THE KEY REPORTER

REFORMING OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM: A PHYSICIAN'S PERSPECTIVE

BY ARNOLD S. RELMAN, M.D.

As almost everyone knows by now, we Americans spend huge sums of money on health care. This year we will spend about $800 billion (more than $3,000 per capita), and the cost is rising at about 8 or 9 percent per year—a rate that simply cannot be sustained. Our outlay for health is nearly one-quarter higher than Sweden's or Canada's, two-thirds more than Japan's, and almost twice as much as Britain's. About 13 percent of our entire economy is devoted to health care.

Despite this enormous expenditure, we do not seem to be getting our money's worth. We cannot provide health insurance for about 15 percent of our population, and an equal number of Americans are insured only part of the time. Most people who do have health insurance are inadequately protected against serious long-term illness or disability.

Furthermore, as judged by conventional measures of public health we don't fare very well. Infant mortality in 1990 (number of deaths under one year of age per 1,000 births) was 10.4 in the United States, compared with 7.3 in Canada and Britain, 5.9 in Sweden, and 4.5 in Japan. Life expectancy was 75.6 years in the United States, compared with 79.3 in Japan, 79.2 in Canada, 77.7 in Sweden, and 76.3 in Britain. In the United States, only 70 percent of one-year-old children are fully immunized against diphtheria, measles, and poliomyelitis; the

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Photo by Larry Maglott

Arnold S. Relman

MORE STATEWIDE PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS PLANNED IN PENNSYLVANIA, INDIANA, D.C.

On October 5, representatives of Pennsylvania's 19 Phi Beta Kappa chapters and associations met at the State Museum in Harrisburg to discuss a coordinated effort to offer workshops on Phi Beta Kappa campuses for the state's middle and high school teachers on the subjects they teach. The daylong session was sponsored by the Society, the Office of the Cultural Adviser to the Governor, and the Pennsylvania Commission for Independent Colleges and Universities. The proposed workshops would cover the array of liberal arts fields and would be coordinated among the chapters to avoid duplication and to address the teachers' most pressing instructional needs.

Similar organizational meetings have been held in recent months by chapters and associations in Indiana and the District of Columbia.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

Last year *The Key Reporter* began devoting a substantial part of the autumn issue to reports from the various entities that carry on or oversee many of the activities of the Society: the associations, the chapters, the Associates, and the officers. This issue again carries similar reports that together serve as an annual report to our membership.

This issue is being sent to every member of Phi Beta Kappa for whom we have a current address—some 380,000 people. If you have not been receiving *The Key Reporter* and would like to have your name restored to the circulation list, cut off the top half of the back cover containing your mailing label and send it to the *Key Reporter* Circulation Office, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

NEWSLETTER WINS AWARD

The Key Reporter has received an award for publications excellence in the APEX '92 national newsletter competition.

KEY NOTES

comparable figure in Sweden is 97 percent; in Canada, 85 percent; in Japan, 84 percent; and in Britain, 78 percent.

If all the money we now spend on health care isn't buying us adequate insurance coverage or such important health benefits as longer life expectancy, lower infant mortality, and better infant immunization, what does it buy?

Before answering that question, I should say something about the relation of public health to medical care because there is widespread misunderstanding of this point. The general level of public health in a country, as measured by such things as life expectancy and infant mortality, is not a good indicator of the effectiveness of its medical care system. The public's health depends much more on genetic and cultural characteristics and environmental factors than on the quality of its medical care. In the United States, unhealthy life-styles and widespread drug abuse, violence, teenage pregnancy, and other manifestations of social pathology damage the health of many people, and these problems are not much affected by medical treatment.

Physicians can diagnose disease and sometimes save or prolong life, particularly when the problem is acute. They can comfort and reassure patients and can relieve symptoms, thereby improving the quality of life. But none of these services, valuable as they may be, is likely to affect the general level of the public's health as much as measures aimed at improving the social environment and behavior of people. To improve general life expectancy and infant mortality significantly, we need to improve the housing, education, and economic condition of our urban and rural poor. That task is beyond the reach of medicine.

An Assessment of Our System

What then does all the money spent on health care really buy? The short answer is that it buys what modern medicine has to offer—but with the encumbrances of a system that wastes enormous amounts of money on marginal, duplicative, and unnecessary services and on nonessential overhead costs. And because of this waste and inefficiency, we cannot afford to provide even basic essential services to all our people.

At its best, the quality of specialized medical care in the United States is unexcelled. The sophistication of our medical technology and the competence of our specialists are the envy of the world. For people who can afford it, the United States offers the best of highly specialized (tertiary) care and an abundance of facilities and personnel. We have more cardiac surgery, bone-marrow transplantation, joint replacement, and MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) units per capita than any other country, and we have no waiting lines for these or other technologically advanced services—provided, of course, that the patients or their insurers are able to pay. But most poor and uninsured people have little or no access to this expensive kind of tertiary care.

The prevalence of open-ended funding through indemnity insurance and fee-for-service reimbursement of doctors and hospitals is a powerful stimulus to provide extra services of all kinds, including many that are of marginal benefit.

An even more serious deficiency in our present system is inadequate access to relatively low cost general (primary) care from family physicians, general internists, and general pediatricians. Everyone should have a primary-care physician who establishes an ongoing relationship with patients, handles most ordinary medical complaints, and advises on the need for consultation with specialists. Without oversight by a primary physician, medical care is often fragmented and uncoordinated. Lack of primary care is a problem for everyone in the United States, not just the poor, because our medical care system is now dominated by specialists, and generalists are in short supply. The number of practicing physicians has increased in the past 20 years from 153 to more than 220 per 100,000 population, but the great majority of the new doctors are specialists. About three-quarters of all physicians in this country now limit their practices to a specialty.

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There are many reasons why specialty practice has so greatly overshadowed primary care in the United States, but two of the most important are the greater number of graduate specialty programs in our teaching hospitals and the more attractive economic rewards available to specialists. In most other countries, at least half the physicians are generalists, and specialists are usually seen only through referral. A system like ours, which for the most part does not require or encourage patients to see a generalist before going to a specialist, uses far more tertiary services and therefore is far more costly than systems in other countries (such as Canada, Germany, and Britain) that emphasize primary care and encourage the training of primary-care physicians.

The huge costs of U.S. health care can be attributed to many factors in addition to its domination by specialists. Probably the most important of these is our payment system. The prevalence of open-ended funding through indemnity insurance and fee-for-service reimbursement of doctors and hospitals is a powerful stimulus to provide extra services of all kinds, including many that are of marginal benefit. Although a growing number of Americans (about 40 million) get their health care through prepaid contracts with health maintenance organizations (HMOs), most people are still covered by insurance that pays the bills submitted by hospitals and doctors on a piecework basis. Discounting of bills and management of medical services through various kinds of utilization-review programs are becoming increasingly common as third-party payers struggle to contain their costs, but the fact remains that the majority of insured Americans are still covered for whatever services their physicians choose to provide, without much limitation of total cost.

Increasing competition for patients whose insurance pays on a fee-for-service basis leads practitioners to promote their services like businesses in a competitive commercial market. The continued increase in the number of physicians per capita serves only to magnify this problem. Given the economic incentives favoring specialty practice and the use of expensive tests and procedures, the growth of the physician population inevitably increases expenditures for medical care. Advertising and marketing are now accepted practices, not only among physicians but among hospitals and ambulatory-care facilities as well. Hospitals, overbuilt in many areas of the country, also feel pressures to increase their volume of services in order to remain financially solvent in a hostile and competitive marketplace. Managers of not-for-profit voluntary hospitals now tend to regard themselves as chief executive officers of struggling businesses, and they often pay more attention to their bottom line than to their responsibilities as stewards of community-based social service institutions.

Also contributing greatly to this change in the orientation of medical care is another uniquely American phenomenon that first appeared in the late 1960s and is now a pervasive, highly influential feature of our system. Investor-owned facilities—chains of hospitals and nursing homes—first arose in response to the opportunities for profit created by Medicare, Medicaid, and the spread of employer-financed health insurance coverage. More recently, as acute-care hospitals have felt the growing pressures from third-party payers, investor-owned corporations have turned to psychiatric care, HMOs, free-standing diagnostic facilities, and a great variety of ambulatory services, where profits are easier to find.

There are no accurate data, but I estimate that at least one-quarter, and perhaps one-third or more, of all the money spent on medical care now goes to investor-owned facilities. Like any business, these organizations seek to enhance their revenues by promoting the use of their profitable services and products. They use all the marketing and advertising techniques employed in ordinary commerce, and they solicit the cooperation of practicing physicians by offering joint ventures and special favors. Not-for-profit hospitals, feeling the competition, do likewise. Doctors sense this transformation, and they recognize the threat posed by a growing physician population and the constraints applied by third-party payers. They are therefore increasingly willing to exploit the opportunities for commercial profit in the goods, services, and facilities they use or recommend for their patients—something that was generally considered unethical a generation ago.

In short, our health-care system, formerly a social service that was the responsibility of dedicated professionals and not-for-profit facilities, has become a vast, profit-oriented industry. The revenue of this industry constitutes the country's health-care costs. As in any other industry, providers constantly strive to increase their profitable sales, but unlike other industries, consumers exercise little control over their consumption of products and services. It should not be surprising that such a system is afflicted not only with relentless inflation but also with neglect of the needs of the uninsured and with failure to promote the use of valuable but unprofitable health services.

At least a third of all the money we now spend on medical care in this country could be saved in a rational and better-organized system without loss of medical effectiveness—and quite possibly with substantial overall benefit to patients.

Other factors combine with these economic forces to increase the volume and intensity of services and thereby to raise costs. Uncertainty about the effectiveness of many tests, drugs, and treatments leaves much room for individual professional opinion. This situation makes it easier for physicians to follow their own habits and preferences instead of generally accepted professional guidelines derived from rigorous clinical trials and careful technology assessment. There is a dearth of reliable information about the effectiveness of many kinds of medical technology. New drugs, tests, devices, and procedures are introduced far more rapidly than they can be critically evaluated and compared with existing technology. As a result, the use of tests and procedures varies greatly from place to place, without any clear relationship to medical need. In addition, fear of malpractice suits often impels physicians to order extra diagnostic tests simply to protect themselves against possible future litigation. Many doctors also feel pressured by the expectations and demands of patients who have been led to believe that modern medicine can perform miracles and who therefore expect that no effort will be spared, even when the best professional judgment would suggest a conservative approach.

Whenever the issue has been examined by panels of experts, it appears that between 15 and 30 percent of all tests and procedures performed in this country are not medically indicated, and a similar proportion are only marginally justifiable. How much all this contributes to the cost of care is hard to quantify, but we do know that increasing volume and intensity of services account for about half of the annual rate of expansion of medical costs after correction for general inflation.

The other half of the increase is due to rising medical (as opposed to general) prices, which reflect the inefficiency and high overhead costs of our medical system. Far more than in any other country, health-care providers and insurers in the United States spend huge sums on the handling and review of claims; on marketing, advertising, management, and financial services; and on general corporate overhead. At least 12 to 15 percent of the premiums paid to our 1,200 competing private medical insurance companies is used for these kinds of expenses. The typical office-based, practicing physician spends 40 to 45 percent of gross revenue on office expenses, particularly billing and collecting and malpractice premiums.

Adding the estimated costs of all this overhead to the costs of unnecessary, marginal, and duplicated services leads me to the following conclusion: At least a third of all the money we now spend on medical care in this country could be saved in a rational and better-organized system without loss of medical effectiveness—and quite possibly with substantial overall benefit to patients. The money saved would probably be enough to provide essential care for all those people now not insured and to insure everyone against the costs of long-term care. The primary need is not more money but a better system.

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A Proposal for Reform

I believe that the key to controlling costs and providing universal coverage is to change the medical care delivery system, while simplifying and consolidating the insurance system. To achieve the latter, I favor some form of single-payer arrangement administered by quasi-public agencies in each state or economic region. These agencies initially could pool funds from all present sources (government, employers, private insurance companies, and individuals), and each could act as the sole paymaster in its region. Ultimately, all funding should come from tax revenue, but that arrangement would have to evolve gradually, after experience with the system had allowed some better estimates of costs and further public discussion of the best ways to distribute them. Federal regulation would set a fixed per capita payment for a defined range of comprehensive services, with appropriate adjustments for regional differences in cost of living. All citizens would be covered, regardless of age, employment, or health status. Medicare and Medicaid would disappear, to be folded into the total federal and state government contributions for the elderly, the poor, and the uninsured.

Increased expenditures would be initially required to cover people who now lack insurance. In such a reformed delivery system the additional cost would probably be $40 to $50 billion. How the expense would be divided between government and employers would be a political decision, but in any case a new, efficient system would produce big future savings for all payers.

The providers would be federally qualified group-model HMOs. They would compete for members, but not on the basis of price, because the price would be fixed for each region by the single payer. To qualify, the HMOs would have to be not-for-profit and owned by a board elected by the members. Physicians would be organized into self-managed multispecialty groups that would negotiate for their budget with the HMO board. Within the allotted budget, physicians would be paid salaries as determined by their own peer management. They would participate in the assessment of technology and would keep standardized records to be used in the evaluation of outcomes. Physicians would receive no bonuses or other financial incentives that might influence their advice to patients.

Any net revenue earned by the HMO would be used at the board's discretion for the improvement of facilities. The business management of the HMO, like the physician group, would be accountable to the board. The board, the business management, and the physician group would work together to provide high-quality care that would attract new members and maintain their loyalty. Members would be free to move at specified intervals to any other qualified HMO in the region. All HMOs in the region would have to operate within the same fixed total budget, but each would be free to decide on the allocation of its funds.

The payment received by the HMOs would include the cost of hospitalization, for which the HMOs would be responsible. Each HMO would either own its own hospital or contract with local hospitals on a per diem basis. In any case, there would be a strong incentive for hospitals and HMOs to work together to control hospital costs. Indeed, many new HMOs would probably form around existing community hospitals, with the hospital medical staff making up the nucleus of the medical group.

I favor some form of single-payer arrangement administered by quasi-public agencies in each state or economic region. . . . The providers would be federally qualified group-model HMOs.

The medical groups would employ an approximately equal number of generalists and specialists, because this mix has been found optimal in the largest and most successful group-model HMOs and in countries with comprehensive universal insurance plans. Although salary differences among the different specialists would remain, these would be less than the income differences in private practice. Competitive salaries plus attractive fringe benefits, opportunities for continuing education, protection against malpractice litigation, and the opportunity to concentrate on the practice of medicine without worrying about the problems of setting up and managing a private office would undoubtedly appeal to many young physicians.

The development of many new HMOs of this kind would require assistance from the federal government. Low-interest loans to pay for start-up costs and a reinsurance system to protect against unusual medical risks would be needed; antitrust regulation would have to be modified to allow arrangements that might otherwise be viewed as restraint of trade. With federal assistance, state health-care systems based on these principles could be established on a trial basis before being implemented nationwide.

The economic effect on physicians would probably be fairly benign because the total amount of net income received by physicians would not change significantly, although there would certainly be some redistribution among the specialties. The most important change in life-style for doctors would be an exchange of their traditional independence as solo practitioners for a new career in group practice in which they would be subject to continuous peer review by their colleagues. Of course, some doctors might still prefer to continue solo practice in the fee-for-service mode. They should be allowed that choice, but they would have to find enough patients who could afford to pay them on that basis. Because such patients would become increasingly hard to find, I suspect that relatively few physicians would choose independent practice in the future. There already is evidence that growing numbers of new physicians are opting for group practice arrangements.

The success of these medical groups would depend not only on how well they satisfied the professional needs of their physicians, but also on whether they provided cost-effective medical care. As judged by patient satisfaction, professional morale, and cost control, many existing HMOs are successful, and there is no basic reason why their example could not be widely copied in the future.

Would most patients be satisfied with their care in the system I envision? The answer depends on how well the HMOs would be managed and how sensitive they would be to patients' needs and desires. If HMOs had to compete for patients not on price but on quality, and if they were controlled by boards representing the members, patient satisfaction would probably be high. Even so, some patients undoubtedly would want occasionally to consult specialists or to obtain services not available in their HMO. They should be allowed this so-called point-of-service option if they are willing to pay the additional costs. Some patients might not wish to join an HMO, preferring instead to pay for their own indemnity insurance plan. That option also should be available, although the expense would probably deter all but a small fraction of the population.

I see no reason to object to this kind of "two-tiered" system provided most people used the reformed and subsidized part of the system, thereby ensuring that its quality would be protected by the common interest of the public and the medical profession. Our present multitiered system provides inadequate care, or no care at all, for a large segment of our society.

Benefits of the New System

A system of the kind I have proposed is not guaranteed to contain costs, but there are many reasons to believe that it would. All the unnecessary expenditures in our present system, which I outlined earlier, would be eliminated or greatly reduced. Covering the vast majority of Americans under a fixed per capita payment system would for the first time put a virtual cap on total health-care spending and its rate of increase. Any spending beyond this cap would be the result of consumers' exercising their point-of-service option within the HMO system or choosing alternative or supplementary indemnification insurance. These additional costs would be directly paid by consumers with their own resources rather than by third-party payers. There would be no further drain on public monies or on the resources of private businesses, and therefore no further exacerbation of the cost crisis.

This system would promote a much more prudent use of medical services; useless or very marginal tests and procedures would be minimized. Appropriate assessment of promising but unproven technology would be much easier to carry out and could be required before the technology could be introduced into general use. Clinical practice would be continually improved by the systematic collection of outcome results, which would help physicians make better decisions and patients make more informed choices. Fear of malpractice suits, which often leads physicians to order excessive tests, would be reduced because of the protection afforded by peer review and the assumption of legal responsibility by the HMOs.

I believe that the savings in such a system, when fully realized, would be large enough to allow the use of all services that good physicians might recommend and well-informed patients would want. This doesn't mean we could afford to subsidize everything—only what made medical sense. Of course, there is no way to know how long the costs could be kept under control. The initial savings and operational efficiencies of a reformed system might ultimately be eroded by continued expensive technological developments and an insatiable public demand for more medical services. But healthier lifestyles, improved social conditions, and scientific advances in prevention and treatment could reduce the future burden of disease sufficiently to keep the health-care costs of a reformed system under control indefinitely. I am optimistic about our ability to achieve that goal, but only if we institute major reform now.

An efficient, equitable, and universal health-care delivery system, instituted during the next few years, not only would solve our present problems but would give us the resources and ensure the public support that long-term solutions will require. Without major reform now, our health-care system can only go from bad to worse, and the present crisis will turn to chaos. □

Alumni Associations Report Activities, Donations for 1991–92

Since 1877, when the first Phi Beta Kappa alumni association was founded in New York, the Society's members have been organizing groups on a geographic basis to provide intellectual stimulation and social activities for members and guests, and to bring to the attention of their communities the goals and ideals of the Society. Some groups concentrate on encouraging academic achievement through awards to high school and college students. Many sponsor lectures, panel discussions, and tours. At least one—Guilford County, North Carolina—supports a local literacy program. A number of the associations this year reported a growing interest in investigating what they can do to improve secondary education in their communities.

Some 50 groups are active to varying degrees in the United States, and several new ones are being formed. In the past, associations have been scattered around the globe, but there are no active associations outside this country now. The news about the associations reported in this issue has been compiled from reports received at headquarters from the associations themselves. For details on programs or samples of awards, association leaders are encouraged to write to the secretaries of other associations (see the addresses on page 12). Questions about organizing new associations or chartering existing ones should be addressed to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

Large Associations
(500 OR MORE MEMBERS)

New York association reported a membership of 800. This year, as it has done for the past 15 years, the association awarded two scholarships to graduate students, one for studies in literature and one in psychology (the awards were $2,000 each this year). Also, for the fourth consecutive year, the association made a grant of $1,000 to a branch of the New York Public Library. The awards were made at a brunch/annual meeting in May.

The New York group also sponsored two other meetings. At the meeting last autumn Florence Pulaski and Eirene Christodoulou reported on the triennial Council. This spring the national president, Joan M. Ferrante, spoke to the group about "Should Phi Beta Kappa Be Involved in National Educational Issues?"

Puget Sound (Washington) association (800 members) presented seven scholarships of $1,000 each to students at the universities of Washington and of Puget Sound, as well as 212 dictionaries to high school seniors. The group's former president, Johanna M. Quam, heads the association's efforts to work out a program under which "local secondary education professionals are more closely tied into the work of area researchers and postsecondary educators."

The group also sponsored one tour backstage at the Seattle Opera with director Speight Jenkins and four luncheons or coffee hours with speakers: Science/math teacher Akiko Kato Kurose discussed "Young Astronomers"; professor emeritus Arthur R. Kruckeberg talked about the natural history of Puget Sound country; publisher David C. Brewster discussed "Publishing, Politics, and Marketing"; and history professor Donald Treadgold talked about recent developments in the former Soviet Union.

Southern California association (1,736 members) awarded 30 scholarships to international graduate students, for a total of $30,250. This group also gave 10 scholarships to ΦBK initiates for graduate study, for a total of $12,000.

The Southern Californians also sponsored three events. Some 153 persons visited the Los Angeles County Art Museum to see the "Splendors of Mexico." About 100 persons attended each of the other events: a dinner in April, at which Larry Caldwell and Ted Bruinsma spoke on "Doing Business in the Commonwealth," and a concert in May by the Los Angeles Master Chorale, "Echoes of the Renaissance."

Northern California association (1,060 members) this year increased the number of $2,500 graduate fellowships it awarded from four to five and the number of teaching excellence awards for faculty in area institutions with ΦBK chapters from three to four. The group also attracted as many as 122 persons to the activities it sponsored, which included a tour of Angel Island; visits to the Technical Museum of Silicon Valley, the Railway Museum, the Maybeck House, and an 1861 army fort; and a retreat at the Asilomar Conference Center in Pacific Grove, where the topics ranged from adventures on a trimaran to dental implants.

Delaware Valley (Pennsylvania) association (817 members) held three dinner meetings and awarded Paul Kennedy's *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* to the outstanding graduate at each of 120 area preparatory and high schools. The speakers and their topics were district judge Norma L. Shapiro, who discussed juries and jury service; lawyer Marjorie O. Rendell, who discussed problems facing Philadelphia, including the crisis in arts and culture; Rosemary Stevens, dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, who talked about the future of American health care; and J. William A. Burley, professor of biology, Drexel University, who discussed the energy crisis.

Medium-size Associations
(100–499 MEMBERS)

Chicago association (228 members) sponsored five activities, including a tour of the new Chicago Public Library and a forum on politically correct speech. Journalist Georgie Anne Geyer received the association's annual distinguished service award last November.

Houston association (480 members) sponsored two events in addition to the awards banquet described in the summer *Key Reporter*. Last autumn some 200 persons attended a concert celebrating the opening of a new hall and featuring the work of ΦBK member Paul Cooper. At a lecture this spring Bill Martin of Rice University talked about evangelist Billy Graham.

North Texas association (341 members) donated a total of $4,413 to the Dallas Independent School District for scholarship programs. The group also sponsored two dinner meetings on the campus of Southern Methodist University. At the autumn meeting three panelists (Louise Cowan, former head of the English department and graduate dean at the University of Dallas; Rene Castilla, president of the Dallas School Board; and attorney Sandy Cress) discussed "Can We Turn Public Education Around—and If So, How?"

At the spring meeting, businessman Stanley Marcus discussed business and management in today's global environment.

San Diego association increased its membership from 172 to 227; the group's three-times-a-year newsletter reports a variety of events throughout the academic year. (The spring issue of the newsletter was mailed to 3,600 ΦBK members living in the area.) As in past years, the association presented Library of America volumes to outstanding juniors at 41 public high schools.

Attendance averaged 50 for three association-sponsored events: a public lecture last autumn by Irvin Lande, international business educator, titled "A California Yankee in the USSR: Six Weeks in the Summer of '91"; a buffet dinner in December, at which Stephen Clark, a graduate student at the University of California, San Diego, reviewed Richard Current's *Phi Beta Kappa in American History*; and the annual dinner meeting in May, at which Steven Schaber, professor of German and classics at San Diego State University (SDSU), spoke on "Goethe's Italian Journey: Love Among the Ruins."

The San Diego group also held three Sunday afternoon salons in March and April. SDSU biology professor Barbara Hemmingsen discussed "Unseen Life: Evolution and the Importance of Archaea and Bacteria." Dr. Mary Knight discussed "Chaos: A New Science? Toward Understanding Complex Phenomena in the Natural World." And retired professor John Howe talked about "Science as a Culture: Its Position in the United States."

The association also continued to sponsor its study group meetings year-round on alternate Sunday afternoons, at which about a dozen regular members carried out a comprehensive study of Russia and the former Soviet Union. In the spring the group turned to the study of an anthropological topic.

Richmond (Virginia) association (171 members) sponsored a dinner in March with the Epsilon chapter at which 145 persons, including 50 association members and spouses, heard Mary Tyler Freeman Cheek discuss "The Responsibility of Privilege." The association also presented engraved cups and certificates of achievement to 28 high school seniors.

Greater Milwaukee association (132 members) annually awards scholarships to members from Wisconsin ΦBK chapters seeking to pursue graduate or professional study. This year there were three awards for a total of $4,000. The group held two dinners. In December, T. Michael Bolger spoke on the importance of government funding of the arts. In March, the program was "Music in Medieval Europe: A Comparison of Christian and Jewish Pieces."

Sarasota-Manatee association (187 members) sponsored three luncheons at which attendance ranged from 77 to 113. The speakers and their topics were Thomas A. O'Malley, M.D., "A Practicing Doctor Looks at Health Care in America"; Dorothy Robins-Mowry, "Public Diplomacy: Telling America's Story Overseas"; and Francis T. Borkowski, president, University of Southern Florida, "An Educator Looks at Higher Education in America." The group also awarded 110 certificates of commendation to high-achieving seniors in 12 area public and private high schools.

Phoenix association once again increased the amount of the scholarships it awards to eight high school seniors (from $300 to $400 each) and presented medals to four outstanding students from each of the eight high schools in Phoenix. The group raised much of this money during one phonathon in December. This association also sponsored several activities for the students: a guided tour of the Phoenix Art Museum, a mock court session presided over by a district judge, and training sessions for the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

In addition, the association held its annual fall banquet, at which Allison Coudert, lecturer at Arizona State University, discussed "Social Darwinism, Then and Now." This presentation,

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A Report from the Leader of the Conference of Association Delegates

The 1991 triennial meeting saw the passage of the constitutional amendment extending to the association delegates the right to vote on new chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. While associations had struggled for 15 years to attain this privilege, they had already forged closer relationships with the chapters. When President Joan Ferrante addressed the New York Phi Beta Kappa Association this past year, she commended the joint chapter-association efforts and expressed her pleasure that local college chapter officers and district senators were attending that meeting. The New York association, like other associations around the country, is indeed working more closely with college chapters in the area. Chapter and association collaboration is also evident in the expansion of the effort to foster excellence in schools by assisting teachers—which began with a conference in January 1990 in Williamsburg, Virginia—to other regions of the country.

Delegates to the last triennial meeting also approved levying assessments on associations to create a fund to cover triennial meeting expenses for association leaders. The Society has begun to collect these fees, and we hope that this new policy will allow smaller associations, which have been unable to pay the way for their representatives to attend triennial meetings, to participate more fully at the next triennium.

Last autumn's expanded *Key Reporter*, which for the first time disseminated substantial information about the associations' activities to all members of the Society, served to encourage the formation of five to six new associations. We hope that these groups will become recognized affiliates in the near future. To enlarge our alumni association conference even further, I would like to encourage Phi Beta Kappa friends and colleagues in those regions of the country that have not yet established associations to consider doing so. The Society's Washington headquarters as well as Emma Norris and I, the officers of the Conference of Association Delegates, will help you with this task.

To the many readers of *The Key Reporter* who have an active association nearby but have not yet joined it (see the list on page 12), let me again extend an invitation to become a member. After you read about all the wonderful things we are doing—the scholarships we award, the lectures we sponsor, the contributions we make to libraries—I am confident that you will want to join us. Chapters will find their task of promoting academic excellence in the colleges and universities easier with an association in the community that continuously supports and rewards scholarship and achievement.

—*Arline L. Bronzaft*, professor of psychology emerita, Lehman College, CUNY

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with slides, was funded by the Arizona Humanities Council.

Oklahoma City association (110 members) again presented four $1,000 scholarships to high school students and a plaque to a community leader. The presentations took place during the association's annual banquet in April, at which Marion Opala, chief justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, talked about the liberation of Poland from Soviet rule.

Greater Hartford association (103 members) sponsored three dinners with speakers. Last autumn Gayle Trobitz talked about "Understanding the Travel Industry"; in March, ΦBK Secretary Douglas W. Foard discussed the history of Phi Beta Kappa; and in June, Matt Fenichel described hot air ballooning. The group also sponsored a wine tasting in November 1992.

San Antonio association (159 members) held a banquet last December at which John Moore, chairman of the Department of Education, Trinity University, spoke on "Better Schools for the 21st Century." The association's directors, which last year gave six cash awards to college students, voted to revise the group's scholarship program in the future to give both scholarships and awards of recognition to outstanding high school students in Bexar County, Texas. No scholarships were awarded in 1992, but the association donated $200 to Texas Public Radio as part of its challenge grant program.

Greater Kansas City association (150 members) gave one $1,500 scholarship to a college student and a number of certificates of achievement to high school students. The group sponsored one dinner with a speaker in May: Robert B. Rogers, president, Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, spoke on "Educating America's Youth: The Challenges Beyond the Classroom."

Washington, D.C., association (137 members) sponsored five dinner meetings with speakers, with the one in March—a debate on censorship in the arts—moderated by Livingston L. Biddle, attracting the largest attendance. Speakers at other meetings included Thomas Belden, who discussed "Pearl Harbor: A Breakdown in Communication"; David Little, director of the U.S. Institute of Peace's working group on religion, ideology, and peace, who discussed the institute; and James J. Fyfe, professor of justice, American University, whose topic was "The Intelligent Consumer's Guide to Crime Control." The group also toured several historic homes and held its annual awards luncheon in May, at which it presented a book and a $50 savings bond to two high school seniors.

Small Associations
(BELOW 100 MEMBERS)

Last October, 24 members of Phi Beta Kappa attended a dinner at Northeast Missouri State University, where they voted to form a new association and to apply to the national headquarters for recognition as the **Northeast Missouri** association. The group began publication of a newsletter in the spring. The first issue announced the association's sponsorship of a lecture in April by Godfrey Muriuki, Visiting Fulbright Professor of African History at Northeast Missouri State University, who spoke on "Current Political Developments in Africa."

Coastal Georgia–Carolina association (whose membership increased from 50 to 84 during the year) reported holding two dinner meetings. Last November, Patrick J. Russo, superintendent of the Savannah-Chatham County School District, talked about excellence in education; in May, Muhammad Ali Daasa, assistant professor of French, Armstrong State College, discussed modern Islamic fundamentalism. The association also reported donating copies of the Phi Beta Kappa prizewinning books to the libraries of Armstrong State College, Georgia Southern University, and Savannah State College.

Toledo Area association (40 members) made two cash awards ($250 each) to high school seniors and sponsored one luncheon meeting in June, at which Tana Mosier Porter, professor of history at the University of Toledo, discussed Toledo's history.

East Central association (26 members) awarded three prizes of $75, $50, and $25 to high school seniors who competed in its annual essay contest. The group also sponsored a lecture last autumn by Marilyn Waldman, professor of history, Ohio State University, on "Religion and Politics in the Middle East" and a banquet in April at which Bruce Guernsey, professor of English, gave a poetry reading.

Upper Hudson (New York) association (91 members) began a scholarship program this year with an award of $500 to a high school senior. The presentation was made at the May dinner meeting, which also featured a panel discussion on "Should Government Fund the Arts?" Last autumn the group heard Ruth Klepper, executive director, Upper Hudson Planned Parenthood, discuss the future of *Roe* v. *Wade*. In February the association sponsored a lecture by U.S. Rep. Michael J. McNulty on "Jump-starting the Domestic Economy."

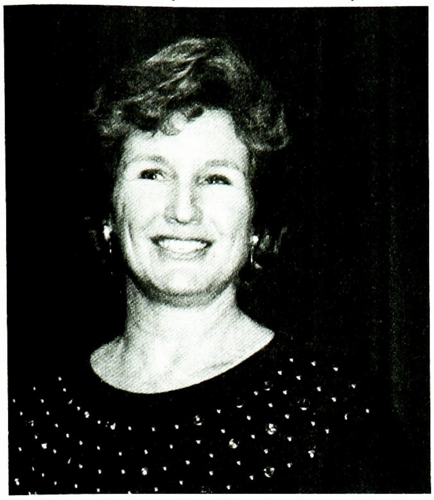
Northeast Florida association is a new group that attracted some 28 members and many guests to its organizational meeting in March 1992. At that meeting, the group expressed interest in health-care issues, political issues affecting the region, and musical events. At its first dinner meeting in June, attended by 73 persons, William Mason, chief executive officer of the Baptist Medical Center in Jacksonville, discussed the nation's hospital crisis and its effects on the area.

Guilford County (North Carolina) association is providing volunteers for an adult literacy program run by the Guilford Technical Community College; this year nine members participated in the program. The group also sponsored two events: a wine and cheese buffet, at which examples of art and culture from West Africa and the Sahel were discussed by Conchita Ndege, and a dinner followed by a play.

Pitt County (North Carolina) association (40 members) reported a reception honoring 21 outstanding seniors at East Carolina University. Each honoree received a Jefferson cup, and the five top students received $50 checks as well.

Southwestern Michigan association (38 members) heard Nancy Barrett, provost and vice president for academic affairs at Western Michigan University, talk about "Why the Economy Doesn't Work the Way It Used to Anymore" at its annual dinner. The group also gave $15 gift certificates from a local bookstore to 16 seniors in Kalamazoo area high schools.

Southeast Alabama association (25 members) sponsored an open meeting in April that attracted more than 200 persons to hear ΦBK Associates Lecturer Susan Ford Wiltshire, professor of classics at Vanderbilt University, talk about "Private Interests and the Public Good." The group also gave one cash prize of $100 to an outstanding graduate in the College of Arts and Sciences at Troy State University.



Susan Ford Wiltshire in Alabama

Sioux City association (28 members) gave two books to the public library: *Shakespeare A to Z* and *Schools That Work*. At the group's dinner meeting in May, Barbara Plymale presented a program on Susan B. Anthony.

Long Island association (40 members) gave certificates of achievement to some 100 high school seniors.

Omaha association (48 members) gave one $700 scholarship to a high school graduate. The group also sponsored two dinner meetings. Last December, Dr. Henry Lemon talked on "Scurvy, Potatoes, and Shakespeare's Son-in-law Dr. John Hall: A Wonder Drug at Work in 17th-Century England." In June, historian Bryan Le Beau led a forum on "Columbus/500."

Southwestern Louisiana association (22 members) awarded a $300 scholarship to an outstanding graduate at the University of Southwestern Louisiana (USL). The group made the award at its May dinner meeting, at which two professors in USL's English department spoke on "Censorship of Young Adult Literature."

South Florida association (77 members) presented cash awards totaling $500 to two high school seniors who had been at risk for dropping out of school. Darden Pyron spoke on the life of Margaret Mitchell at the annual presentation luncheon. The association also sponsored a dinner in December at which Rosa Castro Feinberg, a member of the Dade County School Board, discussed "The Funding Crisis in Education."

Indianapolis association (48 members) presented $50 U.S. Savings Bonds and certificates of achievement to 24 high school juniors (total value: $1,200). At the group's annual meeting in May, ΦBK Secretary Foard discussed "Phi Beta Kappa and the Nation's Schools."

Shenandoah (Virginia) association members heard James Madison University's academic vice president, Bethany Oberst, discuss popular French theater at its April 1992 dinner. This group gave $100 to an undergraduate for an outstanding honors thesis and certificates of achievement to outstanding undergraduates in 15 major fields.

Newton (Massachusetts) association (54 members) presented a book award of $100 to the top-ranking senior at each of the two local high schools. □

Chapters Report '91–92 Awards, Donations

Although the chapters' principal functions are to select new members and maintain standards at the sheltering institutions, a number of chapters also award scholarships or other prizes and sponsor varied activities. Here are some highlights from the annual chapter reports to the Society:

Albion College—gave its Faculty Scholar of the Year award, which includes a cash prize, to Eugene Miller, professor of English. The chapter also gave book awards to outstanding juniors and seniors at the college and to top graduates at the local high school.

University of Arizona—gave a $200 prize to an autumn 1991 initiate, William Saturno.

Baylor University—awarded to four juniors—Khristin Dodds, Erica Greenwald, Jessica Schlender, and Corwin Warmink—the Henry L. Robinson Phi Beta Kappa Scholarship, which provides for full tuition for a year of study at Baylor.

Bucknell University—made two awards for creative, independent scholarship this year: to Melissa Eddy, for her honors thesis, "French Feminism in Translation," and to Brian Clarke, for his research and direction of the university's production of *The Crucible*.

University of California, Berkeley—awarded $2,500 scholarships for graduate study to Opal Adisa, Christine Barber, Jan Dilworth, Marcia-Anne Dovres, Stephen Epstein, Mark Landon, Jeffrey Manza, and Fong Wang.

Carleton College—annually awards prizes to freshmen and sophomores for outstanding academic achievement.

University of Cincinnati—gave $900 awards to the top-ranking junior and senior initiates (the 16th annual Jean Winston and Melba Phillips Bowers prizes) and awards of $300 to three runners-up (Melba Wuenschel prizes).

University of Colorado—made the first awards of two $6,000 fellowships provided by a bequest from Katharine Bruderlin Crisp, a 1906 ΦBK graduate of the university. Both recipients, Amy Wyngaard and Scott Denton, plan teaching careers.

Connecticut College—made two awards for graduate study: Deborah Carr ('88) received the Mackie L. Jarell scholarship, and Alison Cromwell ('82) received the Dorothy Richardson scholarship.

University of Dallas—coordinates the publication of the *Constantin Review*, which was established to recognize and encourage good student writing.

University of Delaware—annually gives the Clift and DeArmond award of $100 to a promising sophomore and two $100 awards named for Herbert Ellis Newman to promising juniors.

Earlham College—annually provides scholarships, funded by the Clifford Crump endowment, to the top-ranking sophomore and junior.

Florida State University—gives the Marion Jewell Hay award of $200 to the top-ranking graduate each semester.

Franklin and Marshall College—awarded $1,000 scholarships to two students from disadvantaged backgrounds who demonstrated meritorious academic progress in their first year. The chapter raises the money through member donations.

George Washington University—Eleven students elected to Phi Beta Kappa in their junior year received $2,000 scholarships from the university.

University of Georgia—honored Ralph Stephens, director emeritus of the University of Georgia Press, on the occasion of his retirement as chapter treasurer after 30 years' service.

Goucher College—gave $50 college bookstore gift certificates and a year's subscription to *The American Scholar* to four students—Katherine Klusman,

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Rachael Mitchell, Paul Reyes, and Nina Wolf—in recognition of academic excellence.

Hampton-Sydney College—gives prizes to the two top-ranking juniors each autumn, through an endowment from Samuel S. Jones ('43). Each spring the chapter awards a $1,000 prize and a bronze medal for research.

Howard University—gave top-ranking ΦBK graduate Nicole Boseman a scholarship endowed by the estate of Dr. James Bayton.

Marquette University—increased its bookstore gift certificates to two top-ranking sophomores this year from $25 to $50.

University of Minnesota—cosponsored and contributed $2,000 toward the expenses of the Sixth National Conference on Undergraduate Research held at the university in March. Some 1,200 students and 500 research supervisors attended; chapter and association members also were invited.

University of New Hampshire—using prize money provided by the vice president for academic affairs, annually awards three cash prizes to underclassmen who write superior essays in general education courses.

New York University—for the first time presented several prizes to seniors. The Phi Beta Kappa/Borgman Prizes ($200 each) were given to the writers of the best honors theses in natural science, social science, and the humanities, and two Phi Beta Kappa/Thomas Wolfe awards ($100 each) were made for poetry.

State University of New York at Albany—awarded to Meryl Tucker its first ΦBK prize for academic excellence, established this year by Distinguished Service Professor James Corbett of the physics department and his wife, Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus M. E. Grenander of the English department, and several others.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro—gave a $1,000 scholarship to Julie Ann Trainer, the only junior initiate. The award is named for the late John E. Bridgers, a long-time secretary-treasurer of the chapter. On behalf of the Society, the chapter also presented a certificate of appreciation to Jean Buchert, professor emerita of English, who served as the chapter's secretary for 22 years.

University of Ohio—awarded prizes of $1,050 to a senior initiate, Jeremy Anderson, and $350 to a junior initiate, Stephen Pellathy. Both prizes are named in honor of Thomas M. Wolfe.

University of Oklahoma—awarded its annual Lottinville Prize ($500), a runner-up prize of $200, and its Sewell Scholarship ($500) to junior initiates. The chapter also contributed a $75 prize for a paper read at Honors Undergraduate Research Day and sponsored five lectures by university faculty members and one by a Visiting Scholar.

Pennsylvania State University—has for several years been giving $250 prizes (one each in the sciences and arts/letters) to seniors in the honors program.

Radcliffe College—gave its teaching awards to Roger W. Brown, John Lindsley Professor of Psychology; Barbara E. Johnson, professor of English and comparative literature; and Cynthia F. Moss, assistant professor of psychology. The group also gave thesis research grants to Geneve Allison, Nannette Christ, Sara Dickerman, Sarah Levine, Titi M. Liu, and Miryam Segal.

University of Redlands—awarded three prizes of $75 each to students who participated in its Albert Crum Essay Contest.

Rhodes College—awarded the Peyton Nalle Rhodes Phi Beta Kappa Prize to Carol DuBard.

University of Richmond—made three Clarence J. Gray Achievement Awards for Excellence in Scholarship and Leadership at commencement. The chapter also presented two book awards, named for Robert E. Loving, to two juniors and certificates of commendation to eight sophomores.

Santa Clara University—gave to Paula Kim its first award of a scroll and cash prize named for David E. Logothetti, a charter member of the chapter who died last year.

University of South Carolina—gave medals of recognition to 14

ΦBK Associates President Reports

For 52 years, the Phi Beta Kappa Associates have been providing an annual income to Phi Beta Kappa to support the Society's aims. Each regular member of the Associates contributes $200 annually for 10 years, after which time the donor enters life membership and another person is invited to join this group of 300.

As much as at any time in their history, the Associates are working very closely indeed with the Society's headquarters, with the Senate, and with the associations so that each of these key entities of Phi Beta Kappa knows what the other is doing and so that whenever new ventures are undertaken, the efforts will be coordinated.

Dorothy Robins-Mowry in Kentucky

The Associates Lectureship program is one of the most important activities of this organization. Many chapters and associations look to the distinguished speakers of the lectureship panels for their initiation banquets, honors convocations, and public lectures. In the 1991–92 academic year almost two dozen engagements were scheduled.

Typical of these appearances are those by Dorothy Robins-Mowry, a retired Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Information Agency, who spoke at the Sarasota-Manatee association; at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro; and at the University of Kentucky, where the chapter used the occasion to present to the university a check toward a Phi Beta Kappa room in the new library.

In June some 70 Associates and guests attended a luncheon at the Harvard Club in New York City, where Diane Ravitch, assistant secretary of education, spoke on "Raising Standards: The National Agenda."

The 1992 annual meeting of the Associates was held at the Century Club in New York on October 10. At that time, the Associates presented their fifth annual Associates Award to Norman Ramsey, a winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1989 and a past president of Phi Beta Kappa (1985–88).

—*Richard W. Couper*

sophomores for outstanding achievement during their first year.

Southern Methodist University—awarded its prize for outstanding teaching and scholarly work, named for former English professor Lawrence Perrine, posthumously to noted art historian Ellen Tufts.

Swarthmore College—awarded a $1,500 graduate fellowship to Theresa Shay.

Texas Christian University—gave its annual Phi Beta Kappa Senior Scholar award of $300 to Matthew Conrad.

Trinity College (D.C.)—awards a cash prize each year named in honor of Sister Mary Lawlor to recognize excellence in student writing.

University of Tulsa—reports that a march for brass quintet composed by member Joseph Rivers at the chapter's request was acclaimed at its premiere during the 1991 initiation ceremony. The score and parts are being offered to other chapters for the cost of duplicating and postage—$10. Requests should be addressed to Joseph Rivers, School of Music, University of Tulsa, 600 S. College Ave., Tulsa, OK 74104.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University—annually awards a $500 prize, named for John D. Wilson, former provost at Virginia Tech and now president of Washington and Lee University. The chapter also makes four book awards to top scholars at the county's high schools. To continue its support for the public schools project initiated last year at Williamsburg, the chapter is investigating the establishment of a speakers bureau for the local high schools. The chapter also sponsored two luncheons for members and guests.

Washington University—annually makes a book award to one or two students for outstanding work during their first year.

College of William and Mary—presented its faculty award for the advancement of scholarship to Clayton M. Clemens, of the government department. Heidi Swanson won the prize for a humanities graduate, presented in memory of Professor Cecil McCulley.

Yale University—awarded medals for outstanding teaching to Georges May, Sterling Professor Emeritus of French, and Richard Gardner, associate professor of classics. The medals are named for William Clyde DeVane, dean of Yale, 1938–63, and long-time president of the chapter. □

The Society's national president, Joan M. Ferrante, is shown as she spoke at the installation ceremony for the chapter at Ursinus College last March. Chapter officers are seated on the platform. President Ferrante also attended the installation of the chapter at Wittenberg University in May. Both chapters were approved at the 1991 triennial Council.

PRESIDENT FERRANTE COMMENTS ON *REPORTER* AND *SCHOLAR*

This edition of *The Key Reporter* is meant to serve as an annual report to the membership on the activities of the Society's chapters and associations. These descriptions show that our members' dedication to excellence in liberal education is not simply an abstract ideal but a real commitment of time and effort. We are very grateful to our members for all they do on Phi Beta Kappa's behalf.

Some of our members noticed the brief piece in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (under "Hot Type") which announced that there might be changes "in the offing for *The American Scholar* but ΦBK . . . isn't saying what they may be." We have a Senate committee looking into the troubling problem of increased costs (a substantial and growing subsidy to publish the *Scholar*) and small circulation among our membership (no more than 3.5 percent subscribe). While the quarterly has a lot of enthusiastic support from its regular readers, we wonder if we can continue to devote a large portion of our budget to underwriting it unless we can persuade more of our members to subscribe.

While we look for ways to trim costs, we are also searching for means to increase circulation. We are doing some random surveys of the membership, but we would like to have as broad a sample of your opinion as possible. If you do not receive one of our questionnaires and have some thoughts about the magazine, please send them to us in care of the Senate Committee on *The American Scholar*, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. We would like very much to hear from you, particularly with any specific suggestions for the publication.

—*Joan M. Ferrante*

Association Secretaries, 1992–93

Alabama

Northeast Alabama—Dr. George E. Whitesel, 907 Second St., N.E., Jacksonville, AL 36265.

*Southeast Alabama—Dr. Emma Coburn Norris, 1857 Galena Ave., Montgomery, AL 36106-1909.

Arizona

Phoenix Area—Mr. Arthur H. Loewenstein, 8101 E. Virginia Ave., Scottsdale, AZ 85257.

California

*Northern California—Dr. Madeleine Babin, 50 Kevin Ct., Walnut Creek, CA 94596-5427.

*San Diego—Ms. Barbara Blomgren, 8589 Prestwick Dr., La Jolla, CA 92037-2025.

*Southern California—Mrs. Virginia L. Hornak, 5034 Palomar Dr., Tarzana, CA 91356.

Connecticut

*Greater Hartford—Ms. Marilyn Pet, 93 Bette Dr., Manchester, CT 06040.

District of Columbia

*Washington, D.C.—Mrs. Mary R. Weiler, 700 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., #117, Washington, DC 20037.

Florida

Northeast Florida—Dr. Elinor A. Scheirer, University of North Florida, 4567 Saint Johns Bluff Rd., S. Jacksonville, FL 32224.

Sarasota-Manatee—Dr. Emiliana P. Noether, 988 Blvd. of the Arts, #1812, Sarasota, FL 34236.

*South Florida—Ms. Agneta C. Heldt, 3024 Kirk St., Miami, FL 33133.

Georgia-Carolina

Coastal Georgia-Carolina—Dr. George B. Pruden, 13 Old Mill Ct., Savannah, GA 31419-2824.

Illinois

*Chicago—Prof. Nona Mary Allard, 7900 W. Division St., River Forest, IL 60305.

East Central Illinois—Dr. Jonell Comerford, Mathematics Department, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, IL 61920.

*Southern Illinois—Dr. Ronald Kirk, Mathematics Department, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

Indiana

*Indianapolis—Dr. Roger Roeske, 6815 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, IN 46220.

> *Chartered Associations: Association charters are granted by the Senate of Phi Beta Kappa. Please direct any questions about chartering procedures to the Washington office.

Iowa

*Sioux City—Mrs. Marjorie C. Meyer, 2412 Allan St., Sioux City, IA 51103.

Louisiana

Southwestern Louisiana—Dr. Mary R. Meredith, USL Box 43570, Lafayette, LA 70504.

Maryland

Frederick County—Dr. Annette S. Thompson, 17605 Parkridge Dr., Gaithersburg, MD 20878.

Massachusetts

Newton—Dr. James T. Barrs, 4 Bay Rd., Milford, MA 01757.

Michigan

*Detroit—Ms. Sarah S. Alousi, 1941 Birmingham Blvd., Birmingham, MI 48009.

*Southwestern Michigan—Prof. George Nielsen, Department of Mathematics, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, MI 49006.

Minnesota

Minneapolis—Mr. George A. Warp, 4824 Thomas Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55410.

Mississippi

*Northeast Mississippi—Mr. John McGill, Jr., P.O. Box 2124, Tupelo, MS 38803.

Missouri-Kansas

*Greater Kansas City—Mr. Richard D. Woods, Shook, Hardy & Bacon, One Kansas City Place, 1200 Main St., Kansas City, MO 64105.

Northeast Missouri—Ms. Carol Race, Northeast Missouri State University, Kirksville, MO 63501.

Nebraska

*Omaha—Ms. Ann Gallagher, 2509 S. 102nd St., Omaha, NE 68124.

New Mexico

Los Alamos—Ms. Krista Steele, 597 Myrtle, and Ms. Janet Tallman, 165 La Cueva, Los Alamos, NM 87544.

New York

*Long Island—Prof. Sharon D. Abramson, Nassau Community College, Garden City, NY 11530.

*New York—Ms. Jean Golden, 382 Central Park W., New York, NY 10025.

*Scarsdale/Westchester—Mrs. Susan R. Adler, 20 Carstensen Rd., Scarsdale, NY 10583.

*Upper Hudson—Dr. Frances C. Allee, 24 Providence St., McKownville, Albany, NY 12203.

North Carolina

Guilford County—Ms. Betty J. Pearce, 1804 Hobbs Rd., Greensboro, NC 27410.

*Pitt County—Dr. Tinsley E. Yarbrough, Department of Political Science, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353.

*Wake County—Dr. Margaret F. King, 815-3 Marlowe Rd., Raleigh, NC 27609.

Ohio

*Cleveland—Ms. Lorelei M. Romito, 757 Pipes Ct., Sagamore Hills, OH 44067.

*Toledo Area—Mr. Lyman F. Spitzer, Shumaker, Loop & Kendrick, 1000 Jackson, Toledo, OH 43624.

Oklahoma

*Oklahoma City—Ms. Carolyn Horter, 2349 N.W. 121st St., Oklahoma City, OK 73120.

Pennsylvania

*Delaware Valley—Mr. Robert F. Maxwell, 12 Barley Cone Lane, Rosemont, PA 19010.

South Carolina

*Piedmont Area—Dr. B.G. Stephens, Wofford College, Spartanburg, SC 29301.

Tennessee

*Chattanooga—Prof. John Tinkler, 1012 Hanover St., Chattanooga, TN 37405.

Texas

*Greater Houston—Mrs. Nancy Garfield, 3838 Piping Rock Rd., Houston, TX 77027.

*North Texas—Mrs. Patricia K. Irvin, 5423 Hilton Head Dr., Dallas, TX 75287.

*San Antonio—Dr. Matthew D. Stroud, 13703 Pebble Walk, San Antonio, TX 78217.

Virginia

*Richmond—Mr. G. Edmond Massie III, Route 1, Box 2140, Hanover, VA 23069.

Roanoke Area—Ms. Virginia Diane Kelly, Route 1, Box 68-B, Fincastle, VA 24090.

Shenandoah—Dr. Devin Bent, Political Science Department, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA 22807.

Washington

Inland Empire—Prof. John Morey Maurice, Gonzaga University School of Law, P.O. Box 3528, Spokane, WA 99220-3528.

*Puget Sound—Ms. Myra Lupton, P.O. Box 84103, Seattle, WA 98124.

West Virginia

*Charleston—Mr. John Luoni, 129 Swarthmore Ave., Charleston, WV 25302.

Wisconsin

*Greater Milwaukee—Ms. Janet Protasiewicz, 4014 S. 43d St., Apt. 3, Greenfield, WI 53220.

RECOMMENDED READING

BOOK COMMITTEE

Humanities: *Robert P. Sonkowsky, Jean Sudrann, Lawrence Willson*
Social Sciences: *Earl W. Count, Richard N. Current, Leonard W. Doob, Thomas McNaugher, Madeline R. Robinton, Victoria Schuck, Anna J. Schwartz*
Natural Sciences: *Ronald Geballe, Russell B. Stevens*

Thomas McNaugher

Lines in the Sand: Desert Storm and the Remaking of the Arab World. *Deborah Amos. Simon & Schuster, 1992. $21.*

The first-generation eyewitness accounts of Desert Storm are now sauntering toward bookstands. Most will be seriously flawed; we are slowly discovering how much less we knew about this war than we thought we did as it unfolded. This book also has its flaws, some the result of rushing to print, some the product of serious limits on research into contemporary Arab politics. What this book has, however, that few others are likely to match, is an Arab perspective on the war's origins, conduct, and effects.

Having covered the Arab world for National Public Radio since 1977, Deborah Amos knows her way around Arab capitals. She proved equally adept at getting around the war zone, avoiding the Pentagon reporters pool and thumbing her way around the Saudi desert, reaching Kuwait City two days before the cease-fire. So there is insight here into high-level Arab politics—the ups and downs of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's commitment to the coalition, the effects of a large American presence on Saudi politics and society, and the disappointing politics of liberated Kuwait. But there are also fascinating accounts of the interaction among American, British, and Arab soldiers. All this in prose that moves at least as fast as the Seventh Corps.

Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics. *Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall. W.W. Norton, 1991. $22.95.*

This is a provocative and fascinating exploration of the seismic shift that has rumbled through U.S. politics over the past three decades, as this country moved from talking about racial equality to trying to make it happen. Everyone—Republicans even more than Democrats—favored civil rights when it was an abstract concept back in the 1950s, but when civil rights became the law in the mid-1960s, the parties split. The Democrats embraced civil rights legislation, and with it busing, social welfare programs, and antipoverty legislation. By so doing, however, they alienated labor, the core of Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. Suddenly, white workers found their tax dollars funding programs that helped blacks compete for the whites' jobs, while an increasingly strident Democratic leadership pushed empowerment programs that challenged traditional values. The Republicans lost little time in exploiting the situation, fashioning a new national coalition based on appeals to traditional values, lower taxes, and less government spending—a platform that has helped them win five of the past six presidential contests.

Tragically, although racial equality remained the core issue, it became too hot to handle. Always in the background (remember Willie Horton?), it has rarely been openly debated. Thus it is not just for lack of money that we have no ready solutions to the underlying problems vented during the recent riots in Los Angeles; our ideas are as thin as our wallets. This book will tell you why; if you have time to read only one book on American politics in this election year, let this be the one.

Rethinking America's Security: Beyond Cold War to New World Order. *Ed. by Graham Allison and Gregory F. Treverton, W.W. Norton, 1992. $29.95.*

President Bush has invoked the term New World Order, but no one is sure what it means. Some think we are headed "back" to a multipolar world dominated by military force, while others see new technological and economic forces gradually supplanting the traditional instruments of statecraft, even the state itself. Most agree that the United States now possesses unmatched military might, but they disagree on whether military power is useful and how to use it if it is. No one knows what to make of the third world now that parts of it are booming economically, or what the nonaligned movement will do now that there's nothing to be nonaligned with. What we have, in short, is a debate on the future of world politics and the U.S. role therein, and this book is perhaps the most powerful collection of essays on such issues yet to appear. For nonspecialists it is a wonderfully readable and comprehensive overview of the challenges we face. But it is no less useful to the strategist or policymaker, who will find here sharp, provocative statements by topnotch authors surveying the forces at work around us and the choices we face.

Madeline Robinton

A History of the Arab Peoples. *Albert Hourani. Harvard, 1991. $24.95.*

With the Middle East looming so large in present-day American life, it helps to understand the complexity of the issues that unite and divide the Arab world. Hourani, emeritus fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford, has provided a superb guide for "general readers" and for students who are beginning to study, as he says in his preface.

Starting with the rise of Islam in Arabia in the 7th century, he traces the spread of the Islamic religion and Arabic culture in the Near East and in the west along the Mediterranean into Spain and across the Pyrenees, and in cities from Damascus, Aleppo, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Maghreb to Cordoba in Spain. Hourani describes the political, cultural, and religious developments from the 11th to the 15th century—the high point of Arabic influence. The expulsion from Spain and the takeover by the Ottoman Empire bring changes in the 16th to the 18th century. Subsequent chapters carry the story through the forced retreat of the Ottoman Empire from Eastern Europe to Constantinople and Asia Minor, the rise of the Western empires in the Middle East, their dissolution, and the rise of nation-states after 1939. The effects of these changes—the conflicts within Islam, the Arab world among the new states and within the cultural differences, the ethnic and social differences, the economic strains—are thoughtfully

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and objectively treated. The picture of Arab unity and disunity in all its complexity is revealed. A truly difficult job well done!

Parliament and Liberty: From the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War. *Ed. by J.H. Hexter. Stanford, 1992. $39.50.*
The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives. *Ed. by Lois Schwoerer. Cambridge Univ., 1992. $59.95.*

Both these volumes are collections of articles by distinguished scholars in their fields, but their approaches to the fundamental problem they address are different. The problem is one that very much concerns the contemporary world, both West and East—the meaning of freedom, the limitations on governments, the rights of the individual (in modern parlance, human rights and the glorification of the Statue of Liberty).

The Hexter volume, one of a series called "The Making of Modern Freedom," grew out of a conference held at the Center for the History of Freedom at Washington University in St. Louis. The papers treat the subject by analyzing how the concept of specific liberties developed in the conflicts between king and Parliament over the relationship between government and the individual, and the role of common law. Especially interesting to readers trained in the law.

The Schwoerer volume also deals with British history in the 17th century, a period fundamental in the development of American law and values, but these papers, presented at the Folger Shakespeare Library, center on the Revolution of 1688–89—specifically, the personalities involved, the Anglo-Dutch relationship, and the European scene and its effects on the literary world, among other aspects. The book also reflects a revisionary approach to the Whig interpretation of history.

The First Latin American Debt Crisis: The City of London and the 1822–25 Loan Bubble. *Frank Griffith Dawson. Yale, 1990. $30.*

Opposite the preface of this book is a quotation from John Kenneth Galbraith: "History has a way of repeating itself in financial matters because of a kind of sophisticated stupidity." Dawson, a member of the New York bar and a research associate of the Center for International Law at Cambridge University, is obviously concerned about U.S. commercial bank loans to Latin American countries that have caused serious problems for the lenders.

This book is a study of the political and social conditions in London in the 1820s, the speculative mania, and the politics and economies of the emerging Latin American countries. How these loans were raised and how their failures were dealt with when the Bubble collapsed are graphically treated. A final chapter analyzes the differences in the structure of banking and finance today and the similarities that characterize the contemporary U.S. banking scene.

Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England. *Jane Lewis. Stanford, 1991. $39.50.*

This volume also reflects the historian's concern with problems of contemporary society. Jane Lewis, of the London School of Economics, looks at the problem of poverty in the England of Dickens and shows how five outstanding women dealt with it. Octavia Hill, one of the founders of the Charity Organization Society, established housing for the poor. Beatrice Webb started her career as a rent collector for Octavia Hill, moved to support the role of the state in solving these problems, and became one of the original Fabian Socialists. Helen Bosanquet, a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law along with Octavia Hill and Beatrice Webb, is credited with the writing of large sections of the Majority Report, while Beatrice Webb is famous for her Minority Report. This book is a study of the evolution of the thinking of these women as well as that of the well-known novelist Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and that of Violet Markham, a founder of a settlement house who was active in education and politics and well known for her opposition to woman's suffrage. A thoughtful book.

Recent Historians of Great Britain: Essays on the Post-1945 Generation. *Ed. by Walter L. Arnstein. Iowa State Univ., 1990. $24.95.*

This festschrift is in honor of Lacey Baldwin Smith of Northwestern University by his former students and colleagues. The essays assess the work of eight British writers on British history: Geoffrey Elton, Joel Hurstfield, Christopher Hill, and Lawrence Stone, on the 16th and 17th centuries; J.H. Plumb on the 18th; E.P. Thompson on the 18th and 19th; Norman Gash, also on the 19th; and F.S.L. Lyons on modern Ireland. Arnstein's introduction explains why these eight were selected and comments briefly on other historians of that generation. Each study treats biographical and bibliographical material relating to the historian, analyzes his approach to his subject matter, and points to the different developments in modern British historiography.

Victoria Schuck

Ould Fields, New Corne: The Personal Memoirs of a Twentieth Century Lawyer. *Erwin N. Griswold. West Publishing, 1992. $27.95.*

Taking his title from Sir Edward Coke's *Commentaries* (1600), the author, who has argued more cases before the U.S. Supreme Court than any other person now living, has written an engaging autobiography. Griswold has had a diverse career: 30+ years of teaching law courses; 22 years as dean of the Harvard Law School; a dozen years at the Justice Department, half of which were as solicitor general; 1 year in Treasury; 6 years as a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; and, since 1973, almost 20 years in private practice. Balanced and revealing, this book should appeal to everyone who seeks to understand 20th-century America.

The Electoral Origins of Divided Government: Competition in U.S. Elections, 1946–1988. *Gary C. Jacobson. Westview, 1990. $39.50; paper, $15.95.*
Divided Government: Cooperation and Conflict between President and Congress. *Ed. by James A. Thurber. Congressional Quarterly, 1991. $17.95.*
Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking and Investigation, 1946–1990. *David R. Mayhew. Yale, 1991. $25.*

How late-20th-century scholars, with differing points of view, regard the function and operation of the constitutional separation and shared powers between the American president and Congress can be learned from these three important books.

Nineteenth-century Americans invented political parties akin, they thought, to the British parliamentary system. Reformers and political scientists employing normative methods of research looked to a unified party system, which meant that in winning elections, the victorious party would control both the presidency and the Congress. Divided control was thought a mere accident.

Then scholars focused on long periods of divided government, including the last five of the six most recent elections, when Republicans won the presidency and the Democrats the Congress, except for one senatorial election (1988). Numerous questions began to be raised about what had happened. The media labeled the failure of the executive and legislature to act "political gridlock." Using behavioral methods of research and ample data, political scientists set out to find the answers.

Jacobson's extensive analysis explains the decline in political parties and the rise of candidate-centered elections, split-ticket voting, and incumbent reelections. He calls for political, not structural, reforms, demonstrating that House elections are not isolated from national trends.

Thurber's collection of 13 essays representing no one ideology or point of view examines the major sources of conflict and cooperation between Congress and the president. The volume concludes with suggestions of ways to improve relations between the two branches.

Mayhew's book confronts head on the question of how unified and divided governments actually work. His study covers a 44-year period when the time periods of divided and unified government were fairly equally distributed. He looks at congressional investigations and the flow of hundreds of important and innovative laws and finds that party control, whether unified or divided, makes little if any difference. Mayhew then searches for other aspects of the American system which blot out or ignore parties, ranging from electoral incentives and presidential leadership to issue cleavages and public moods and finds they offer "alternative variations." He finds no need to "jettison" the separation of powers for "party government" schemes and concludes that the role of party is that of a "policy faction" and not the "governing instrument" of parliamentary governments. He believes that certain other components of the American government such as pluralism, public opinion, and individualism are as powerful as our political parties.

The Columbia Dictionary of Political Biography. *Ed. by Angela Brown. Columbia, 1991. $40.*

The aim of the editors is to profile leaders around the world who possess influence in international affairs and are likely to continue to do so: some 2,000 persons in 173 countries and territories from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe are listed. The categories from which individuals have been selected for inclusion range from elective and legislative officials, lobbyists, and military officials to labor leaders, dictators, and international civil servants. The closing date for selections was the end of March 1991.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

*Jaroslav Pelikan (*Key Reporter, *Summer 1992) cites my essay on Allan Bloom (*Am. Hist. Rev. *1990: 447) as illustrating the "bunker mentality" of defensive, uncritical academics. The full essay would, I believe, show that he has the wrong target, since it was an effort to persuade scholars to understand Bloom's indictment of "historicism" as a serious one, which should be pondered, and answered. It's true that I do not accept the validity of Bloom's broadside against contemporary liberalism, indeed regard it as a sophisticated theoretical grounding for the kind of narrow, monistic moralizing so thoroughly aired at the recent Republican convention. But is that position really evidence of entrenched academic complacency?*

—Fred Matthews, York University (retired)

Jean Sudrann

Trollope: A Biography. *N. John Hall. Clarendon/Oxford, 1991. $35.*

Hall's richly detailed, genial biography of Anthony Trollope places the novelist, civil servant, traveler, and London clubman in a mid-Victorian scene that links him to fellow novelists from Thackeray to George Eliot; to political giants such as Disraeli, Gladstone, and Palmerston; and to the era's problems: Bishop Colenso's questioning of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, the government's move to disestablish the Irish Church, the Phoenix Park murders, British annexation of the Transvaal, and the growing concern over the rights of women. Hall not only treats the bulk of Trollope's fiction, travel books, and essays but also makes room for praise of the writer's pioneering service in the British Post Office. Trollope devised the pillar box, secured adequate mail delivery for rural areas, and successfully undertook a variety of foreign postal missions from Egypt to Washington, D.C. So skillfully does Hall join Trollope's life as a civil servant to his life as a man of letters and as a Victorian son, husband, and father that a portrait of the artist as a human being emerges from the vast and varied detail of the book.

Hall's "leading ideas" of Trollope's strength of intellect, comic genius, and writing skill are all amply substantiated in the text. Beyond that, the assembled materials point directly at Trollope's reflection of his age. His unresolved ambiguities on such peculiarly Victorian questions as the authenticity of Scripture, the legitimacy of Empire, and the necessity of political, social, and legal rights for women make him a Victorian icon, a Janus image simultaneously looking ahead and behind.

Victorian Subjects. *J. Hillis Miller. Duke, 1991. $47.50.*

Although *Victorian Subjects* is just one of the three volumes of essays that Miller has recently assembled, it, like the other two, follows Miller's developing critical ideas from 1955 to 1989, years of critical upheaval on both sides of the Atlantic as semiotics, structuralism, deconstruction, and cultural criticism struggled for ascendancy. Miller's exemplary criticism has weathered these storms in large part because his love of literature has kept him grounded just there—in the text. However one judges the theoretical frameworks he has tested, adapted, or adopted, one can only applaud his consistent refusal to privilege the nascent theory over the text.

The 34-year span covered by the collection suggests forcefully the rich rewards of eclectic approaches to in-

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RECOMMENDED READING

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terpretation, perhaps most obviously by making possible comparison of such early and late essays as "The Theme of the Disappearance of God in Victorian Poetry" (1963) and "Theology and Logology in Victorian Literature" (1979). In the earlier piece, Miller discusses the unique responses of four poets to their sense not of the death but of the disappearance of God. In the later piece, Miller, using the tools of deconstruction, discovers that each of the texts he discusses is a battleground on which new forms of belief are being defined but are so linguistically entangled with the old forms that the battle itself can never be resolved. Here, as elsewhere, Miller eschews the idea of "some spurious unity in the spirit of an age," remaining committed to his "irresistible penchant for 'close-reading' of individual texts."

Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism (1981–1991). *Salman Rushdie. Granta Books/Viking Penguin, 1991. $24.95.*

This selection of more than 50 of Rushdie's lectures, conversations, essays, and reviews—all published within the past decade—is striking proof of the author's passport to the world. The reader moves from essays on the novels of Italo Calvino and Kazuo Ishiguru to critiques of the films of Satyajit Ray and Terry Gilliam. Or, after considering an analysis of the politics of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the reader may travel with Rushdie across America as the writer conflates the sights and sounds of the landscape with the tales of cynicism, religious cultism, and brutality he is reading in Apulieus's *The Golden Ass.* The reader, exhilarated by the vitality and wit informing these images of a decade, is equally moved by the developing image of the writer: the street-smart, academy-wise, and wholly humane Salman Rushdie.

Various in subject matter, the collection is nevertheless unified as Rushdie explores his most urgent concerns, especially the "migrant sensibility" that characterizes for him "this century of displaced persons": Gunter Grass's migration from the Nazi past to the post–World War II world, John Berger's story of the cultural displacement suffered by European migrant laborers, and Rushdie's own knowledge of the lasting damage effected by the migrant's loss of home and language. Nevertheless, Rushdie says, the migrant also "transforms his new world." The creative note sounded here is certainly what this volume celebrates in its explorations of the life of the mind and the ways of the imagination. And that, truly, is what Rushdie himself is all about.

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