kind—paid or volunteer—was allowed for a political organization. Journalistic work for any outside organization in the community was not allowed. No freebies—no gifts. We paid for everything we got—office space at City Hall, even the books we reviewed.

A fairly new concern in the ethical area is what I call bottom-line journalism. At least three quarters of American newspapers, and most of its broadcasters, are now in groups, or chains. And most of these groups are publicly owned—they’re on the stock market.

You know what that means: emphasis on profits, the bottom line. Newspapers and broadcast, of course, are businesses and they must be profitable if they are to stay alive. But making money is not the *chief* role of the press—or shouldn’t be. The press has a different mission—a special mission that is guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

But typically, when chains take over newspapers, they take aim at news space, at salaries, at news bureaus and travel. They push for more color, more features—things that will attract readers but not necessarily serve the needs of their communities.

The latest foray into bottom-line journalism is by a newspaper that up to now has been considered one of the best, *The Los Angeles Times*. The *Times* has a new publisher, Mark Willes, who went to Los Angeles from a cereal maker, General Mills, to be chairman and CEO of Times Mirror Company.

Soon he pushed out the publisher, the editor quit, and Willes decreed that several people from the business side of the paper would now move into the news department to help plan the paper’s content.

Willes’s argument was that the paper’s circulation was down and that a lot of newspaper advertising was now going elsewhere. He said he had no interest in lowering editorial quality or standards; he simply wanted the newspaper to be better “connected” with its readers, and he thought people from the business side could help do that.

You may wonder why a move like this has raised the hackles of news people. It is because news is supposed to be impartial—not what business interests might dictate.

A recent example of how *not* to mix the news with business occurred during the winter Olympics: CBS reporters were wearing the Nike logo—the “swoosh”—sewn into their jackets!

We see commercialism everywhere, especially in sports. But this is too much—advertising on the clothing of someone who is supposedly delivering to you untainted news. That is, of course, if you consider sports reporters to be news reporters. They should be.

Well, if the performance of the press has not won any blue ribbons lately, is anything being done about it?

Yes, there are at least three major studies under way, by the Committee of Concerned Journalists, by the Project for Excellence in Journalism and by the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

There is also great self-flagellation within the media since Clinton/Lewinski started, and much has already been published in the *American Journalism Review*, *The New York Times* and elsewhere. Journalism classes and convention segments also are full of this case and its pros and cons.

In my 39 years in the newspaper business, there has always been concern about the performance of the press, and its credibility. And a lot has happened. Codes of ethics have been written not only by national news organizations but by individual newspapers and broadcasters.

At *The Florida Times-Union* and *Jacksonville Journal*, we wrote a new code of ethics, to replace an antiquated one, and published it in the paper—so that the community could judge for itself whether we were hewing to our own standards.

Another positive step has been the appointment by newspapers of an ombudsman, or reader representative. The Louisville papers named the first one, in the 1960s. The ombudsman's job is to receive complaints about the newspaper, to relay them to the appropriate editors and to see what can be done about them.

Several attempts have also been made to set up press councils. These are panels, representing both the media and the public, to receive complaints, hold hearings, and suggest remedies or corrections. In the 1970s there was a National News Council for just that purpose. But it died for lack of financial support and, I regret to say, because of the active hostility of many editors. The editors suggested that the News Council mind its own business rather than theirs.

Press councils have been operating for many years in Great Britain, Sweden and Canada, and there is a statewide press council in Minnesota—also, last I knew, in Hawaii. I think they can be very helpful to journalism, but others don't agree.

Newspapers, particularly, are also trying more and more to correct their errors. *The New York Times* carries several corrections, in a prominent place on Page 2, almost every day. And the *Times* prints an occasional "Editor's Note," in which, on its own, it simply acknowledges that some story or other failed to meet high standards, and why.

A major part of the ethics problem, I think, is that society itself is tending to feel more like the soap operas. Sex is everywhere. It's on the Internet. It's in the movies, on TV, yes, and in the media. The world seems pretty trashy—pretty tawdry. And if the media are a mirror of society, there will be some trash in the media too.

The mainstream press does seem to become more like the supermarket tabloids. Indeed the tabloids sometimes set the pace, breaking stories—often by paying for them—that the mainstream press can't quite ignore.

I read an interesting piece, by the way,

.....
"Profits," from page 7

I suppose that the wake-up call that we got about the real costs to us of Nuclear Power has sobered the aspirations of power companies for windfall profits like those generated over the past decades. I did note a small item in the *Wall Street Journal* the other day, commenting that it was becoming difficult to recruit chief executives for electric power companies these days.

about how people respond when they answer survey questions about sex in the news. A CBS poll found that 44 percent of people said they were either fascinated or mildly interested in news stories about Clinton's sex life. Fifty percent said they were not interested at all.

But when the same people were asked how they thought *other* people felt, a whopping 74 percent said oh yes, other people were either fascinated or mildly interested in the President's sex life.

A polling expert at the University of Chicago put those results this way, "The average person believes he is a better person than the average person."

So yes, the press is often obnoxious, full of news that you may wish weren't there, often failing to follow its own rules. Yet where would we be without the media? Would we know anything about what is taking place in Washington, in the world, in our own hometown?

It would be tempting to throw up one's hands and say yes, journalism ethics is an oxymoron. But I can't say that.

There are too many codes, too many thoughtful journalists, too many good newspapers and broadcasters whose aim in life is to inform the public in an honest way about what they need to know in order to be good citizens. And there are the constant efforts to study journalism's problems and to seek improvement.

The press today is a far cry from the "yellow journalism" of the 1800s. The typical journalist wants to practice good journalism. The younger ones were inspired by Watergate, and they hope to share in the improvement of society. All serious journalists feel that they have an important calling.

The newspapers I worked for in Louisville were distinguished papers. They were owned by the Bingham family, whom you may have read about. One of the best books about the family is *House of Dreams*,

.....
Stock option incentives and the drive to increase investments within the utility industry will not go away. What will be their next opportunity for increasing investment? Try underground distribution systems. Wouldn't that be nice! No power lines lacing the highways or looping through back yards. No power outages when drunk drivers lop off a pole. Winter storm and hurricane proof uninterrupted power. Just think of the P.R. values of such a proposal. It

written by Marie Brenner, whose hometown is San Antonio.

An early publisher of those papers was Judge Robert W. Bingham, and one of his thoughts on journalism was engraved over the elevator doors in the lobby of the building. I looked at it most every day and it has not left my memory. Here is what it said, and still says:

"I have always regarded the newspapers owned by me as a public trust, and have endeavored so to conduct them as to render the greatest public service."

I am also reminded of that famous editorial written by Francis P. Church in the *New York Sun* in 1897. He was replying to an 8-year-old girl who write in, "Some of my little friends say there is no Santa Claus. Papa says 'If you see it in the *Sun* it's so.' Please tell me the truth, is there a Santa Claus?"

To which Church replied, in part:

"Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus. He exists as certainly as love and generosity and devotion exist..."

"Not believe in Santa Claus! You might as well not believe in fairies...Nobody sees Santa Claus, but that is no sign there is no Santa Claus."

And so I say...No ethics in journalism? It exists. Too often, I fear, it may not be seen. The latest unpleasantness has covered it up.

The Internet, the tabloids, the speed of today's communications, the huge volume of news today, the infighting of political forces and their leaking like Niagara Falls, and, yes, the pressures of competition have combined to throw a mask over the ethics of journalism.

I do think that most journalists take their codes of conduct seriously, even though they may often miss the mark. And the self-examination that is already well under way is a hopeful sign.

Who knows? To recall the words of that commanding general of the Salvation Army, journalism may still be saved.

.....
doesn't cost much to dig a trench does it? Don't bet on it. The actual costs will be several times what the preliminary estimates will be. Guess who will pay that bill!

The Laws were there and the Profits were made. As the old bar-room ballad says, "Its always the woman (in this case, rate payer) who pays!"

"Quest," from page 21

Post Magazine, writer Eugene Robinson analyzed what makes his Arlington, Virginia neighborhood "decide to be a community." Robinson concludes that the answer lies in a series of "fractal" decisions, in the "accretion of decisions." He describes a "cascade of decisions, past and present, thousands upon thousands of them, that together tend to reinforce the ties that bind the place together." He explains that these decisions can be big decisions, like deciding on the location of a freeway, or small, individual decisions, like a neighborhood deciding to have a block party; a handyman deciding to patronize the local hardware store instead of driving out to Hechinger's; a successful neighbor deciding to renovate his house rather than build a new one elsewhere.²⁸

Robinson's theory is an interesting one, a nonsimplistic one, one that confirms our suspicions that community is a tenuous condition. And it puts the onus on us, as individuals, to make sensitive, day-to-day decisions, because these incremental decisions are more than the sum of their parts.

1 *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, Tipton: Harper &

"Rights," from page 9

orientation. They are part of what is known as the "ex-gay movement." One of them, Transformation Ministries is a branch of Exodus International, a non-denominational Christian fellowship dedicated to helping homosexuals change their orientation. Based on a literalist reading of Scripture and a discredited theory of childhood development, Exodus was until recently one of the better-kept secrets in the American church. On July 13, 1998, in conjunction with conservative groups like the Christian Coalition, Transformation Ministries began taking out full page advertisements in major newspapers, (including *The Washington Post*).

There was a tremendous backlash with testimonies from people who had gone through the "program" and were not changed. In fact, two of the main leaders who, in the early days of Exodus, jointly gave programs and worked with gays to help them to become straight, fell in love with each other

Row; New York, New York, 1985; pp. 135, 158.

2 *Metropolis* magazine, Bellerophon Publications, Inc., Susan S. Szenasy, Editor in Chief, November 1996, p. 7, "Community: Just What Is All the Talk About?" by Diana Friedman.

3 *The 100 Mile City*; Deyan Sudjic; Harcourt Brace & Company; New York, New York; 1992; pp. 279-293.

4 *The Different Drum: Community-Making and Peace*; M. Scott Peck, M.D., P.C.; Simon and Schuster; New York, New York; 1987; p. 77.

5 *Ibid*; pp. 77-79.

6 *Metropolis*; November 1996; p. 49, "Virtually Heaven?" by Margaret Wertheim.

7 *Ibid*; p. 53, "What Is Community?" by Marisa Bartolucci.

8 *Ibid*; p. 47, Wertheim.

9 *Metropolis*; November 1996; p. 101.

10 *Ibid*; p. 75.

11 *Metropolis*; October 1995; pp. 36, 40, 78, "Is There Life After Work?" by Barbara Lamprecht.

12 *USA Weekend*; January 31 - February 2, 1997; pp. 4-5, "Behind Closed Gates" by David Diamond.

13 *Inform* magazine; Architecture and Design in the Mid-Atlantic; Virginia Society of the American Institute of Architects; 1996; Number Four; p. 6.

14 *Seaside: Making a Town in America*;

and left the movement!

Gregory Herek, a research psychologist at the University of California, Davis says therapy to change sexual orientation has no scientific basis. Mainstream psychologists agree. There is increasing evidence that homosexuality is genetically determined. Can other genetic traits be altered? We can dye our hair, wear contact lenses, even learn to use our right hand when we are left handed, but we don't change the determining genes. We only superficially alter the trait. We have also come to realize that left handed people, different, in a majority, are not children of the devil. We need to realize that homosexuals are human beings. They are not child molesters, recruiters, sick, evil, amoral people. Their sexual behavior is only one small part of their life, just as is the case for heterosexuals.

I end with an episode from my own life. I returned to my 50th high school reunion two years ago. There were 28 graduates of the Class of '46 at Chelsea High School in rural southern Michigan. Of the 28, 18

David Mohney and Keller Easterling, editors; Princeton Architectural Press; New York, New York; 1991; p. 44, "Is Seaside Too Good To Be True?" by Kurt Andersen.

15 "The Winchester Star"; November 13, 1996, p. D8, Tim Whitmire, Associated Press Writer.

16 *Architectural Record*; January 1997; pp. 132-133, "The New Urbanists—The Second Generation" by Beth Dunlop.

17 *Metropolis* magazine; July/August 1996; p. 71, "Suburb in Disguise" by Alex Marshall.

18 *Looking Around: A Journey Through Architecture*; Witold Rybczynski; Penguin Books; New York, New York; 1992; p. 106.

19 *Seaside: Making a Town in America*; p. 42, Anderson.

20 *Ibid*; p. 162; Mohney and Easterling.

21 *Ibid*; p. 43, Andersen.

22 *Ibid*; p. 47.

23 *Ibid*; p. 53; "Public Enterprise" by Keller Easterling.

24 *Ibid*; pp. 63, 64, Mohney.

25 *Looking Around: A Journey Through Architecture*; p. 110.

26 *Seaside: Making a Town in America*; p. 46, Andersen.

27 *Metropolis* magazine; July/August 1996; pp. 70-71; 100-103, Marshall.

28 *The Washington Post Magazine*; February 16, 1997; pp. 18-21; 30, "Adding Up" by Eugene Robinson.

returned for the reunion. Only four of us ever moved away from Michigan and the three still living came back for the reunion. Everyone did a brief resume of his or her life. When it came my turn, I began by saying that I thought my classmates had known something about me in high school that I hadn't known about myself. They had voted me future bachelor of the class! But I reminded them that I had been married, had three grown children, was now divorced and that I was gay.

No one gasped or fell off a chair. I continued, "I'm telling you this for three reasons. The first is to confirm your suspicions, the second is to let you know a gay man can have a successful career, contribute to society and be a happy person, and the third is to urge that if you have children, grandchildren or friends you learn are gay or lesbian you love them and continue friendship for the human being they are and don't get hung up on one small part of their life." I tell you the same thing.

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St. Catharines, Ontario ~ June 21-24, 2001

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CONVENTION TOURS:

- *Note from the editor: Tour descriptions have been greatly appreciated due to lack of space. They are all excellent tours.*
- *Please indicate your tour preferences: 1, 2, 3, etc.*

Friday Afternoon Tours

- — **Niagara Falls and the Niagara Parkway** – The tour will provide an opportunity to view Niagara Falls, one of the natural wonders of the world.
- — **Welland Canal** – The Welland Canal is one of the great civil engineering feats in North America.
- — **Winery and Orchards** – There will be a tour of the winery and winery operations, followed by a wine tasting.
- — **Mackenzie Historic Printery and the Weir Foundation and Library of Art** – The Mackenzie Historic Foundation is the only museum in Canada devoted to displaying historic presses and other equipment covering more than 500 years of the letterpress era. The Weir Foundation has a fine collection of art relating to Niagara.
- — **Historic Niagara-on-the-Lake and Shopping** – The town of Niagara-on-the-Lake is one of the most picturesque in Canada. It is a thriving tourist center with beautiful old homes and excellent shopping.

Saturday Afternoon Tours (Lunch is provided)

- — **Maid of the Midst Centre, Niagara Falls and the Niagara Parkway** – Niagara College operates the Maid of the Midst Centre for Hospitality and Tourism in Niagara Falls where students receive excellent training in all aspects of the industry.
- — **The Welland Canal** – See Friday's tour above
- — **Winery and Orchards** – Lunch and wine tasting at the winery.
- — **Fort Erie Race Track** – (additional charge of approx. \$10 Canadian) Lunch in the Prince of Wales Dining Room and an afternoon of thoroughbred racing.
- — **Shaw Festival** – (additional charge of approx. \$35-40 Canadian) The Shaw festival devoted to presenting works of G.B. Shaw and his contemporaries, is home to one of the finest acting ensembles in North America, with three theaters in Niagara-on-the-Lake. Please note, if you wish to participate in this tour, you need to register early to be assured of a seat!

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The overall mission of the foundation is to support the development, promotion and recognition of excellence as demonstrated by individual Torch Club members and clubs in the IATC. For some time the foundation has supported the Norris H. Paxton Lectureship and the Editor's Quill awards and has had goals of contributing toward excellence in IATC publications and the future development of a scholarship program.

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The Torch Foundation is administered by a five member Board of Trustees and the President and Treasurer of the corporation, all members of Torch Clubs or members-at-large. Two of the trustees must be past presidents of the IATC. All trustees serve without compensation but may be reimbursed for reasonable expenses.

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