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Yale Political Monthly 1991 May

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Recommended Citation

The Politic, Inc., "Yale Political Monthly 1991 May" (1991). *The Politic*. 24.
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The Yale Political Monthly

An Undergraduate Publication

In Defense of Freedom
The Moral Obligation to Serve Your Country

Why Incumbents Never Lose
The Roots of Corruption and Apathy in Congress

Democracy's Resource
New Haven's Library Must Be Saved

Observations
Bush's Cruel Deceit

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 6 • MAY 1991

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We encourage responses and will print all thoughtful and well-written letters with appropriate authorial response in the hope of stimulating continued dialogue on campus. All written material should be submitted to the Editor or mailed to the YPM. Students wishing to join the staff of the YPM should contact the Editor at 436-1000.

The Staff of the YPM wishes to extend its thanks to Gideon Rose, Adam Freedman, Robert Kagan, Fareed Zakaria, and John Kuszewski for their invaluable advice and assistance.

The Yale Political Monthly is a non-profit undergraduate organization. For subscription information, contact the Editor or the Publisher.

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The Yale Political Monthly
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New Haven, Conn. 06520

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The Yale Political Monthly

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VOLUME 12, NUMBER 6
MAY, 1991

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George Bush and his administration went to considerable lengths to encourage the Kurds to rise up against Saddam Hussein. In a speech he gave toward the end of the war, President Bush requested that "the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people take matters into their own hands to force Saddam Hussein...to step aside." In the cease-fire treaty, moreover, President Bush added a provision that would forbid the use of helicopters by Hussein, obviously to protect Iraqi insurgents, the Kurds included, from air attacks.

As soon as the war was over, President Bush abandoned the Kurds. He stood on the sidelines as Saddam Hussein brutally crushed the insurgents and forced more than a million Kurds to abandon their homes and take refuge in northern Iraq, Turkey, and Iran. In Bush's view: "it was never a stated objective of the coalition to intervene in the internal affairs of Iraq. We've fulfilled our obligations."

Saddam Hussein has wrapped himself in the cloak of sovereignty. He is now playing by internationally accepted rules since his abominations are now in the realm of internal affairs. Before and during the war, President Bush repeatedly compared Saddam Hussein to Adolph Hitler. This raises a very troubling question: If Hitler had restricted his gas chambers and ovens to the Weimar Republic, would the world have done anything about it?

In fact, President Bush permitted Iraq to ignore the helicopter provision of the cease-

fire, thus allowing Hussein to quell the uprisings. The President was hoping that someone from the military ranks would overthrow Hussein. By allowing Hussein to use helicopters, he strengthened the Iraqi dictator's position with respect to both the military and the rebellious civilians. In defense of his hands-off policy, Mr. Bush said: "We are not going to get sucked into this by sending precious American lives into battle." Nevertheless, the US should have held Iraq to the cease-fire's terms and enforced the helicopter ban. The threat to US lives would have been minimal, for the Iraqi military proved itself to be no match for American forces. Such a ban would have safeguarded the Kurds from the vicious attacks of the Iraqi army, giving them a greater chance for success and thereby weakening Saddam. Ironically, the US did enforce the conditions that limited the use of helicopters, but only after the Kurds had already lost the war and began to flee to Turkey and Iran.

As the Bush administration strives to secure the peace after the war and enforce a "New World Order," it must ask itself if oppression and mass genocide have a place in this world. In order truly to secure the peace, the US may have to come closer to a true solution to what Yale Professor Abbas Amanat has termed the "new Palestinian problem"—twenty million stateless Kurds living a tyrannized existence in three different countries.

—Stephanos Velissaropoulos, '94

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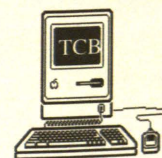
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In Defense of Freedom

William Rhee 5

What could possibly motivate any sane, intelligent human being to prepare for battle? How could any individual expose himself to the brutal discipline and dehumanizing force of the military? How could a human being not only subject himself to the likely possibility of death, but kill fellow human beings? Ignorance? Stupidity? No, the American military man or woman can be intelligent, and can be against war and a patriot without contradiction.

Yet, the question of why someone would serve in the United States Armed Forces is legitimate, especially considering that hundreds of thousands of brave men and women in America's armed forces are currently involved in one of the largest single-theater military operations in history. Each one of these rational individuals has answered this question. Some may have more idealistic visions than others, but all have accepted the burdens and costs of their decision to join the military. They have subordinated their natural desire for self-preservation—and their grand hopes and dreams—but for high and admirable goals.

Today the American military is experiencing a *renaissance* unparalleled in its history. The historic military victory in the Persian Gulf demonstrates this. Today's soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines are more intelligent, more motivated, and better trained and equipped than ever before. These highly talented and motivated people could easily obtain better-paying and less-hazardous civilian jobs, yet they remain with the military. They chose to sacrifice their individual interests to serve their country.

This is not to say that military service does not have its practical benefits. Like the few Yale students in the Reserve Officer Training Corps, many young adults take advantage of military scholarship opportunities.

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Not only is the military a cost-effective route for valuable educational and technical training, but it is one of the few employers willing to take able-bodied adults with no experience and train them. Many directionless young people have joined the military to acquire self-discipline and face an adventurous challenge which was once considered necessary for entry into adulthood. Although such bravado may be initially seductive, most soldiers soon realize what most veterans know, that war is horrible destruction and should be avoided if at all reasonably possible. Also, many trapped in a lower socio-economic class see the military as one of the most benevolent equal-opportunity employers, a place where they have a chance to get ahead and finally to earn some pride—to become someone special.

Pride and honor are not just recruiting slogans; they are realities in today's military. There are philosophical rationales for military service worthier than the purely utilitarian motivations. Professional servicemen have great responsibilities. They are ultimately entrusted with the survival of society. They have the awesome authority not only to control weapons of unthinkable mass destruction, but, when in command positions, to direct fellow human beings to their deaths in pursuit of strategic objectives. With such power, the military can alternatively choose to overthrow the society it is sworn to protect.

Entrusted with such responsibility, soldiers must be patriots. They truly are patriots of the highest order, willing to sacrifice their lives in pursuit of their country's interests. To American service men and women, as soldiers in a democracy, this patriotism is not mindless obedience to political authority. It is a steadfast—some would say naïve—faith in the American republican system. All service people swear to

Professional servicemen are ultimately entrusted with the survival of society

defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States.

The American military has always been subordinate to the American government. Soldiers share the conviction that errors of American foreign policy will be corrected by the political system. The United States has employed its military in many dubious circumstances. For example, many critics justly point to past and present American foreign policy excesses in the Middle East. Still, these service personnel have an unshakeable faith that the American political system will keep foreign policy and the accompanying use of force in check. General Douglas MacArthur eloquently expressed this sentiment in his famous speech to the cadets at West Point:

Others will debate the controversial issues, national and international, which divide men's minds; but serene, calm, aloof, you stand as the nation's war-guardian, as its lifeguard from the raging tides of international conflict, as its gladiator in the arena of battle...Let civilian voices argue the merits or demerits of our processes of government; whether our strength is being sapped by deficit financing, indulged in too long, by federal paternalism grown too mighty, by power groups grown too arrogant, by politics grown too corrupt, by crime grown too rampant, by morals grown too low, by taxes grown too high, by extremists grown too violent; whether our personal liberties are as thorough and complete as they should be. These great national problems are not for your professional participation or military solution. Your guidepost stands out like a ten-fold beacon in the night:

Duty—Honor—Country [LTC Lawrence Crocker. *The Army Officer's Guide*. Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, Inc. 1991. p.12].

Although the use of American military force may also further the geopolitical power aspirations of the government, such usage must be convincingly justified to the general public. One unparalleled example of democratic restraint occurred immediately after World War II. With its sole possession of nuclear weapons, its industrial capacity, huge population, and immense and experienced military, the United States could have subjugated the war-torn world. Instead, the United States rebuilt the world such that its two former adversaries, Japan and Germany, have nearly assumed economic primacy. Even then, the United States was no angel. It wielded its economic and military might behind the scenes to achieve its objectives. Still, it was

Soldiers are not so arrogant as to assume that their beliefs are superior to those of the majority of the American people

checked from world conquest—an obvious excess of foreign policy—by its constitutional democratic system.

The dangerous executive privilege of undeclared war appears to have been finally curbed by the Vietnam experience and the recent congressional resolution authorizing the use of force in the Gulf. The American constitutional system requires that war be a decision of both Congress and the President. The “just,” declared wars were such expressions of bipartisan unity. Although some enterprising soldiers of fortune like former Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North may attempt to circumvent the Constitution, this practice is scorned, as it should be.

Soldiers believe in this republican system of checks and balances and political accountability. Although class differences and social problems may make the American system less democratic than the ideal, every citizen in the United States has the undisputed right to vote and participate in the political process—whether or not they exercise these powers. Even if they are apathetic or against current policy, soldiers are sworn to sacrifice their lives when executing it. Although they each harbor their own personal beliefs, they place supreme faith in the democratic process, and they are not so arrogant as to assume that their beliefs are undoubtedly superior to those of the majority of the American people. These warriors of the American republic protect the rights and liberties enjoyed by the populace as a whole. This includes the freedom to protest. Pacifists, like all citizens, have the right to express their dissent as defined by the First Amendment to the Constitution. By expressing their opinions in this way, they are an integral part of the American political system. Their protests help shape American foreign policy. A long-honored military tradition is the protection of lawful dissent. Of all professions, the military can least tolerate complacency, for complacency in combat leads to fatalities. Despite the past press pool restrictions in Saudi Arabia, the military, for the most part, has been and continues to be open to the public, believing that in the long-term, dissenting views and criticism can only improve its combat readiness.

Thomas Jefferson astutely noted in 1807 that “the spirit of the country is totally adverse to a large military force.” As a democracy encouraging individual liberty, the United States is not a Prussian warrior-state. The large

American military establishment greatly conflicts with normal American civilian life. The military requires obedience, uniformity and discipline; civilians love their personal freedoms. General Walter Kerwin, former Army Vice-Chief of Staff, commented:

The civilian community exists to promote the quality of life; the military community exists to fight and, if need be, to die in defense of that quality of life. We must not apologize for these differences. The American people...are served by soldiers disciplined to obey the orders of their leaders, and hardened and conditioned to survive the rigors of the battlefield. We do neither our soldiers nor the American people any favors if we ignore these realities [Walter Kerwin. "The Values of Today's Army." *Soldier*. September 1978. p.4].

Many aspects of the military-industrial complex conflict with contemporary American values. Massive defense expenditures, money which could be used for pressing social concerns, upsets many Americans. The military's homophobia and treatment of women elicits similar anger. Although I personally believe there is no legitimate reason to exclude homosexuals from the service and women from combat, all of the blame cannot be placed on a conservative military establishment. Such provisions were passed into law by Congress and may be repealed by Congress. The Congress is homophobic. Any homosexual civil rights bill proposed in Congress will never find its way to the floor, for such an issue is politically anathema. Potential soldiers who are rightly appalled by such abuses should not refrain from serving in the Armed Forces. Like any large institution, the military has its faults, but these faults can only be remedied by courageous professionals in its ranks cooperating with equally visionary civilians. The military must be blamed for such unreasoning prejudice, but the government, as the master of the military, is equally, if not more, to blame.

Unlike other countries, America has a long tradition of citizen-soldiers, civilians ready to pick up a rifle in times of crisis. These citizen-soldiers must be proficient at both their civilian and military occupations. The Reserves and the National Guard are an integral part of the US defense posture. The warrior profession requires men and women of many talents. Soldiers must be extremely self-disciplined, subjugating their individuality into a uniform hierarchy without losing initiative, which, along with innovation, is essential for battlefield

survival.

Combat is a traumatic experience requiring physical and mental prowess. The transformation from civilian to military life occurs either in enlisted "boot" camp or in officer candidate school. The average Marine recruit increases his or her level of general fitness thirty percent from the beginning to end of "boot" camp. Navy SEALs must, among many other physically grueling tests, successively run a rigorous obstacle course in a minimum of ten minutes, run four miles in thirty minutes, run fourteen miles in one hundred and ten minutes and, finally, swim two miles in the Pacific Ocean in seventy minutes in order to pass the Navy's Special Warfare Course [Kevin Dockery. *SEALs in Action*. New York: Avon Books. 1991. 330.]. During the year-long training regimen to enter the Army Special Forces, candidates must survive alone in a forest for three consecutive days and nights with nothing but the clothes on their backs and a survival knife, while the rival 82nd Airborne Division does everything in its power to catch them. Soldiers not at the high physical standards requisite for combat are brought to such levels through a diligent daily regimen of physical fitness. Today's military is truly a "lean, mean fighting machine."

With the modern fast-paced technological battlefield, American servicemen must also be intellectually proficient. The military has always been the cutting edge of technology, but soldiers must also possess political and social savvy. The former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, possessed, among his formidable academic merits, a doctorate in Political Science from Princeton. General George C. Patton, the iron-willed "Blood and Guts," was an accomplished poet. The original Renaissance Man of Baldesdar Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* was first and foremost a warrior. The US Service Academies have the lowest level of acceptance of all colleges in the United States. The Honor Codes of these Academies and the Reserve Officer Training Corps explicitly state that the military will not tolerate lying, cheating, or stealing. All of these difficult but necessary requirements work towards the formation of the physically and mentally balanced warrior:

The concept of an officer and a gentleman [or lady] cannot be dismissed as an anachronism in today's 'me' society. The tests and obligations of

the officer corps have not changed appreciably over the years; indeed in light of the weapons of mass destruction now at our disposal, the military has more of a social responsibility than ever before.

Therefore, regardless of the erosion of moral and ethical standards in the world at large, the officers corps must, as a condition of its survival, demonstrate an ethical stance which is above reproach [Alan Lloyd. *War in the Trenches*. New York: David McKay Co. 1977.]

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Although many warriors undoubtedly fall short of these ideals, they continually strive to attain them.

What characterizes a military man or woman above all else is a realization that the world is imperfect. If the world were a utopia, there would be little violence and no need for the military. The status of the professional warrior has remained relatively intact throughout time. The brilliant military strategist Frederick the Great of Prussia once wrote to Voltaire, "It is the fashion these days to make war, and presumably it will last a while yet." Unfortunately, there has been a need for warriors since the beginning of so-called "civilization" and, considering the violent nature of humanity, there probably still will be for some time. Only the incredibly naïve would deny that the United States needs a military. In such a violent and unpredictable world, the United States must have a superbly trained, well-equipped fighting force to deter foreign aggression and protect vital American interests. A popular symbol of the American military is the combat rifle, which is appropriate, for the military is the rifle of the American people. If frequently abused by the government, it can be the tool of terror, murder, and mass destruction. If left safely locked away, except for routine cleanings and practice, and grasped only in life-threatening emergencies by the hands of a benevolent government, it will be a steadfast and accurate defender.

Although the political leadership sends the military into action, the individual soldier actually engages the enemy and kills him. How does a sane individual justify such a gross taking of another fellow human's life? The possibility exists that the so-called "enemy" is none other than a frightened civilian without political conviction who was impressed into service. How can one kill someone who may have done no wrong, who may be just on the wrong side? This is an extremely difficult moral issue, one with which soldiers

The American soldier, who remains by choice a citizen of a democracy, has participated in the political process and, as a part of his or her responsibility, must be willing to execute American political directives

One must either kill or capture the enemy, or be killed or captured

have wrestled over centuries. Although each individual soldier undoubtedly has his or her own answer, a possible response to that question may rest, again, in a belief in the democratic process. First, a democratic government, with all of its faults, is a government by popular consent. This popular government will probably reserve conflict only as a final resort. Second, citizenship in any state entails a certain responsibility. Each citizen must be held accountable for the actions of his or her respective country. In the case of the United States, each citizen has a voice in the conduct of government. Even in other countries with totalitarian regimes, the citizenry has the option of revolution or emigration. Of course, when a dictator rules, this is not so simple. Yet most soldiers are motivated and support their governments; even tyrants know that only inspired soldiers fight well. Armed force, which includes the power to overthrow, is not easily entrusted to the hostile. It is likely, then, that an enemy soldier means to fight for his government. Further, the American fighting soldier, who remains by choice a citizen of a democracy, has

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participated in the political process and, as a part of his or her responsibility, must be willing to execute American political directives. There are no good wars; there can never be just deaths. There are rules of engagement and a code of conduct to ensure that American excesses in combat are kept to a minimum. When war is a last resort and the only means to achieve viable objectives, then one must either kill or capture the enemy, or be killed or captured.

If this sounds cruel and gruesome, it is. War is cruel and gruesome and should be avoided whenever possible. To guarantee that the military is used as a final defensive option, the American public must ensure that the government pursues proper American foreign policy. If an individual citizen feels strongly about the use of American force overseas, whether moderate or radical, that opinion must be vigorously expressed to make the system work. If a statement by General Norman Schwarzkopf, the Commander of Allied Forces in Saudi Arabia, is accurate, then both the Constitution and the military rest in good hands:

I don't consider myself dovish. And, I certainly don't consider myself hawkish. Maybe I would describe myself as owlsh—that is, wise enough to understand that you want to do everything possible to avoid war—that once you're committed to war, then ferocious enough to get it over as quickly as possible in victory.

Soldiers must have the resolve and determination to survive and to triumph over the trials of combat. With the creation of the All-Volunteer Force in 1973, all service personnel made a conscious, willing choice to serve in the Armed Forces. This system is better than conscription. Although well intended, current legislation in Congress, which would reinstate the Draft, is misguided. The burden of protecting society is unfairly borne by minorities and the poor. African-Americans and the lower social classes are represented three times more in the military than in American society overall [George C. Wilson. *Mud Soldiers*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989. p.5.]. This is a problem, but the Draft will not solve it. This criticism incorrectly assumes that the excess minorities and poor are not there by choice. The military is a volunteer force. For the most part, soldiers are proud of their profession. Socio-economic class does not force military service upon unwilling individuals. Pride, duty, honor, and country are even more powerful

motivations.

That there was conscription in the United States for almost two hundred years, and that there still is a draft in a majority of equally civilized and freedom-loving countries in the world, is evidence that traditionally many believe that merely being a member of society obligates one to serve in the military.

Is there a societal obligation to serve in the military? With the All-Volunteer Force, such a question is largely academic. Still, citizens do have a duty to serve their society. If an individual citizen enjoys the fruits of American society, be it a Yale education, individual safety, or public benefits, he or she has an obligation to return something to his or her society. This need not be military service. Senator Sam Nunn and Representative Dave McCurdy have sponsored a civil service bill that would require men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, to serve their society in some capacity, whether it be in the military or for the community, before receiving government educational grants. After serving two years, a military volunteer would receive \$24,000. The civilian volunteer would serve one year for \$10,000. This legislation encourages the proper sentiments. Every citizen who reaps the unparalleled benefits of American society has an obligation to give something in return. Whether or not the American presence in the Persian Gulf is justified, the brave American fighting men and women there are fulfilling their obligations to society. In spite of their different political and social convictions, their country called, and they went. An increased commitment to national public service would immeasurably improve the collective state of society. Such loyalty is not blind. Instead, it entails both wise participation in the democratic process to assure the best possible course of action and an equally wise determination to execute such action for the improvement of the nation.

9

Every citizen who reaps the unparalleled benefits of American society has an obligation to give something in return

Why Incumbents Never Lose

Jeff Campione

IO

*neither party
emerged with a
mandate, not
that either
sought one*

As little as three weeks before the 1990 election it appeared that North Carolina's Jesse Helms, a longtime nemesis of liberalism and the Achilles' heel of conservatism, would finally be deposed. Indeed, Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt at that time held an eight point lead while civil rights proponents—black and white, female and male, homosexual and heterosexual, artists and not—held their breaths hoping that “Senator No” would not advance to a fourth term.

Nineteen-ninety, however, was not to be the year of rejuvenation within a US Congress plagued by scandal, war, factions, and incompetence. Helms brilliantly constructed his smear tactics campaign in the final ten days to defeat Gantt. Similarly, all but one incumbent senator and 392 of 407 incumbent representatives somehow surprisingly remained in office. Yes, the very same 101st Congress (98% of its members were re-elected from the 100th) that spent \$100,000 building a memorial to Liberace in a year when it had to run a deficit in order to pay itself for working overtime to solve the deficit crisis, will, for the most part, return for a rematch.

The incredible re-election rate, however, was not expected, or at least, it seemed, desired by the public. The struggling economy, the failure of Congress to compromise with the executive branch on the budget even after President Bush dropped his “no new taxes” demand, and the fiasco of congressional involvement in the Savings and Loans Crisis appeared to turn public opinion severely against Capitol Hill. But as Chuck Alston reported in *Congressional Quarterly*, “The ambiguous results reinforced two of the traits—the lack of party discipline and the

erosion of confidence—that have made Congress so hard to lead. Incumbents prospered the most by blaming the mess on somebody else, in effect running against Washington. And neither party emerged with a mandate, not that either sought one.”¹ The effects of November have become apparent. Publications of all kinds, and even on-campus programs, including the Political Union and *The Yale Political Monthly*, have studied specific flaws on Capitol Hill which must be addressed. Although there have been theories for radical change, however, extending the very justifications of these theories points to other dangerous potential problems inherent in them.

Former Speaker of the House Jim Wright, when addressing the Political Union last month and in his interview with the YPM printed in each of the two previous issues, has sold his story of the ineptitudes of the campaign finance system. According to Wright, between 1958 and 1988, the cost of the average House campaign has increased six-fold. Television and other electronic media, moreover, have reduced campaigning to short fifteen-second bursts. His logic is very simple: although it requires only fifteen seconds to accuse an opponent of iniquities, the opponent requires at least 15 minutes to defend his record, and that time is not available. Richard Nixon's famous “Checkers Speech,” given in response to allegations that Nixon had accepted illegal campaign funds, was a 30-minute address. Yet when Jesse Helms in a television commercial eight days before the election accused Gantt of favoring racial employment quotas (Gantt actually held the opposite position), Harvey Gantt had no opportunity for such a lengthy, fact-filled denial. This naturally motivates candidates to engage in negative campaigning and what Wright terms “sloganeering.”

Because an incumbent is more often

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seen in the public eye, and as his name has become far more commonplace to voters than that of his opponent, his re-election is extremely likely. By getting elected in the first place, candidates prove their capacity to generate funds, at least initially. This, coupled with the ability of a congressional representative to introduce specific legislation, gives an incumbent a much greater opportunity than his opponent to prove his worth to special interest groups and solicit their funding. Incumbents thus are granted absolute financial advantages before issues even take the stage.

Nancy Gibbs of Time analyzed such trends in congressional races. She specifically stated that "The advantages of incumbency are insurmountable: voluminous free mailings, easy fund raising, large staffs, access to the press."² This enables incumbents to do as little as possible and still succeed. Indeed, the chances of being re-elected actually increase when an incumbent does not act. Gibbs describes this as the principle of self-preservation. "Sitting Democrats and Republicans alike share a dread of doing anything that threatens their tenure by angering voters: making hard decisions, putting limits on their power or engaging in serious debate."³

Both Wright and Gibbs have advocated what seems to be the most popular reform measure thus far: campaign finance reform. Gibbs believes that "Providing incumbents and challengers with equal amounts of public funds and access to the airwaves would weaken the special interests and open the races to genuine challenge."⁴ Wright was more specific. In the interview with the YPM, he suggested that the federal government match up to \$250,000 worth of \$100 or \$200 donations to congressional candidates. Additionally, he proposed that to receive FCC licensing, television and radio stations be obliged to give ninety minutes of free air-time, to be split up into increments of between five and thirty minutes each, to candidates who received at least ten percent of the vote in the previous general election. He did not mention, however, how funding for candidates running for the first time should be evaluated.

Merely considering campaign finance solutions alone will not solve the problem. Gibbs' own justification of finance reform mentioned other benefits to incumbency, independent of money: free mailings, large available staffs, and press access. None of these

will change if only contributions and commercial air-time are reformed. In order to make free mailings and large staffs available to an opponent, more money would need to be granted or reimbursed to opponents than to incumbents—a situation for which none of the above proposals have called.

Even more threatening is the potential war over the logistics of implementing any such reform. Some degree of public funding will, of course, be necessary, but when the country is entering its fourteenth consecutive year of budget crisis this proposal is doomed to furious debate. If additional revenues must be raised, then no one in Congress would ever support campaign finance reform, because it would go against the instinct for self-preservation. The measure which Wright proposed in the Political Union and the YPM allows taxpayers to check off a box on their income tax forms to signify whether or not they desire to have two or three dollars of their tax payment used for congressional campaign funding (a system similar to the one which currently exists for Presidential campaigns). This will cause strife in Congress concerning which programs would lose this newly-diverted revenue. Advocates of finance reform, myself included, believe that true reform depends upon the enactment of a firm and absolute change, but any proposal thus far seems destined for the Congressional scrapheap along with every major and essential reform proposed in the last two decades.

Neither will the evils of special interest disappear due to finance reform alone. True, the influence of "non-local" special interest groups is likely to decrease greatly, as the potential funds such groups could provide would be less necessary. The emphasis on local special interests, however, will actually be accentuated because of stronger opposition. Although this will enhance the role of constituents, a definite improvement over the *status quo*, such a strong constituency is not necessarily as good as it may seem. Too many congressmen supporting their constituents' desires unconditionally will lead to extreme division within the congressional ranks and even more compromise than at present. In truth, incumbents will be more likely to return to office merely to defend the homeland by voting against any bill which may create difficulties for their constituencies, despite its importance for the country as a whole.

II

Merely considering campaign finance solutions alone will not solve the problem

Democrats and Republicans alike have quickly blamed the deficit crisis on high defense budgets, and yet very few from either party have shown willingness to cut funding or programs involving bases or contractors in their areas. Changing only finance reform, and not providing any means of preventing this behavior, would overlook the reasons necessitating legislative republicanism instead of direct democracy. A congressman is responsible not necessarily for the immediate satisfaction of his constituents, but for their overall welfare, a goal which currently is (and would be more so with only finance reform) too often sacrificed by petty concerns to guarantee future votes.

Finally, campaign finance reform alone will not remedy an opponent's inherent lack of experience. It will not alter the reality that incumbents can satisfy constituents by merely not messing up instead of being expected to contribute positively to the country's general good. Incumbents who have proven that they can govern without disastrous effects will still enjoy a comfortable advantage over less well known opponents about whom the public can not yet be certain.

For the survival of the state, it is time to go further. Nothing proposed below is new; indeed, the last major reform movement which swept through Congress in 1974 and 1976 was founded upon similar guarantees made by those freshman representatives. It is true, however, that extremely little has been executed in the last seventeen years to achieve these goals—and Congress has regressed ever more while the voters have patiently waited.

Goal number one is term-reform. This is not just limitation. Congressional representatives should be restricted to no more than twelve years in one House: two Senatorial terms of six years each, and three four-year House terms. House elections should be staggered like the Senate's, with no fewer than one less than one-half and no more than one more than one-half of a state's delegation seats contested in any given biannual election. All House seats should be available in 1992, 217 of which would be available again in 1994, whereas the remaining 218 would be unchanged until 1996. Evaluations of the time each member has spent in the House would begin prior to the 1994 elections; any Representative then serving a term which would end at or beyond the twelve-year limit would

be permitted one more re-election bid. A similar policy would begin in the Senate for any Senator in his second term or more.

Goal number two would change policy establishing committee chairmanships in either house. Although there is no written regulation on this subject, it is common practice for the most senior member of the majority party in any committee to be elected chairman by the party caucus. The Democratic Caucus of December 1990, however, has begun to undermine this by voting out Public Works Chairman Glenn M. Anderson of California and House Administration Chair Frank Ammunzio of Illinois. This is not unprecedented, for elections based on mandates in 1980 and 1986 brought similar results. But this election showed little evidence of a policy mandate. The changes of the last several months more closely resemble the post-Watergate reforms of 1974, and they need to be carried further. Any new and further changes depend a great deal on House Speaker Thomas Foley whose "handling of the revolt," according to *Congressional Quarterly*, "illustrates his hands-off leadership style. Foley, who also has roots in the 1970s Congressional Reform, left the chairmen's fate entirely in the hands of the Democratic Caucus, rather than intervening heavily in behalf (*sic*) of the seniority system."⁵ Foley's actions need to set a precedent among future Speakers who should be more willing to purge bureaucratic inefficiencies.

Once again, none of the above is new. Although the discussion about longer House terms is far less common, talk of restricting tenure to twelve years has been repeatedly proposed for the last sixteen years. Yet it has very logically faced continual and bitter opposition from members not willing to vote themselves out of jobs. In fact, many of the senators who came to office in the early and middle 1970s supporting a two-term limit are now enjoying their third or fourth terms and planning their next.

Circumvention of the federal government has thus become necessary for advocates of term reform. On 18 September 1990 in Oklahoma and 6 November 1990 in California and Colorado, public referendums were passed which restricted the terms of any state officer. The Colorado initiative boldly went on to limit the terms of that state's delegates to Capitol Hill to no more than twelve years each. Such a measure, however, has become the continual target of constitutionality questions. Kenneth

talk of restricting tenure to twelve years has faced continual and bitter opposition from members not willing to vote themselves out of jobs

WHY INCUMBENTS NEVER LOSE

Jost of *Congressional Quarterly* has found scholars divided over the issue. Article 1, Section 4, Clause 1 of the Constitution states, "The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations." The extent to which this applies, however, is disputed by Article 1, Section 5, Clause 1: "Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."⁶ The Colorado bill, and any others which are modeled after, seem destined to have their fates decided by the Supreme Court.

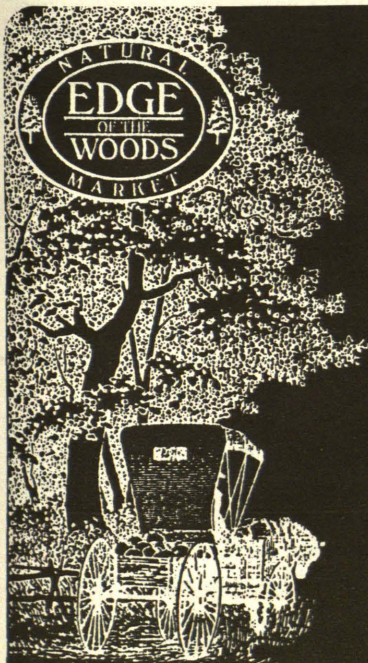
If term reform is ever to be implemented properly, without concessions, it will most likely occur through a Constitutional Amendment. That will, of course, require the acquiescence of Congress which has been unsuccessfully sought for seventeen years. Convincing the incumbent regime will, therefore, require mobilization of the populace. If other states' brave initiatives, like that of Colorado, turn public support staunchly in favor of term reform, the issue could become as vital as abortion or taxes. Then and only then will change come about.

Many have questioned the merits of establishing new limits on Congress. Some feel that without the incentive of a looming re-

election bid few at the Capitol will spend their final term productively contributing. One must remember, however, that now most Congressmen fear taking action at all for the sake of not drawing negative attention. The apathy on the Hill could not possibly become worse than it already is; if anything, it is likelier that representatives will more often be able to propose policies necessary for the public good but unfavorable on the home front. In 1954, it was retiring Senator Flanders of Vermont who was able to risk negative publicity at home and speak out against Joseph McCarthy on the Senate floor. A year ago, Representative Dan Rostenkowski, not planning to run for re-election, proposed a deficit reduction package which included raising some taxes. As it turned out, what seemed to be a sacrifice (an excellent model which provided for the eventual compromise which finally passed in October) turned into a medley of nationwide support and respect for Rostenkowski, who returned in January to the House and to his chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee, unopposed in his native Illinois.

Others argue that this would prevent the best veterans from contributing to the government, that the above examples would not have happened if the individuals involved had not been long-respected members of

13



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I4

Congress. Even with the limitations, however, members of Congress would still be able to spend 24 years in the Capitol, and they would only be judged worthy of respect within the Houses based on comparisons with other members limited to 24 years. It is essential, as well, that 4-year House terms will permit such intensification, for Representatives will be able to spend more time working in Washington, and not returning home each weekend to court business leaders into donation—a process which often begins as early as eighteen months before an election (six months after the previous one).

Reduced tenure—coupled with finance reform—would force members to act more quickly and thoroughly during their years in Washington, as well as demand effective representation in light of an increasing pool of potential competitors. Their experience, moreover, would benefit other organizations and departments badly in need of effective leadership, including executive, judiciary, and lobby positions, too often considered a negative attribute of term reform. Each of these departments plays an integral role in the government process today, and turning the District of Columbia from the bed of corruption it has become into the effective and efficient innovator of leadership the forefathers intended it to be will require unification of purpose between these branches. The movement of former Senators and Representatives will heighten communication and understanding.

Despite the possible loss of fine legislators because of limits placed into the Constitution, one must remember the ever-

increasing number of potential great leaders repeatedly shunned from ever coming to office because of systemic failures. The diets these restrictions have produced have done little to alter the eras of neglect to which they continually promise to apply themselves. The US Government is far too large and influential in our economic and social structures for its voters to tolerate this lack of initiative and inaction. Following this time of war, during which Americans prayed for a quick, peaceful, and final resolution to the Middle East conflict and for the well-being of our service personnel and their families, citizens must take advantage of the heightened consciousness war has bred, and demand the reform of inefficient systems at home as soon as possible.

¹ "Race-Baiting Wins Again," *Time*. Vol. 136, no. 22, page 43.

² Alston, Chuck, "Warning Shots Fired by Voters More Mood than Mandate," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Vol. 48, no. 45, page 3797.

³ Alston, page 3796.

⁴ Barrett, page 43.

⁵ Gibbs, Nancy, "Keep the Bums In," *Time*. Vol. 136, no. 22, page 33.

⁶ Gibbs, page 33.

⁷ Gibbs, page 39.

⁸ Hook, Janet, "Younger Members Flex Muscle In Revolt Against Chairmen," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Vol. 48, no. 49, page 4059.

⁹ Elving, Ronald D., "Congress Braces for Fallout from State Measures," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Vol. 48, no. 39, page 3144 and Gibbs, page 39.

¹⁰ Jost, Kenneth, "What Does the Constitution Say?" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Vol. 48, no. 39, page 3145.

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Democracy's Resource

Amanda Gordon 15

Have you had enough of studying? Are you weary of Sterling's 1930's Gothic? Walk a few blocks down Elm Street and you will find a library with a very different aura. Its main hallway is brightly lit; its card catalog fits in one room; and although some students do wander about, a quick scan reveals a diversity of patrons. In place of Sterling's picture of wisdom, two unpretentious murals decorate the upper lunettes, depicting the citizens of New Haven on the Green during different time periods, enjoying the democratic society they support. These scenes are appropriate in the public library because the library is a hallmark of democratic society. The public library, like the public school system, is a medium through which people are informed and educated. Because its services are basically free, the library provides equal access to all citizens, and thus equal opportunity to all citizens to improve themselves. The public library thus marries two concepts—equal opportunity and self-improvement—which are basic tenets of American culture.

These tenets have been directly related to the mission of the Public Library. In 1982 the Public Library Association defined the public library as "Democracy's Resource:"

Free access to ideas and information, a prerequisite to the existence of a responsible citizenship, is as fundamental to America as are the principles of freedom, equality, and individual rights. This access is also fundamental to our social, political, and cultural system, access...which has long been held a requirement for achieving personal equality, and for improving the quality of life and thought in the daily activities and relationships of individuals. Along with freedom of speech, press, and religious expression, and publicly supported schools freely open to all, the public library emerged as one of those institutions of

American life through which our highest aspirations are expressed.¹

Lofty expectations aside, the public library, as a social institution in a democratic society, cannot ignore the needs and interests of the entire community.

Expressing our highest aspirations and fulfilling people's needs—this task is difficult enough to achieve in a small suburban library. In a large urban area with an extremely diverse community—most of which is traditionally defined as "non-user"—the task can seem insurmountable.² Indeed, before the opening of the renovated main branch in November, the New Haven Library was not equipped to deal with its patrons' new needs. The roof leaked; paint peeled. Because of lack of space, 80 percent of the library collection was in closed stacks—not exactly the "free access" that its founders originally intended.³

The original vision has never become a total reality: "Unfortunately, this faith in the power of freely available reading material to motivate the population at large to want to educate and uplift themselves was apparently somewhat misplaced."⁴ Popular fiction attracts more users than some of the worthier books. Still, public libraries today cling to this original vision, although their role in the city's system of public education seems insignificant. Sally Tyler, President of the Friends of the New Haven Public Library, says: "The schools... have always been very successful about raising their budget. They are in a vastly different position." Kathy Hosen, a member of the New Haven Library Board, points out that although the Library Board has the same statutory status as the Board of Education, the amount of attention and budget devoted to the library is comparatively nill. Although the state not only contributes to the school system's budget, but also requires the city to

The public library marries two concepts—equal opportunity and self-improvement—which are basic tenets of American culture

Amanda Gordon is a Freshman in Ezra Stiles

supply the schools with a fixed amount of support, it does not demand that the city give the library anything. In fact, in the midst of fiscal crisis, the library's budget is dwindling.

The city of New Haven did, however, contribute \$17 million for the renovation of its library's building on the corner of Elm and Temple. Ms. Tyler states: "Library support in this town has been damaged because, for a long time, the main library was in...miserable condition. The building had deteriorated quite badly. There's been a lot more interest in the library since it re-opened in November."

The importance of the building project cannot be overestimated. After years of decline, the life of the library was severely jeopardized: the needs of the community were not being met, and patronage of the library suffered. The new building has acted as a savior—it put the library in the public eye by making it a more pleasant place to be and by expanding its services to adapt to the new needs of the community.

The additions to the existing structure have increased the square footage of the library by 66 percent, and put that space to work in innovative, useful ways. Less than 20 percent of the entire collection is stored in closed stacks;⁵ for the first time in many years, patrons enjoy direct access to the book collection. There are many kinds of reading spaces which patrons may choose. Every area is well lit. Although the staff areas are austere, the actual space available for offices has increased. A better working environment will no doubt enhance the quality of the staff, and thus of the library, greatly.

The lower level further illustrates that the library is adapting to the needs of the community, especially in the wake of the information age now upon us: four computer terminals are available. Alan Pooley, former president of the Friends and now a member of the Library Board, emphasizes that computers are growing ever-more important in our society. "The library's goal should not only be to encourage reading literacy, but also computer literacy." Another sign of the impact of modern technology is the audio/video area which houses 4 video and 4 audio terminals. The lower level also includes a microfiche room, a public meeting room, and rooms for the use of literacy volunteers. All of these services show that the library's function is not limited to education. The library must provide

access to information, as well as to books. The literacy volunteer rooms and the meeting room make the library part of its community.

The administrative structure of the library has its roots in the people. Ms. Tyler explains that: "The city librarian reports to the city administration; he also reports to another group called the Library Board, which consists of eight members appointed by the Mayor, plus one member elected by the Board of Aldermen. The Library Board usually is responsible for setting policy and dealing with the city administration." Citizens who care about the library and the city are chosen to serve on this board.

The Board is not the only group which supports the library. Sally Tyler is now President of The Friends of the New Haven Free Public Library which was founded in 1971 and is made up of, in Ms. Tyler's words, "citizen supporters and advocates...Our job is to get information to members of the library and let them know what the current level of city support is; although we have a very low budget, we do fund various library programs." In addition to subsidizing over 40 programs for children, the Friends provide all materials for the summer reading program: refreshments, publicity, arts and crafts supplies, book lists, and activity books, as well as appropriate materials for historical programs, educational and cultural films, tapes, and compact discs for adults, and maintenance contracts for 2 copiers in the branch libraries. The Friends also sponsor "Books Sandwiched In," a series of reviews conducted in the United Church on the Green during lunchtime, as well as an annual used book sale, the proceeds of which are used to buy new books. The Friends also volunteer to mend books or deliver them to those unable to come to the library. There are now 400 members of the Friends. Other New Haven organizations also collaborate with the library, like a group called "Women of New Haven" which recently sponsored a series of book talks there.

The community seems actively involved in the library. On the several occasions that I visited the library, almost all of the tables were occupied. Lines formed at the circulation desk. The steps outside were heavily trafficked. The user profile was diverse: mothers and children, executives, high school students, and senior citizens, Asians, Hispanics, and Blacks. A man who had once asked me for change on the street browsed through a magazine. Although an unrepresentative segment of the entire

population may frequent most libraries, the New Haven Free Public Library seems to capture the diversity of the community.

Beyond the stained glass windows of the new library is a threatening reality. There are two signs of the danger in the library itself. The first is a petition, sponsored by the Friends, asking for more city support for the library; it has received more than 2,200 signatures so far. The second sign is more obvious. Because of budget cuts, the library can only stay open thirty-three hours per week, compared to its former sixty five hours per week. They are: M: 10:00-6:00; T: 12:30-9:00; W: 9:00-1:00; Th: 12:30-9:00; F: Closed; Sa: 12:00-4:00. These hours are odd because the library aims to serve all parts of the community, from businessmen to housewives, and created its hours accordingly. This situation is unfortunate not only for the people who currently use the library, but also for potential users, who may develop a negative attitude toward the library if they find the library so frequently closed.⁶

The reduced budget severely limits the staff and the capacity of the library to expand its book collection. Ms. Hosen reports that the library's current book budget only enables it to continue subscription-based resources. No new books can be purchased, many of which will go out of print and will not be available in the future. The library can barely function now, but the staff cannot grow. Even though the budget allots funds for 59 staff people, when a position becomes vacant, the city does not fill it. The 49 members of the library staff are unable to take vacations. If a staff member is sick, either a department must close or go under-staffed, or a branch library must close so that its workers can replace main library workers. In contrast, the Hartford and Bridgeport libraries employ 122 and 70 people respectively. Hartford's library has a book budget of \$430K, Bridgeport's of \$485K, and New Haven's of \$122K. Hartford's library is open 68 hours a week and Bridgeport's 40 hours. Even with its new building, New Haven's library cannot compare.⁷

Only money, of which there is never enough, can help this situation. Even volunteers cannot significantly compensate for the lack of staff. Because of union laws, their role inside the library is greatly limited. Ideally, the library should not be effected by fiscal crisis. It strengthens the fabric of society, like the school system. Many believe, therefore, that the city should meet the library's needs. One possible

way to provide for the financial needs of the library is to solicit private support. This is a complex issue.

Ms. Tyler relates that "we've never gotten private funding;...there are many people who feel that it is the city's responsibility... to fund the library. It's not a burden that should be pushed off on citizens. There are other people who feel that if private funds are solicited, the city will take money away from the library budget." Ms. Hosen, however, argues that this belief is false. She and other Library Board members discussed the matter with Vartan Gregorian, former head of the New York Public Library. He cited many examples of increased private support triggering increased public support. The reason for this, says Ms. Hosen, is that "fundraising heightens people's awareness of the importance of the library; government officials then respond to the concerns of these citizens."

With the city in a state of fiscal crisis, most people are reluctant to risk losing what little financial support the library does receive. One proposal that is now being investigated would grant the library a certain minimum from the city budget. This public-private partnership would stipulate that a certain percentage of the non-debt service budget automatically be earmarked for the library, regardless of funds raised privately. This way, says Ms. Tyler, "the library can count on a constant contribution from the city without jeopardizing that contribution by soliciting private funding. The proposal will take years to work out, however, because it is fraught with legal and political complexities."

Ms. Tyler's statement that the library receives no private funding is not entirely accurate. An endowment fund exists, but this fund is now used to cover the library's essential operation costs. For example, some publishers will not deal with the city because it takes so long to receive payment. The endowment could solve that problem, because checks can be issued more quickly.⁸ Money has also been allotted to allow lower level professionals to continue their education while working for the library, although no one has sought to do so for the past 5 years.

So, although private funding does exist, it is either used for necessary expenses or not used effectively. Unless solicitation produces miraculous results, private funding cannot produce the amount of money needed

Some publishers will not deal with the city because it takes so long to receive payment

Because of budget cuts, the library can only stay open thirty-three hours per week

to keep the library open, staffed, and up to date. Mr. Pooley estimates that the library could use another \$1,000,000. The chances of private support raising that much money are very slim, for several reasons. Ms. Tyler says that "the library is traditionally taken for granted, so it isn't a very exciting institution in this town. In big cities like New York, San Francisco, or Chicago, the libraries have become very popular cultural institutions, so you find a lot of private money going into the public library, but that hasn't happened here. Part of the reason is that the city of New Haven itself is so small compared to its suburbs; many of the people who would use and support the library live in Woodbridge or Hamden, and use their own town's libraries.

"A lot of the philanthropically inclined people live outside the city limits, which is not to say there aren't a lot of talented people in New Haven...[but many people] live outside; they support New Haven in other ways: the hospital, the Long Wharf Theater, or the Symphony. These are institutions they are more likely to use than the library."

Another reason support—monetary or otherwise—is not very large, is the presence of a major research University with its own libraries. Hartford and Bridgeport do have greater city support, but this may be because the library fulfills a real need among citizens for a good library, whereas many of the people who live in New Haven and who do need to use libraries use Yale libraries. Mr. Pooley, who works at Becton Center admits that "when I was asked to be on the Library Board in 1982, I had just been considering joining the Yale Library Association; at that point I decided that the New Haven Public Library was an important institution to support."

On Yale's relationship with the town, Ms. Tyler comments: "There is a certain element at Yale which feels itself to be a part of the community. I don't think it's the overwhelming mass of people at Yale; it's people who have lived around over the years and call this home. Those people are the ones doing the reviews for "Books Sandwiched In." I don't find Yale either helpful or unhelpful. Obviously it has its own libraries which are for its own use. If they were not available to the Yale community, Yale would put more energy into the New Haven library. It probably results in our library having a less significance as a useful institution."

Yale has involved itself in the library cause in at least two ways. In the fall, Calvin Shirling, a trustee of Yale involved with an off-Broadway show, gave a benefit performance for the library, the expenses of which were underwritten by Yale. In addition, the Yale University Press donated \$5,000 worth of books to the library. The library is also supported by various members of the Yale community who use it.

Located in one of the poorest cities in the country, the library faces many challenges in the future. In addition to achieving financial stability, the library needs to meet the changing needs of the citizens it serves. Books could become the least important part of the library. The library will not be able to grow and change, however, if it cannot survive times of fiscal crisis and political apathy among citizens. The opening of the new building and the closing of three branches have galvanized New Haven residents to a certain extent. But until New Haven residents make the public library a political issue, politicians will not respond. It is unfortunate that the library, a hallmark of democracy, is now at the mercy of the government whose values the library is supposed to embody. On the third wall of the main room, between the two lunettes with the scenes of the Green, a third lunette stands blank. Ms. Hosen relates that "we would have liked to create a third mural depicting life on the Green today." The fact that it stands blank underlines the fact that the future of the library is unclear. One can only hope that someday that lunette will be filled in, and the New Haven citizens depicted will be as happy as those who occupy the other murals. One can only hope that the New Haven Free Public Library will remain "democracy's resource."

1 Public Library Association. *Public Library Principles Task Force*. 1982. "The Public Library: Democracy's Resource, Statement of Principles." *Public Libraries* 21:92.

2 Campbell, H.C. "The Effect of Metropolitanism on the Public Library."

3 Interview with Kathy Hosen, conducted by the author.

4 Pungitore, Verna L. *Public Librarianship: An Issues-Oriented Approach*. New York: 1989. p.10.

5 Interview with Ms. Hosen.

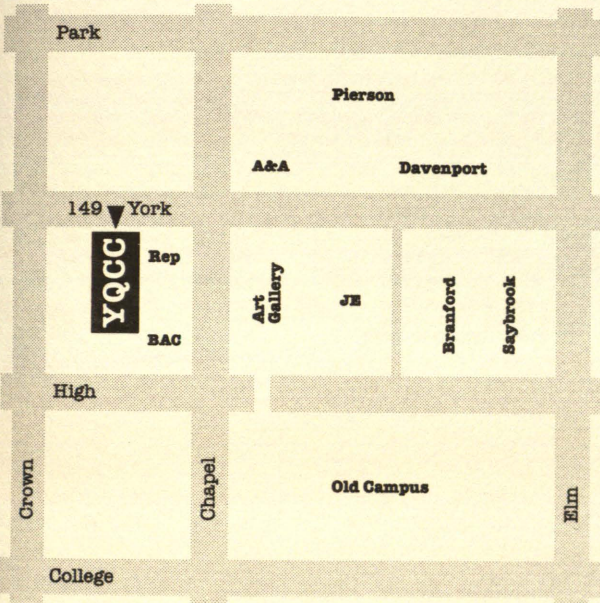
6 Interview with Mr. Pooley, conducted by the author.

7 *ibid.*

8 *ibid.*

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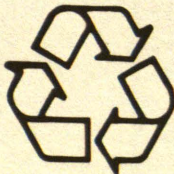
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