

gave a courtly welcome to feminism, and with reason, because feminism was based on the sexual distinction and recognized the separateness of human beings. With less reason, liberals now give nervous hospitality to the varieties of radical self-expression. To be sure, liberal hospitality in the system of administered tolerance tends to transform expression into speech and interest. Obscenity takes the verbal form of pornography so that it can have "redeeming social value," and women's liberation is placated with quotas. But the system of administered tolerance does not work by itself in any context of opinions or with any cast of characters. Contrary to the radical analysis, liberal society requires successful politics in which competent politicians act imaginatively and speak skillfully to produce a ruling majority. Liberals today are not likely to take this requirement for granted, for they sense quite correctly that

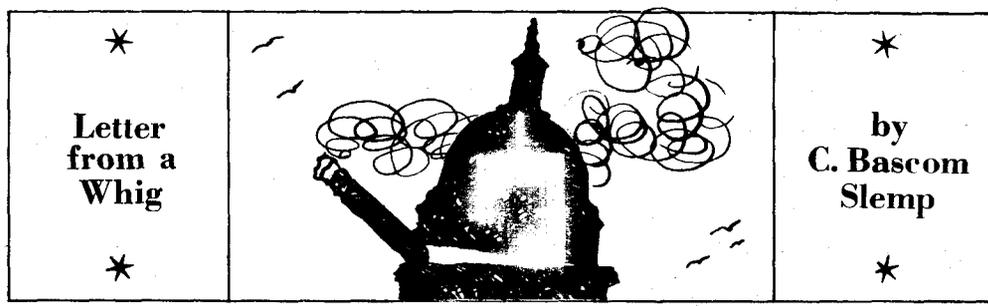
their leaders have been outgeneraled by Richard Nixon.

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To support able politicians, certain fundamental opinions hostile to the radical doctrine of self-expression are also required. As we have seen, politics is recognized as important only if the connection between reason and self-love is understood as a problem for men. With this understanding, which does not have to be sophisticated in most, a liberal citizen will find his opinions on the separateness of human beings, and accept that there are others outside himself who have rights and to whom he has duties. He will regard the making of a whole community not as a matter of course, but as requiring care in construction and preservation. If he is re-

flective, he—or she—will wonder why the separateness of human beings is unchangeable and what this implies about the power of human beings.

The radical doctrine of self-expression, implying the facile, though destructive, creation of a common body of human beings, stands in plain opposition to these opinions. That doctrine is drawn from Marx and Nietzsche, Marx supplying its wish to make man whole again and Nietzsche furnishing the partisan bite of willful mastery. I have not attempted to examine the doctrine here, but only to show some of its consequences and its hostility to liberalism. On the way we have seen that liberalism does after all have an understanding of itself as a whole in the work of liberal politics. As for partisan spirit, one may suggest a moderate, retrospective anger at the angry, as it is rather late for a liberal backlash against their radical enemies. □



"One Year of Watergate Is Enough"

(WASHINGTON)—It was that time of year again. President Nixon came before the Congress to deliver his State of the Union message. But as the President outlined his major legislative goals for the coming year the eyes of Congress still focused on Watergate. What appeared to be a warm reception on national television was, in fact, a partisan show. Republicans, cabinet members, and members of the diplomatic corps applauded loudly while most Democrats refrained from even perfunctory applause. Whether "one year . . . is enough" still remains to be seen.

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For those interested in the "vital" statistics of the first session of the Ninety-third Congress, the Commerce Clearing House's Congressional Index reported the following: The House of Representatives was in session for 175 days, for a total of 790 hours. Our senators met on 184 days, or 1,084 hours. If you're interested in knowing how much the senators and congressmen earned, the Commerce Clearing House broke down their \$42,500 annual salaries, both per diem and in terms of an hourly salary. Based on the number of days the House and Senate convened, the "daily salary" for congressmen was \$240; for senators it was \$230. The hourly rate for senators would be \$46 and for congressmen \$53.

During the first session of the Ninety-third Congress 17,528 bills were introduced, at an approximate cost of \$1,500 per

introduction. Such a volume of legislation might not seem surprising, considering the "many urgent problems" confronting the nation. On the other hand it does seem a rather expensive escapade to introduce that many pieces of legislation in light of the fact that the Senate passed only 726 bills, and the House passed even less, 717. Of the legislation that passed 244 enactments were signed by President Nixon, and one bill (the war powers measure) became law through Congress' override of a veto.

In its laborious efforts Congress filled 32,325 pages of that award-winning per- lustration we have so often talked about—the *Congressional Record*. Given an estimate of 1,500 words per page, the total word output would be 65 million or, as the Commerce Clearing House reports, 233,000 words for each new public act. (And still, with rare exception, no one ever really knows what the legislation passed truly means.)

Of the 32,325 pages in the *Congressional Record* for 1973, 8,325 were devoted to the so-called extraneous commentary. Such extraneous commentary is used for all kinds of pertinent political activities, including the praising of a constituent on the birthday of his dog. At the rate of \$209 per page for the *Congressional Record*, Congress' fiscal restraint is less than praiseworthy.

Political Action Conference

The weekend of January 25 saw a con-

gregation of conservatives in Washington, D.C., the likes of which had not been seen for at least a decade. Sponsored by the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom, the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference offered a packed agenda, covering everything from precinct organization, youth campaigns, campaign finance and reform, issue development, campaign media, campaign management, to the role of the party in the campaign. There were also a number of panel sessions, on everything from détente and Red trade to the women's movement and equal rights. Each panel was made up of "Who's who in American Conservatism," the notable exception being the absence of our own distinguished editor and domestic beer advisor RET. The evenings were highlighted with banquet speakers like Governor Ronald Reagan and Senator James Buckley (C-R-N.Y.).

By any standard the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference has to be considered a success. But the conference also served to highlight that an unanimity of opinion vis-à-vis the body politic and political strategy for the upcoming elections does not exist, even among conservatives. A showdown vote over whether or not Nixon should resign was avoided during one panel when the M.C., Dan Joy (an aide to Congressman John Ashbrook [R-Ohio]), headed off the vote by calling it "inappropriate." Ashbrook, however, was able to catch the prevailing sentiment well when he quoted John Greenleaf Whittier: "When faith is lost, when honor dies, the man is dead."

Impeachment

The question of impeachment has also reached new heights. The House Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) is currently studying whether or not Nixon ought to be impeached and, in the process, will attempt to determine what constitutes an impeachable offense. The committee was initially prone to vindictive partisan attacks, because of the liberal Democrats who control

the committee. But Chairman Rodino is an attempt at bipartisan conciliation first appointed John Doar as Chief Counsel (a "Republican" who is registered as an Independent and who has, reportedly, never voted for a Republican in his life). The Republican counsel for the House impeachment inquiry, Albert Jenner, in a "conciliatory" gesture also modified his statement that the President could be held responsible for the actions of his subordinates (even if he did not know about them) and added, only if he (Nixon) specifically authorized them. More recently Rodino has spoken of an expeditious inquiry into the question of impeachment. His Democratic colleagues would (reportedly) like to drag out the inquiry and allow it to climax just before the 1974 congressional elections—in the national interest, of course.

On the issue of impeachment a recent UPI survey indicated that of the 402 congressmen surveyed 55 favor impeachment; 87 do not; 182 are undecided, and 74 declined to comment. The same survey also revealed that 89 favor resignation; 139 do not; 48 are undecided; and 126 declined to comment. Although it is generally the Democrats who support impeachment and the Republicans who do not, the issue is just not that clear cut. Liberals and conservatives can be found on both sides of the

fence. Congressman Joe Waggoner's (D-La.) bloc of fifty Southern Democrats, for example, show no signs of unanimity on this question. And many Republicans, including the new Minority Leader John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) are awaiting further developments without being apologists for the Administration.

Many Republicans are concerned that the upcoming election will be turned into a referendum on Nixon's ability to govern, and political analyst Kevin Phillips has given estimates of up to fifty House seat losses for the GOP. "Watergate" is considered the overriding factor, but Republican difficulties are compounded by the fact that sixteen incumbent GOP congressmen have already announced their intent to retire, and more retirements are expected. This compares with only thirteen announced retirements by House Democrats. Political observers, however, will not have to wait until November to test their theories. Six Republican seats, in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and California, are up in special elections and the GOP (under normal circumstances) should hold on to at least four of those seats.

If the special congressional election in Pennsylvania in February is any indication of the voter trend this fall Republicans had better prepare for bad times.

Democrat John Murtha defeated Republican Harry Fox by a slim margin of 220 votes. Although it is a Democratic district Nixon won it in 1968 and 1972 and it sent the late Republican John Saylor to Congress for thirteen terms. Similar forebodings shroud the February 19 defeat of the Republican candidate for Vice President Ford's Michigan seat.

Impeachment Continued

Impeachment, of course, still remains an issue on Capitol Hill. Constituent letters calling for impeachment have slackened off, but one Republican congressman (who had indicated at home that he was going to keep an open mind on the issue of impeachment until the House Judiciary Committee has concluded its inquiry) received an angry letter from a constituent complaining that any efforts in support of the President were "divisive" and "damaging" for the country. In fact, as the constituent wrote, the issue was all but settled since a leading Jesuit in his parish had prayed for an "impeached" President for Christmas. Honey, if that don't say it all, I don't know what does!

Nixon's end may, indeed, be near, but as one Washington official recently observed, it is not yet in sight. □

A. Lawrence Chickering

California's Proposition One

ON NOVEMBER 6, 1973, California voters had an historic opportunity to call a halt to the indefinite growth of government and to begin rolling back gradually the share of state output controlled by Sacramento. The opportunity was a statewide referendum—Proposition One on the ballot—which sought by constitutional amendment to limit state expenditures to their 1973 level, as a percentage of state personal income, and in the future gradually to reduce that percentage. The proponents' strategy was simple: let the people vote on how much government they want—and they will vote for less than we have now.

But when the verdict was in and the people had spoken their piece, Proposition One went down by a margin of 55 percent to 45 percent. Fortunately, the situation is not as bleak as it might appear. The polls conducted since the election leave doubt about what happened. And many supporters of Proposition One are hopeful it may be resurrected in a more marketable form next November.

The pessimists, on the other hand, wonder how marketable a constitutional expenditure limitation can be in *any* form. For the pessimists (including this observer), the real question concerns the validity of a long-cherished libertarian assumption—that the mass of people are fed up with government and want less of it. After the defeat of Proposition One, there is reason to wonder if the growing encroachments of public power on individual freedom can ever be reduced.

Background

The proponents of Proposition One felt that government had grown too large and that traditional efforts and mechanisms to halt that growth have proved hopeless. Most important, of course, the proponents believed that a majority of the people agreed with them.

A few numbers tell much of the story. In 1930, 15 percent of personal income in the United States went to support government at all levels. In 1950, the figure was 32 percent, and in 1973 it had grown to 44.7 percent in California. (A figure hotly contested, but all parties relied on the figures of Professor C. Lowell Harriss who made clear, however, that in California, where taxes are above the national average, total revenues—as opposed to taxes—do approach the 44 percent estimate used by proponents.)

Perhaps a more important statistic: for the last two decades total public revenues in California have been growing at a rate of 10 percent per year, while personal income has been rising only 7.5 percent a year. In the past the difference has been made up by regular tax increases. If the rate of increase continues, it has been estimated that the state budget will grow from 1973's \$9.3 billion to \$47 billion by 1989. (Opponents also contested the \$47 billion figure. They argued that expenditures for many state services—especially education—were leveling off from this record high growth period. The implication was

that the legislature would be unable to find new uses for the money.)

In the face of this situation, on September 1, 1972, Governor Reagan assembled a special task force to study the problem and recommend a solution. Advising the task force were people like Milton Friedman, Peter Drucker, Roger Freeman, James Buchanan, and others of equal distinction.

The task force concluded that the problem could not be contained by conventional means. As a practical matter, government spending could not be reduced significantly by eliminating individual bad programs. The system is flawed, they concluded, by a bias in favor of public spending. The system is producing more public goods than are desired by the consuming public. Professor Friedman gave the reason for the bias as follows: "[W]hen you take one program itself, all of the people who have a special interest in that program land in Sacramento like a ton of bricks. It's worth their while to spend a great deal of energy on it. On the other hand, the public interest in having that program is diffused. Each one of us saves a few cents, but for the special interests, those cents accumulate into a great many dollars. As a result, whenever you try to take off one special program at a time, the special interest is suppressed. The great virtue of this proposal [Proposition One] is precisely that it lumps together all of these little programs into one bigger total and thus makes it possible for the public interest—that is,