PHI BETA KAPPA BICENTENNIAL PLANS

Professor John Hope Franklin, president of the United Chapters, has announced further plans for the 1976 bicentennial celebration of the founding of Phi Beta Kappa. The triennial Council which will be held at the College of William and Mary during the December 5 anniversary week-end will be an especially festive meeting. It will include the presentation of an original oratorio which has been commissioned by the Society. Entitled "To Form a More Perfect Union," the oratorio is being written by Dr. Martin Robbins with music composed by Dr. James Yannatos, both of Harvard University. They hope to restate the promise of America through the words and deeds that shaped its principles, recreating the dramatic and meditative moments of public and private persons in American history, official and unofficial, through words, music, dance and visual projections. An unusual feature of the work will be the direct participation of the audience, in the speaking role of "the people" during the presentation, using a commemorative booklet as a script. It is expected that the oratorio will be video-taped. Dr. Robbins, a poet and playwright, and Dr. Yannatos, a composer and conductor, have recently collaborated on an opera for television.

Phi Beta Kappa is also attempting to win approval for the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp during the bicentennial year. Formal application has already been made to the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee, and the proposal is now on the agenda for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee early in September. Since this is a highly competitive process, members of the Society may wish to indicate their active support by writing to their congressmen and to Postmaster General E. T. Klassen. Letters may note the significance of Phi Beta Kappa's role throughout the nation's history in honoring academic excellence and encouraging scholarship in the liberal arts and sciences. It should be stressed that Phi Beta Kappa is an honor society (not a social fraternity), democratically open to all who qualify. Representatives and senators who are members of Phi Beta Kappa are cooperating with the Society in this project.

Professor Robert Lumiansky, chairman of the bicentennial committee, also reports that arrangements have been made for the publication of the books which are being written by the scholars who were awarded bicentennial fellowships. The seven winners of the $20,000 fellowship grants are: Gar Alperovitz, Peter Cleck, Lewis Anthony Dexter, Lawrence W. Levine, Jethro K. Lieberman, Leo Marx, and James A. Ogilvy.

During the anniversary year there will be a special issue of The American Scholar and the Visiting Scholar Program will be enlarged. A bicentennial poem is being written by Melville Cane.

1974 SIBLEY FELLOW

Brigitte Jacqueline Cazelles, a Ph.D. candidate in Old French Literature at the University of California, Riverside, has been awarded the 1974 Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship in French. Miss Cazelles will use the $6,000 stipend to complete her dissertation, an analysis of Les Miracles de la Vierge by Gautier de Coinci. This is a poetic work which reflects the changing literary values of the thirteenth century. Miss Cazelles is especially interested in the manner in which the themes of weakness and the power of spiritual infancy humanize the medieval concept of the hero.

The new Sibley Fellow is a native of Rabat, Morocco. She received her Baccalauréat at the University of Paris and Licence (M.A.) from the Sorbonne and also worked at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris. She has already collaborated in the writing of articles and a book in the field of medieval French literature. Miss Cazelles will spend part of her fellowship year in France and expects to follow a career of teaching and research after completing her doctoral work.

(continued on back cover)

NEW FORMAT

This issue of The Key Reporter introduces a redesigned format for Phi Beta Kappa's newsletter. The "new look" includes a different masthead, melior style type and unjustified open columns. With this modernized design, it is hoped that The Key Reporter will be read with greater ease and enjoyment by the 225,000 members to whom it is mailed.

Brigitte Jacqueline Cazelles
My remarks will focus on Equal Opportunity, Free From Gender-Based Discrimination. "Women’s rights” seems to me less clearly descriptive of our concern; that label has been used by advocates of sharp lines between the sexes, as well as by feminists who champion equal opportunity for women and men. For example, opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment assert that the amendment will destroy “the wonderful rights women have.” Proponents, on the other hand, claim that the supposed favors conferred or forced on women serve ultimately to keep them “in their place,” and to insulate man’s world from women’s competition.

Is there a middle ground? At least one of our Supreme Court Justices indicated last year his belief that there is. In an informal discussion with Harvard students, Justice Stewart remarked that women occupy the best of all possible legal worlds: They have the right to challenge laws that discriminate against them, and at the same time, to preserve laws that discriminate in their favor. Apart from a remedy specifically drawn to rectify past discrimination in a particular setting, however, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to identify any legislative measure for women only that would aid in terminating, rather than perpetuating sex discrimination.

Consider these examples of laws once thought by jurists to protect women or to discriminate in women’s favor.

In 1922, the Supreme Court approved a state license fee exemption accorded women operators of hand laundries employing only women. The exemption terminated if the female boss hired a man to work on the premises. Earlier, in 1873 and again in 1894, the Court had upheld prohibitions against women’s admission to the bar. Some thought that a favor — women were to be spared the foul language and noxious atmosphere sometimes encountered in the courtroom. The same rationale was used through the 60’s to keep women off juries. In 1948, the Supreme Court upheld a prohibition against women working behind a bar. Again, chivalrous gentlemen described this as a favor — women needed protection from barroom brawls. These decisions conveyed a rather clear message: Women may be favored in their place in occupations deemed suitable to them; but they may be disfavored, indeed barred, when the occupation ranks as a male preserve.

In 1937, the Court approved this differential on access to the ballot box: Men in the state in question had to pay poll tax for every year since they attained their majority; women were spared the tax for years in which they refrained from voting. Was this a “woman’s right,” or did it signify that women were regarded as less than fully responsible members of the community?

Compare the similar “right” still conferred on women by New York and several other states with respect to service on juries. Best of all possible worlds: women may serve if they so desire, but need not serve if that is their preference. In 1970, a NYS trial judge addressed himself to the issue of automatic exemption of women from jury service. The case involved a woman engaged in a controversy with her landlord. She complained that the exemption deprived her of a jury of her peers, since excusing women for the asking tends to produce predominantly male juries. The judge said in his published opinion: Don’t complain to me. Your lament should be addressed to the state of womanhood that prefers cleaning and cooking, rearing of children and television soap operas, bridge and canasta, the beauty parlor and shopping to (civic responsibility).

So much for the image projected by a person with a right, but no corresponding responsibility.

Finally, recall the “wonderful rights” women once had as protection from untoward working conditions. In nations that never proceeded on the assumption that female, but not male workers needed protection, Norway for example, Worker Protective Acts covered men and women together from the start. One of the supposed protections thrust on women in the United States was featured in an equal pay case decided by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1974. The job in question, inspecting glass, was once regarded as women’s work. When the company opened a night shift, in the 1920’s, it could not hire women, for state laws protected women from working after 10:00 p.m. So men were sought for the night shift and, to attract them to the job, they were offered twice the pay women were receiving.

Similar examples of old-style “women’s rights” abound, but perhaps these suffice to illustrate a point made by Sarah Grimke, noted feminist and abolitionist, over a century ago. Addressing an all-male legislature in 1837, she said: I ask no favors for my sex. All I ask of our brethren is that they take their feet off our necks.

Favors rarely come without exacting a price.

Consider this case in point. During a marriage that tragically ended after three years, the wife, a school teacher, was the principal breadwinner. The husband, starting up a business in the couple’s home, incidentally attended to most of the housekeeping chores. Her annual income was approximately $10,000; his, $3,000. In the summer of 1972, the wife died in childbirth. The young widower, struggling to care for his infant, to maintain his home, and to secure employment, applied to Social Security for survivor’s benefits he thought due to him under his wife’s account. That benefit, he was informed, is owed only to a widow. Indeed, it is specifically labelled a “Mother’s Benefit,” not a parent’s benefit. On December 14, 1973, a federal district court recognized the fundamental unfairness of this scheme. It held that the exclusion of widowed fathers from benefits discriminates against men and children who have lost their wives and mothers, but perhaps primarily against gainfully employed women, who contribute to Social Security as much as their male counterparts, but whose labor secures less protection for their families.

Do women need special favors because, as child bearers, they perform a function no man can accomplish? In January 1974, it appeared that new light was dawning in the Supreme Court on this issue. The Court held that a pregnant school teacher could not be denied the right to work if the teacher’s physician thought her fully fit to do so. Far from being placed on a pedestal, women in the job market have been penalized for pregnancy. With few exceptions, they have been denied fringe benefits granted to others with physical conditions that occasion a period of temporary disability. In 1972, the Equal Employment
Opportunity Commission issued guidelines declaring generally that for job-related purposes, pregnancy must be treated as any other temporary disability. A number of state and federal courts and other authorities arrived at the same conclusion. They found no reason in logic or fairness to distinguish disability due to childbirth from other temporary disabilities. However, the Supreme Court adhered to an old line here. In June, 1974, six of the justices held that it was not a denial of equal protection to exclude pregnant women, along with institutionalized drug addicts, from a state's income protection program for disabled workers.

To summarize, only those who have failed to learn the lessons of the past can regard old-style "women's rights" as a viable system. Rather, as Sarah Grimke urged, women must have the same rights and responsibilities as men if they are to achieve equal opportunity, free from gender-based discrimination. Some important steps in the new direction have been taken by our legislatures and courts over the past decade.

The Supreme Court has begun to strike down some sex lines in the law once accepted as in the nature of things. For example, last term the Court declared unconstitutional a military fringe benefit scheme that worked like this: A married male member of the military received a substantial housing allowance, regardless of the dependency of his spouse; a female member was denied this allowance even if she was the family's principal breadwinner. The female member qualified only if she supplied over half her husband's support.

The plaintiffs were Sharron and Joseph Frontiero. Sharron was a Lieutenant in the Air Force; Joseph, a full-time student. Sharron's income covered nearly three-fourths of the family's budget. But Joseph's G.I. Bill checks took care of just over half his expenses (or just over one-fourth of the family's expenses) — hence, no housing allowance for the Frontieros. In their complaint, the Frontieros, like the young widower in the case just described, charged double-edged discrimination. Sharron was denied an allowance paid to similarly situated males; Joseph was denied benefits granted automatically for similarly situated females.

The law in question represented a common statutory arrangement. For example, as the young widower's case illustrates, a husband's earnings bring fringe benefits to his family under social security and other employment-related programs; a wife's earnings generally have not. Some thought the Supreme Court's Frontiero decision signalled the end for such differentials. But on April 24, 1974, the Court retrenched. Six of the Justices held a state property tax exemption for "widows only" permissible.

Justice Douglas who wrote the opinion for the majority declared the gender classification acceptable so long as the legislature could come up with some reason for it. Just a day earlier, Justice Douglas had declared that so far as race is concerned any state sponsored preference to one over another is unconstitutional. Some commentators consider him wrong on both counts. However, he made one point that is unassailable: The main purpose of the equal protection clause was to end racial discrimination. Sex discrimination was no concern of the framers of the equal protection guarantee.

Constitutional litigation with respect to sex discrimination is thus retarded by historic fact. The tools pressed into service by feminist lawyers are the due process and equal protection clauses of the Constitution. But one thing is perfectly clear: neither the Fifth nor the Fourteenth Amendment was designed with women in mind. As to the original understanding of the framers of the Constitution, consider Thomas Jefferson's appraisal:

Wore our state a pure democracy there would still be excluded from our deliberations women, who, to prevent deprivation of morals or ambiguity of issues, should not mix promiscuously in gatherings of men.

And when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, Congress rejected Susan B. Anthony's pleas for a specific guarantee that women and men stand as equals before the law. Recall that at that time in our nation's history, total political silence was imposed on women — they could not vote or hold office, and if they married they could not contract or hold property except under their husband's aegis.

Since present constitutional guarantees were not framed with a view toward eradication of gender-based discrimination, for over half a century, feminists of both sexes have urged ratification of an Equal Rights Amendment. What was once a distant dream is now a near-reality. Thirty-three states have ratified the ERA since its approval by Congress in 1972; these states represent the vast majority of the nation's population. The ERA, now top priority of the League of Women Voters and supported by the AFL-CIO, seems destined to become part of our fundamental law in time for the nation's bicentennial.

The ERA, like the due process and equal protection clauses, restricts governmental action. Unless action by government is implicated, constitutional guarantees of even-handed treatment do not control conduct in the private sector. However, Congress as well as state and local legislatures, and executives at every level of government, have made equal opportunity, and eradication of gender-based discrimination, the responsibility of private as well as public employers.

No fanfare marked the beginning of the new-style statutory rights given to women. In 1963, Congress mandated equal pay for equal work, a proposition that has universal appeal, at least in principle. (Practice continues to lag far behind.) In itself enactment of the Equal Pay Act was hardly an innovation. The ILO had adopted a convention on the subject in 1951; France had insisted in 1958 that an equal pay provision be included in the Rome Treaty that launched the EEC. Moreover, some have been sold on the equal pay principle by the argument that if the employer must pay men and women the same wage, the employer will, of course, prefer to hire men.

But the next year, a more significant development occurred: sex was included, along with race, religion and national origin, in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII was not drafted with women in mind. Indeed, the category "sex" was added by floor amendment — not by a proponent of equal rights, but by a Congressman who sought thereby to defeat the entire bill. His tactic backfired. Complaints of sex discrimination under Title VII have been substantial from the start, and the charges mount higher each season. Probably the most potent weapon against employment discrimination, especially as strengthened by 1972 amendments, Title VII protects women and men against discrimination in hiring, firing, and all terms and conditions of employment. The notion underlying the race and sex discrimination prohibitions of

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Title VII is this: each person is entitled to be judged on the basis of his or her individual capacity; a visible and immutable biological characteristic — one that bears no necessary relation to ability — may not be used to foreclose individual opportunity.

Consistent with Title VII's non-discrimination mandate, Presidential Executive Orders have been issued barring sex discrimination by the Government itself, all its agencies, and all those who contract with the Government. In 1972, Congress enacted the first comprehensive ban on assistance to educational institutions that discriminate on the basis of sex, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

A number of state and local governments have adopted measures comparable to the Federal Executive Orders, Equal Pay Act and Title VII.

It may be appropriate to conclude these comments with observations on two particularly sensitive points. First, does affirmative action required by anti-discrimination laws imply reverse discrimination? Second, are women equipped to pursue equality, or will this route, as Lionel Tiger and some others fear, prove harmful to women and their daughters? As to affirmative action, discrimination in the job market has been the traditional pattern — discrimination in favor of white males, and sometimes a narrower subspecies of that broad class. That pattern, of course, must be terminated. But when an employer traditionally has acted on the basis of a gender characteristic, by hiring only males, gender must be taken into account in order to undo what has been done. Otherwise, the effects of past discrimination will be perpetuated long into the future. Consider a not so hypothetical case in point: police women seek the exam for promotion to police sergeant. They are barred for lack of patrol duty experience. Why did they lack this experience? Because patrol jobs are closed to women. Affirmative action is called for in this situation — to provide women with the training needed (and up to now denied them) to qualify for sergeants' jobs.

Last year, a Yonkers, N.Y. Rotarian had the last word when members of the National Organization for Women spoke at a meeting of his club.

I'm a firm believer in nature. If women were intellectually equal to men, wouldn't equality have come about 1000 years ago?

The answer, of course, is that few women had even an outside chance until the era in which we are living. But in the 1000 years of concern to the Rotarian, most women worked harder in their place than men or women do in the jobs they hold today. Before the mass production age, women's lives were crowded with economic as well as reproductive activity. Women labored to supply the market with food and goods now machine cultivated or manufactured. This activity, coupled with shorter adult life spans and the constant burden of childbearing, explain the historic phenomenon. Inferior intellectual equipment? The Rotarian would be chagrined to discover that women now outscore men on aptitude tests for the study of law — a profession traditionally stigmatized as male.

Physically inferior? The life insurance specialists tell us otherwise.

Could it be that the Rotarian's question and others like it, cover an underlying fear? The matter was put this way by Susan Brownmiller in a journal for business executives:

A mediocre man ... will suffer the pinch most sharply. No longer will he be assured a comfortable berth.... He stands to be displaced ... by top-flight women on their way up and he will be under assault from equally mediocre women who are perhaps a shade more aggressive or sociable or better connected. Mediocre women have a right to equal treatment too.

I leave it to you to judge whether there is more than a kernel of truth in that comment.

Twin features of contemporary life have combined to make new-style women's rights an idea that is here to stay: curtailed population goals and reduction of necessary home-centered activity. These factors have created an atmosphere in which women and men, who are not so captivated by traditional roles, can create new traditions by their actions, if artificial barriers are removed, and avenues of opportunity held open to them. Until very recently, the law has cast its weight on the side of the status quo, providing support for traditional sex-role allocations, and deterring deviations from the historic pattern. But change is in the wind — the law has begun to provide a stimulus toward a society in which members of both sexes are free to pursue their individual talents. With ratification of the equal rights amendment, my hope and expectation is that the law will develop on course in the new direction.
recommended by the book committee

humanities
GUY A. CARDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN, FREDERICK J. CROSSON
EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS, LEONARD W. DOOB, ANDREW GYORGY, MADELINE R. ROBITON, VICTORIA SCHUCK, JAMES C. STONE, ELLIOT ZUPNICK

social sciences
J. T. BALDWIN, JR., KIRTLEY F. MATHER

natural sciences

MADELINE R. ROBITON
This is a fascinating book. The Dark Ages in British history are illuminated by brilliant use of the sources. Contemporary writings, British, Irish and continental, archeological finds, topography and place names, inscriptions and genealogies, Lives of Saints, poetry and legend, all are critically investigated and masterfully woven together into a lively story. To Morris the “age of Arthur” is the beginning of modern British history.” His analysis of that society emphasizes the role of the churchmen, both British and Irish, in spreading their radical ideas from the time of Pelagius, “esteemed in Rome as the most polished writer of his day,” to that of the reformers who founded monasteries across Europe as far east as Kiev. Morris is concerned with describing the society in which their ideas took root. The notes to sources and maps are a treasure trove.

A fine collection of letters written by Jewish overseas traders in the Islamic world from Spain and Morocco to India in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were found in the Cairo Geniza, “a place where discarded writings on which the name of God was . . . written were deposited in order to preserve them from desecration.” Professor Goitein has selected and edited eighty of the twelve hundred letters he has identified for this volume. In a short introduction he discusses their provenance and highlights aspects of the trade, its organization and its goods, the social and family relationships, and the philosophy and beliefs of these merchants that particular letters illustrate. For each letter the writer and recipient are identified and its contents illumined by Goitein’s superb scholarship.

A history of Venice from the fifth to the eighteenth centuries written by a scholar long recognized for his distinguished work on Venetian maritime period. This book reflects his interests and is at its best when it treats those subjects. Master of his sources and the bibliography, Professor Lane offers a compendium of information and a basic book.

For over fifty years the theories of Hobson and Lenin have been consciously or unconsciously absorbed as proven explanation for the emergence of imperialism after 1880. Here, imperialism, a “bad” word is subjected to rigorous scrutiny. Fieldhouse analyses figures for trade and export of capital of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the United States and other imperialist countries and provides some case studies in Africa, Asia and the Pacific to ascertain the role of economic factors as determinants of official policy.

A collection of essays on fundamental problems of concern to the libertarian: liberty and authority, church and state, corruption in government, by the professor of English history in University College, London. Although his research is mainly in the Tudor period, Professor Hurstfield ranges over the centuries for the purpose of contrast and complement. The Recovery of Europe 1945-1973. Richard Mayne. Anchor, p. $2.95.
A useful and interestingly written survey of the beginnings of the European Common Market written by an Englishman who has served on the staff of the European Coal and Steel Community and the British Commission to the Common Market. Good bibliography.

A detailed study of the complicated struggle for power by political factions in the Long Parliament from the death of Pym in 1643 to the emergence of Cromwell and Pride’s Purg.

GUY A. CARDWELL
A profoundly scholarly history that illuminates Jewish mysticism while tracing out a messianic movement that culminating in 1665-66, swept through the whole House of Israel. Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures. G. S. Kirk. Cambridge & California. $3.45.
This wide-ranging study includes critiques of important theorists (such as Frazer, Freud, Cassirer, and Lévi-Strauss) and argues large, fascinating questions.

Tells in absorbing detail how syncretists brought into the Christian tradition such “Ancient Theologians” as Moses, Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, and Plato.

Extensively quoted verses, with translations, help us to see why a Russian poet who has been little known until recently is now being ranked with Yeats and Eliot. He is supposed to have died in 1936 as a political prisoner. This is an informed survey of the life and works. The Image in Form: Selected Writings of Adrian Stokes. Edited by Richard Wollheim. Harper & Row. $10. p. $4.95.
Stokes (d. 1972) has become a cult figure (especially in England) among readers in the criticism of art. His intensity of apprehension is matched by his virtuosity of language, images and allusions. His psychological bias ties art to corporeality and the representation of inner being.

Much more than a catalog, this opulently illustrated volume includes textual matter that constitutes something like a guide to Chinese painting.

A record of Bushman’s paintings in the gorge that holds South Africa’s richest concentration of parietal art. Thoroughly detailed; remarkable illustrations.

The 144 colored plates from watercolors are as delicately beautiful as could be imagined.

Something that was not previously available, a substantial, readable history of Florence under the Medici rule.

The Eye of the Storm. Patrick White. Viking. $8.95.
The novel seems to be alive and well and living all over the world. As White, a Nobel laureate in 1973 and an Australian, writes a traditional, well-made commentary on life. The other novelists mentioned here (all of them exhibiting vitality) are more technically innovative and show a range of attitudes toward the function of literature.

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These are grouped under five headings, each of which has a prefatory note by the editor, who is also responsible for the highly informative introduction.

**Originality and Competition in Science.** Jerry Gaston. Chicago. $10.95. A brilliant study of "the British high energy physics community," with lively comparisons between it and its counterpart (more or less) in the U.S.A. A valuable contribution to the newly burgeoning sociology of science. The foreword by John Ziman is priceless, once one has learned to read his acronyms.

**Galileo: Two New Sciences: A New Translation with Introduction and Notes.** Stillman Drake. Wisconsin. $12.50, p. $4.50. Of special interest to historians of science, this erudite work gives new insights concerning the life and intellectual faculties of the 17th Century genius largely responsible for the displacement of the Aristotelian world-view by what we now call classical physics, as well as a translation into English of his last and most important work, that makes obsolete the 1914 English translation.

**The Meaning of Teilhard de Chardin.** Alice Valle Knight. Devin-Adair. $7.50. Teilhard was a geologist, especially concerned with vertebrate paleontology, as well as a Jesuit priest. Since his death in 1955, his philosophy of life has had a strong impact on the minds of many people throughout the world. In this praiseworthy "primer," Mrs. Knight provides easy access to his ideas, not all of which can be understood by those unacquainted with his vocabulary and his sometimes opaque expressions. Simply stated, Teilhard believed in the union of science and religion, and was convinced that evolution has a definite goal.

**Applying the Systems Approach to Urban Development.** Jack W. Lapata. Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross. $18. A pioneer book, much-needed by those concerned with the obstinate and complex problems of the modern city. The reader is first introduced to the systems approach and methodology. Then its application to such urban problems as transportation, protective services, education, and welfare is considered.

**VICTORIA SCHUCK**

**The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value.** Edward A. Purcell, Jr. Kentucky. $11.50. A brilliant analysis of the impact of scientific naturalism on the law, philosophy, and the social sciences in the first two decades of the twentieth century culminating in the challenge to traditional theory posed by the crises of the 1930s; the activities of various ideas in the late thirties and early forties; the eventual dominance of relativist theory as the empirical basis of democracy.

**Four Reforms — A Guide for the Seventies.** William F. Buckley, Jr. Putnam's. $4.95. Proposals for innovations in welfare, tax and education policy and for improved crime enforcement, energetically and skilfully argued by a conservative who strikes a blow for antiauthoritarianism.

**The Separation of College and State: Columbus, Davenport, Harvard, and Yale, 1776-1925.** John S. Whithead. Yale. $10. A fresh, absorbing account from trustee minutes and state documents detailing the financial and administrative entwinement of higher education with state governments from pre-Revolutionary times until 1876 when the concept of "private" as opposed to "public" actually took root.

**Presidential Television.** Newton N. Minow, John Bartlow Martin, Lee M. Mitchell. A Twentieth Century Fund Report. Basic. $8.95. A critical examination of the increasing dominance of television time by Presidents, which threatens to impair constitutional checks and balances. The authors review the inadequacy of present federal regulatory practices and recommend major statutory changes to restore the balance.


**Democrats and Progressives: The 1948 Presidential Election as a Test of Post-War Liberalism.** Allen Yarnell. California. $9.95. This well-documented, cogently written monograph refutes the long-held contention that a third party has a "positive effect" on a major party. Evidence indicates that Henry Wallace's party had no influence on Truman's domestic or foreign policy in the campaign, unintentionally facilitating a Democratic victory.

**Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Commentary on The Spirit of the Laws.** Thomas L. Pangle. Chicago. $10. A sagacious and comprehensive commentary on the work of the eighteenth-century philosopher whose influence has long stemmed primarily from his theory of the separation of powers. Today's battles over liberalism make his understanding of the concept of signal importance.

**Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States.** James L. Sundquist. Brookings. $8.95 p. $3.95. An in-depth study of three critical periods in party history, the 1830s, 1890s, and 1930s from which a theory of realignment is derived. Models applied to recent elections point to no new realignment. Instead data indicate continued convergence of party strength along New Deal lines, with looser voter attachments.

**Dynamics of the Vietnam War: A Quantitative Analysis and Predictive Computer Simulation.** Jeffrey S. Milstein. Ohio State. $12.50. Two models, the "hawk" and "dove" policy positions, are tested retrospectively as to their utility in achieving the goals of U.S. policy-makers.
Academic Women on the Move. Edited by Alice S. Rossi and Ann Caldenwood. Russell Sage Foundation. $12.50. This is a book about women, about women, to be read (hopefully) by both men and women. While some of the latter probably are familiar with the problem, Academic Women on the Move addresses the issue in a scholarly and persuasive fashion. Included are chapters on the pervasive disbelief in women's abilities without higher education, institutional barriers to women students, women dropouts in higher education, women attempting to compete in the male world seeking access to doctoral programs, and jobs. All these problems and more are treated in depth in separate articles written by specialists in each area who have "been there" and now are able to pull back from the firing line and address the issue with objectivity, reasonableness and ample data. The 29 authors' fields of specialization run the gamut from classics to economics, education, English, history, political science, philosophy, psychiatry, sociology; and their expertise extends to researchers to administrators. A book that is a first in its field — a collection of systematic studies of the status of women in higher education — warrants attention. If a "first" is scholarly, comprehensive, thorough and persuasive (as this one is), it deserves recognition as a significant contribution. Like other "firsts," it will be controversial.

Action Toward Change is the most provocative section of the book. In six chapters, seven authorities in the field of sex discrimination argue for political action, more research on the problems and issues, internal remedies which colleges and universities (and elementary and high schools too though the authors don't mention this) can institute, how the Federal government has given a boost through "contract compliance," and the results that can and are being achieved via affirmative action. The current steady state of higher education and the foredoomed drop in college enrollments is frankly faced with its implications on training and the employment future. Thus, while the authors admit the future is not bright, either for employment or the lessening of discrimination, neither are they pessimistic.

To Understand Is to Invent: The Future of Education: Jean Piaget. Grossman. $7.50. Piaget's book is a futurist look at education on an international and structural level. He divides his ideas into roughly three ideas: (1) The role of a teacher in experiential learning; (2) What are the "liberal arts," and where do the arts and science merge in the learning process; (3) The basic and inherent right to an education as guaranteed by Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. Through these three stages, Piaget examines some of the major ideological conflicts existing in education today. Undoubtedly, this is the best of Piaget and by Piaget himself rather than a book by someone telling us what he meant. His "civil rights" section is entirely new. The right to education, therefore, is neither more nor less than the right of an individual to develop normally, in accord with all the potential he possesses, and the obligation that society has to transform this potential into useful and effective fulfillment.

Unanswered are such thought-provoking issues as: (1) how does one impose the criteria used for individual potential and (2) what is effective fulfillment, i.e., is it personal fulfillment, or productive societal fulfillment?

Public Schools of Choice: A Plan for the Reform of American Education. Mario D. Fantini. Simon & Schuster. $8.95. "Public schools can work" is the main thesis of Fantini's book, provided within each school system alternative forms of education are available. He proposes a "public school of choice" model which provides parents, students, and teachers with direct choices as to which alternative educational model or form they wish to follow. Thus, the author has provided a response, psychologically and in a long-existing problem in education: What do we do with a child who doesn't thrive in the existing public school framework's atmosphere. In order for such a system to work, however, a criteria must be established. Here is where the controversy starts. The author presents his own five "rules." I've developed my own five rules. Maybe you'd like to develop your own too!

EARL W. COUNT

The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet. Stephen Beyer. California. $20. A young and able scholar of religion, turned ethnographer without abrogating his first identity, versed in the languages and literature of Tibetan Mahayana dwell among its custodians and practitioners. Commencing from the manifest cult itself, he sounded wide and deep its intricate traditional well-springs: and a fitting deftness kept him from adding a "conclusion." The venture is something novel in hermeneutics. Were a Japanese scholar to settle among Alpine monasteries to see and think his way into the Cult of the Virgin Mary (I do not push the comparison) not as a devotee but to understand, imaginably he would come forth with a foil. At all events — may this tribe increase.

The Destiny of a King. Georges Dumézil. Translated by Alf Hiltebeitel. Chicago. $10. The author well known and controversial in his homeland, continues to spade the soil of Indo-European myth and society, starting from the relics of tradition carried by the diaspora. (See TKR, Summer, 1967. 5c: Littleton, The New Comparative Mythology; Winter 1973-4, 7a: Dumezil, Gods of the Ancient Northmen.) Here, he incises the Indo-Iranian "totality of meaning" which carries into the ancient cultic status of virginity among Romans, Celts, Germans.

The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe, 7000 to 3500 B.C. Myths, Legends and Cult Images. Marija Gimbutas. California. $20. Were there a museum of "Old Europe," this might well be your guide-book over a cultural stratum far older than the diffusions from the Near East and the survivals of the Indo-Europeans. The latter Occident has indeed buried it; it perdures nevertheless. The hoary heartland is seated from Moravia to the Dniepr, Central Italy to the Anatolian coast, it includes Sicily, Crete, all the Balkans, Gods and Goddesses were composite of pre-agricultural economies: sexually dimorphic, yet without dipolarizing the sex principle; society nonetheless built upon a female fertility.

Legends of the Earth: Their Geologic Origins. Dorothy B. Vitaliano. Indiana. $12.50. "Geomythology." The geological facts and, where relevant, the sober history behind the folklore of certain striking landmarks and ubiquitous phenomena; particularly, earthquakes, vulcanisms, floods. The "The" Deluge (for instance) emulates from a plain loaded with diluvial layers, one of which (4th millennium B.C.) is exceptionally heavy; but the primary of the legend comes from the accident of historical embellishment. "Atlantis" — actually, a tale from Plato — reverberates plausibly from the tremendous eruption(s) of Santorini (Thera) which seems to have dealt abruptly with Minoan civilization and sent darkness and despair over Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean.

Riddles in History. Cyrus H. Gordon. Crown. $7.95. They are the Paraiba inscription (Brazil), the Vinland map (Basel?), the Kensington stela (Minnesota), the Spirit Pond runestones (Maine), several less celebrated ones. The author is well known for his forthright expository powers and formidable scholarship; he commands archaic Semitics, Norse runes, cryptography. He is convinced of westward transatlantic passage, no later than the 6th century B.C. and sometime in Roman days (Semitic, to Central and South America); 12th-14th centuries A.D. (Norse to inland North America). And he cannot suppress an exasperation over any who may confound obsturate skepticism with scientific caution.

Archaeological Decipherment: A Handbook. E. J. W. Barber. Princeton. $15. Be you worker or watcher, here is a cleanly written, widely comprehended of a science, full-statured by virtue of the fossil languages, usually with their own scripts, now cropping up profusely from the Earth: Enthusiastic analysis furnishes a trayful of instruments; but the sine qua non is today's sophisticated linguistics. There are new techniques, including computer analyses, promising more or less.

An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe Before and After Rhodes. Lawrence Vanne. Pittsburgh. $6.95. The author's formal report on how he has put the natives effectively in their place is not necessarily truer and complement than the natives' careful oral traditions about the same happenings. The author, black Rhodesian, writes knowledgeably, with straight-forward dignity and unblurred perspective.

SUMMER, 1974
NATIONAL HUMANITIES
FACULTY SETS NEW PROJECT

Dr. Arleigh D. Richardson, III, director of the NHF, has announced that
the National Humanities Faculty's new project will be "The
American Covenant: The Moral Uses of Power." The two-year project is
designated to enlist teachers selected nationwide in a penetrating study of
American culture and in the development of pertinent classroom materials
and curriculum.

As in the first Thematic Project, twenty schools representing a strong
cross section of American education, both in terms of geography and school
types and strengths, will be selected to participate in the "American
Covenant" project. Applications for affiliation are available from the NHF office
and must be submitted by September 30, 1974. School visits by NHF members, eminent humanists
from universities and other educational institutions, will begin in January
1975, with the first summer workshop to be held in July 1975.

Teachers selected to participate in the program receive stipends for their
summer work as well as graduate credits. Direct costs for all Faculty visits to the schools (15 days per year)
are assumed by the NHF.

Central to the two-year investigation will be the development of specific
courses tailored to the needs of each participant school in either individual disciplines (history, literature, social
studies, American studies, music, art, law, philosophy, religion, etc.), or
interdisciplinary studies of American culture and history, or both. Intellectual concerns will focus on the interplay
of the topic's key concepts: power, morality, and covenant.

1974 SIBLEY FELLOW
(continued from page one)

The award for 1975 will be offered for
Greek studies. Candidates must be unmarried women between 25 and 35
ages which hold the doctorate or who have fulfilled all the requirements
for the doctorate except the dissertation. They must be planning to
devote full-time work to research
during the fellowship year which begins September 1, 1975. Further
information and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Mary
Isabel Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20009.

Serving on this year's Award Com-
mittee were Professor Robert
Champigny of Indiana University, as
chairman. Professor Helen North of
Swarthmore College, and Professor
Janet Letts of Wheaton College.
Professors North and Letts are Sibley Fellowship alumnas.

The National Humanities Faculty is the
single major federally funded organization in the area of content-
oriented humanities education. It was
founded in 1968 by the joint efforts of Phi Beta Kappa, the American Council of
Learned Societies, and the American Council on Education and is funded primarily by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Persons wishing applications and additional information about either the new Thematic Project or other NHF activities should apply directly to The National Humanities Faculty, 1266
Main Street, Concord, MA. 01742
(617-369-7800).

ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION
INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

The American Council on Education (ACE), on September 3, 1974, invites its 1400 member colleges and universities, through their presidents and chief academic officers, to nominate candidates for the eleventh class of ACE Fellows in Academic Administration. The program provides a preservice opportunity for faculty and junior staff (age range: 30-45), through seminars and a 9-12 month internship experience, to prepare for possible careers in academic administration.

The deadline for acceptance of the invitation is October 15. Candidates are nominated by institutions and personal applications are not accepted. For information, write or call Dr. Thomas M. Stauffer, American Council on Education, One