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I N RECENT years there seems to have developed a mania for analyzing the
president and the main political parties. Scarcely a day passes without the
editorial pages of the newspapers devoting at least one column, sometimes several,
to analyses of Nixon in relation to Russia, to Viet Nam, to the economy, to
pollution, to drug addiction, to law and order, to his standings in the popularity polls,
with further analyses of his chances for 1972, which frequently include analyses
of his possible Democratic opponent. Then, there are self-appointed Freuds who
analyze his character, his motives and motivations, all to the point of appraising
his qualifications to solve the myriad problems besetting the nation in what was
supposed to be, but definitely is not, “the century of the United States.”

All of this analysis of one limited individual—limited by his own capacities and
vision as well as by the restricting structure of American government today—
seems to have become a redundant exercise in irrelevancies. There is an undercur-
rent of ferment in America, a mood of questioning its values and goals, a con­
cern about the “quality of life” that is missing from the country’s drift. No one
president was responsible for the conditions which created this new mood of
disillusion and discontented groping, and no one president can change the condi­
tions nor even hope to cope with the people’s loss of faith and bewildered searching.
It is true that Nixon promises to cure all ills, but a striking symptom of the
disillusioned mood is the proportion of the people who have lost belief in any
such promises.

While of course a large segment of the population seek a cure-all leader in
another president, the disenchanted recognize that a drift of interrelated elements,
directed by no one, has combined to produce an order beyond the control of any
man in the present system. It is an order which, during the ’sixties proved to
be subjectively unrewarding to a growing number of individuals—particularly
among the young, the black, and mental types—and in the ’seventies individual
subjective values will assume an increasingly urgent importance which politicians
and the political structures are ill-equipped to deal with.

In a fine new book, American Politics in the 1970s, Frederick Dutton, a lawyer
and former aide to President Kennedy, stresses the new forces emerging on the
scene, especially the young and the black, in relation to the humbling, uncompre­
hending political parties. “The greatest shift,” he writes, “is not across geography
or in the economy or social arrangement of the country, but simply within most
individual voters. (Not his italics.) It is the current tipping of the balance of
political power from the economic to the psychological . . . from the stomach
and the pocketbook to the psyche, and perhaps sooner or later even to the
soul.”

The human psyche (let alone the soul) is the one item which has been stead­
fastly disregarded by those dehumanized elements which form the present order.
The most obvious of these elements is that concentration of control over commu­
""The Quiet Revolution"

nities and individuals by the vast, faceless complex of bureaucracy called the
“central government.” Inter-related with this bureaucracy in forming the order
are the countless “special interests.” The most written about are the huge cor­
porations, the labor unions, the agricultural and

(Continued on page 23)
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STATE POLICE organizations are generally associated with the automobile and with traffic control, be they highway patrols which arrest only for offenses committed on the highway or, as in Virginia, state police with authority to enforce all criminal laws of the state.

This is quite logical as last year 96.5 percent of the 226,682 arrests by the Virginia State Police involved the highway. This is generally the situation with all such organizations.

Yet the automobile did not engender state police. Probably the oldest such organization is the Texas Rangers, formed in 1835 as a border patrol. In 1865, Massachusetts appointed a number of “state constables” and Connecticut did the same in 1903.

The first real estate police organization was the Pennsylvania State Police which came into being in 1905 to provide an executive arm for the state, to handle mass disturbances that were beyond local control and to bring law and order to localities where it was non-existent or inadequate.

The foremost reason for their existence sprung from continued disturbed conditions in the coal and iron mines which defied local law enforcement facilities. They were heavily resisted, largely by organized labor under the fear that they would be used as a private force by mine owners and operators.

Mounted on horses and clad in dark uniforms, they were known as the “Black Hussars” and quickly established a reputation of honesty, fairness and efficiency. Their handling of a violent transit strike in Philadelphia in 1910 set the trend which has resulted in statewide police organizations in every state but Hawaii.

The Problem of the Automobile

Meanwhile the ranks of the automobile were increasing at an utterly unpredicted rate. In 1905, there were 78,800 in the nation. In 1915, there were 2,490,932 and by 1925, 19,940,724. As the numbers increased automobiles became capable of greater speeds and longer driving ranges.

These developments brought not only the traffic problem with deaths leaping from 6,600 in 1915 to 21,900 in 1925, but gave the criminal the mobility not only to aid in his crimes but to flee jurisdictions in a manner to seriously handicap local law enforcement.

Breaking clear of old law enforcement policies, state police departments were able to experiment on their own and bring a higher overall type of service to the public.

The automobile has brought an additional problem to state police agencies and to all police departments concerned with the enforcement of traffic laws. The general public looks with some disfavor upon this activity.
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Some 60 or so years ago, our population was rather sharply divided into the overwhelming majority which obeyed the law and the small criminal class which did not. The lawbreaker then was looked upon with more than a little disfavor.

Now, everyone drives and everyone breaks traffic laws and breaking traffic laws is considered by many as something of a white collar offense rather than a crime which accounts for the loss of some 56,000 American lives annually. The drinking driver, for example, receives almost unbelievable tolerance despite the fact that he is present in about 50 percent of all fatal crashes. Various enforcement measures are considered forms of "entrapment," used to deprive the violator of what he considers an even break.

Many tourists and other out-of-state drivers feel they should have special dispensation, particularly since they are spending money in the states in which they commit violations.

Unfortunately, it is not at all difficult to violate a traffic law unintentionally. People who obey laws suddenly find themselves under arrest and summoned to court when they had no intention of violating a law. The experience is all the more trying when it is the individual's first brush with enforcement. However, honest mistakes in traffic can kill and cannot be automatically written off.

Through persistence in upholding the very highest standards of law enforcement, courtesy and understanding, the Virginia State Police have managed to combat these adverse tendencies to the extent that individual commendations rendered the Department outnumber complaints to the extent of seven to one.

Early Days

The germ of the Virginia State Police was in the appointment of eight license inspectors under the Secretary of the Commonwealth in the spring of 1922. They had no uniforms and no training but were issued revolvers (without holsters), badges, copies of the rudimentary *Motor Vehicle Code* of the day and T-Model Fords. Thus they took to the roads absolutely on their own. They were recalled to Richmond in the winter months, due to the impassability of the roads, and performed clerical duties.

Although empowered to enforce licensing laws and traffic regulations, they mainly concerned themselves with stolen cars and cars without license plates. The latter was a very common offense as sheriffs' offices lacked mobility and often felt they had no concern with "state" laws.

A year later, the Division of Motor Vehicles was formed and the inspectors absorbed by it. In 1930, the force, now uniformed, was reorganized on a military basis, its strength increased to 75 and a superintendent appointed. The state was divided into districts with lieutenants in charge of them.

In 1932 came the first real training session at Virginia Beach and here is a pause for digression.

That year marked the very depths of the Economic Depression of the late twenties and early thirties. When it was announced that 100 applicants would be selected to participate in the training course but that only 25 would be given jobs, at $85 per month, for which they would have to wait several months, there were 5,000 applications.

One of the successful applicants chosen, who completed the six week course with no pay, was C. W. Woodson, Jr., who came up through the ranks and became Major Woodson when then Governor Colgate Darden appointed him Superintendent in 1942. He was later elevated to the rank of Colonel. This appointment of a career man instead of a political figure to a top state position was a revolutionary one but one which Colonel Woodson thoroughly justified. Since then everyone in a supervisory position has come up step by step through the ranks.

Colonel Woodson served as Superintendent until his voluntary retirement December 31, 1967. "An admin-
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PAGE TEN
VIRGINIA RECORD
istrator who continues to work beyond the retirement age applicable to other members of the organization tends to stifle essential initiative to reach the top,” he said. State department heads do not come under the regular retirement rules but serve at the pleasure of the Governor.

He set a national record for office tenure of a state police head. The average is three years. At the same time he was appointed Superintendent, the State Police separated from the Division of Motor Vehicles and became an entity of state government, with the Superintendent answering only to the Governor.

Present Organization
Today, the Department has a uniformed strength of 1,052 and a civilian one of 377. It is headed by Colonel H. W. Burgess who joined the Department in 1936 as a trooper and also came up through the ranks. It might be said that upon the retirement of Colonel Woodson, there was no question whatsoever as to his elevation to Superintendent and the move received statewide approval. He is assisted by an Executive Officer and a Field Supervisor, both with rank of major, five administrative division captains and six field captains.

Headquarters are located on an 81-acre complex on U. S. 60, one mile west of Richmond. It contains the headquarters Building, which houses offices; the Communications Building; the Garage; the Training School with offices, dormitories, cafeteria, recreation room and classrooms and which is capable of caring for two schools at once; the Physical Training Building; an airplane landing strip and hangar; dog kennels, and firing ranges.

All administrative division captains are assisted by lieutenants, sergeants and civilian personnel in varying numbers, according to necessity.

The Personnel and Training Division handles all matters of employment, placement and of both basic and in-service training.

The Safety Division is responsible for the administration of the Semi-Annual Motor Vehicle Inspection Program, the State Pool Car Safety Program and safety education programs within the department.

The Investigations and Records Division supervises the records procedures of all divisions; the maintenance of criminal and traffic violation records; the dissemination of information as to wanted and missing persons and stolen property; the maintenance of all traffic crash statistics and the annual printing of them; and the operation of the Central Criminal Records Exchange.

The Property and Finance Division maintains a supply of all items used by the department; is responsible for the motor fleet; supervises the mail room; acts as custodian for all department buildings and real estate; negotiates all contracts for building construction, alterations and major repairs; supervises the dining room; prepares the budget; prepares payrolls, and handles all insurance matters.

The Communications Division supervises operation of the teletype system; is responsible for all radio and

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PAGE TWELVE VIRGINIA RECORD
electronics equipment, provides emergency communications for disasters and special events, and maintains communications equipment for other state agencies, according to agreements.

There are six field divisions with headquarters in state owned buildings located at Richmond, Culpeper, Appomattox, Wytheville, Chesapeake and Salem. Each division captain is assisted by a headquarters lieutenant, a field lieutenant and a headquarters sergeant.

Each division is broken down into areas and there are 43 of these throughout the state. Each area is headed by a sergeant with the exception of six larger ones which have a complement of a first sergeant and a sergeant. Areas are broken down into duty posts patrolled by individual troopers.

A detail of 22 troopers supervised by a sergeant is located in Richmond and patrols the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, maintained by Turnpike funds.

There are 63 investigators who work in plain clothes and who report directly to their division commanders.

Employment and Training

The trooper applicant goes through a long process of elimination before becoming a State Trooper. He must have reached his 21st birthday but not his 30th. He must be at least five feet nine inches tall but not more than six feet four and his weight must be proportional, with limits of from 156 pounds to 220.

He must complete certain aptitude tests, pass a strict physical examination and make a good impression in a personal interview. He must have a high school diploma or General Education Certificate and must express willingness to accept duty anywhere in Virginia.

If all of these qualifications are met,
MAJOR J. T. MARSHALL
Executive Officer, Virginia State Police

Major Marshall is a native of Carroll County and was first employed by the State Police in March 1941. He served as a Trooper, Investigator, Sergeant, Lieutenant and Captain prior to his appointment as Major, Executive Officer on January 1, 1968. Active in the field of communications for many years, a list of his activities follows:

- Chairman Communications Committee—International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), 1964 through 1970.
- Vice Chairman Communications Committee IACP, 1961-62-63.
- Member Communications Committee IACP, 1960.
- Chairman Communications Committee—Virginia Association of Chiefs of Police about 10 years—through 1968.
- Past President—Associated Public-Safety Communications Officers (APCO), 1962.
- Past President—Virginia Chapter APCO, 1959-1961.
- Chairman Special IACP Committee which organized The National Law Enforcement TWX Network. Chaired two national meetings.
- Past Chairman—Police Teletype Net (Forerunner of National Law Enforcement Teletype System), Helped to organize National LEETS.
- Assistant Director APCO Project #2—Drafted and distributed a basic operating procedure manual for Public Safety under an O.L.E.A. grant. Nationwide distribution.
- Member—Federal Communications Commission Advisory Committee for the Land Mobile Services for the duration of its existence.
- Member—Representing IACP on the Land Mobile Communications Council.

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conditionally appointed trooper, he goes on the payroll at the full starting salary, which is presently $7,344, and reaches the maximum of $9,600 in steps after 5 1/2 years of satisfactory service. Promotion to sergeant or appointment to investigator becomes available as vacancies occur.

All uniforms and equipment are supplied and he retains his patrol car at all times since his is permanently on 24-hour call.

He works a 40-hour, five-day week, receives a minimum of 11 paid holidays and a vacation which extends in steps to 18 work days a year after 10 years of service.

Naturally, he cannot expect to be off duty every holiday, since they are the times of heaviest traffic, but is given compensatory leave when required to work on holidays or off duty days and for overtime.

Radar is used as a supplement to the pursuit method for the enforcement of speed laws. It might be stated here that neither radar or unmarked cars constitute legal entrapment. Entrapment is a defense which pleads that an officer of the law induced the defendant to commit an offense not contemplated by him for the purpose of instituting a criminal prosecution against him (Black's Law Dictionary). It does not extend to surveillance of a potential crime scene nor even to the purchase by an officer of an illegal item.

The Department also uses airplanes and helicopters for patrol of the Interstate and arterial highways and for other police functions.

The "Canine Corps" consist of 12 German shepherds, two of which are assigned to each division. Their handlers retain them permanently and receive food and other items for their upkeep. A team of qualified SCUBA divers is mainly concerned with underwater searches.

The Virginia State Police hold a high position in the nation and have received 58 national awards from such agencies as the National Safety Council and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

No Virginia Governor has found it necessary to call out the National Guard since 1931, about the time the department actually received full police powers and organized on a statewide basis.

While diverse factors enter in to the promotion of highway safety, it might be noted that in 1933, the first year for which such records were kept, the

(Continued on page 22)

Fingerprint class at Training School is shown above.

At right and below, the long awaited moment, Graduation Day!
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PAGE SIXTEEN
VIRGINIA RECORD
Public Attitude

- It might come as news to the average citizen that the traffic problem last year cost the nation 54,800 deaths, 2,000,000 injuries, which ranged from permanent disability to disability beyond the day of the crash, and $13,600,000,000 in economic losses. He also does not seem to realize that he, or someone dear to him, can at any time contribute to this dreary situation.

These statistics cannot cover pain, grief, bereavement or reduced living conditions into which families are thrust due to the crippling or death of a breadwinner.

Despite this, the citizen resents the enforcement of traffic laws and feels he has the right to drive more or less as he sees fit and best, with it up to him whether it is safe to ignore a traffic law.

The Police are thus faced with an enforcement problem similar to that engendered by National Prohibition. They were called upon to enforce an unpopular law, since the citizen felt the use of alcohol was his own business as long as he harmed no one else. Unfortunately, both the use of alcohol and the automobile can harm people other than the users, no matter how well intentioned the users might be.

All classes of people, and not just the criminal class, used alcohol during Prohibition, just as all types of people operate motor vehicles and break traffic laws. So the police must deal with people who have had no other enforcement experience and who convince themselves that they have done nothing serious enough to merit arrest.

Yet when traffic deaths suddenly soar beyond what might be expected, the police must listen to the popular cry, "Why don’t the Police do something?"

Traffic safety promotion might roughly be divided into the three classifications of Education, Enforcement and Engineering. Enforcement, in turn, breaks down into necessary and enforceable legislation, the police effort, and realistic court action. All endeavors must have the support, understanding and participation of the public if they are to be to any degree effective.

The Police Officer

- It must be understood that the police officer is a human being with the same strengths, weaknesses, emotions, likes, dislikes and prejudices that are found in other human beings. Through selection, training and experience, he is in better position to control them than the average person.

The police officer cannot expect to lead a life that is considered normal by existing standards. The fact that he does not dress like other citizens causes him to stand out in a most conspicuous manner. His private life can never be strictly his own, for actions taken for granted when performed by others can not only bring down public criticism and complaint upon the head of the individual officer but upon the police as a whole.

The police officer must often review a situation and take action immediately. He does not have the opportunities of a long court hearing with witnesses, studied legal advice and lengthy deliberations. Yet if he errs he can be considered inordinately stupid, brutal or over officious.

One misplaced act of kindness or tolerance, one failure to act positively at the precise second or one misjudgement of character can bring instant disaster for him.

A good police officer must have an inherent liking for police work and be talented along those lines. Working hours are long and irregular. Duty and duty stations might not always be those he would select. The work is physically and mentally exacting and too often fraught with danger.

Pay is not high and this is a hangover from the days when politics ruled police departments with standards for selection and performance low and training just about non-existent. Now, police work has become a profession due to all the complexities of the methods and tools used by criminals and by the police in fighting them. Devotion must be present, for good police officers do not get rich.

The Citizen

- The citizen should not simply cry out against the crime rate but should render every support possible to the police. Their position has been made harder by court decisions and opinions which protect the criminal and, in so doing, encourage crime. He should not harp on unsolved crimes but should bear in mind always that the vast majority are solved and solved by undermanned police organizations.

He should render all moral support possible to the police and give them any information he feels might be helpful. All too often, he feels a crime, particularly a traffic offense, is none...
of his concern. It is, for an offense against the individual is one against the community and society as a whole.

Frequently citizen cooperation and support are utterly lacking when the individual refuses to testify as a witness on the grounds that the matter does not concern him and when a juror in a traffic case places himself in the shoes of the defendant and arbitrarily acquits.

The citizen is prone to criticize the police officer when he comes to him with a complaint about an offense he has seen or of which he has heard. He does not realize that while an officer may make an arrest upon reasonable suspicion that a felony has been committed, he cannot arrest for a misdemeanor unless the offense is committed in his presence or he is armed with a warrant. Although there are several exceptions, traffic violations are misdemeanors.

Thus when someone tells the police a reckless driver ran him off the road and asks that enforcement action be taken immediately, nothing can be done by the police.

The aggrieved person can swear out a warrant but the difficulty here lies in determining the identity of the driver. In this lies another source of public misunderstanding of the police. Taking the license of a car the driver of which is in violation does not identify the driver. Only the owner can be traced.

The car could be stolen, someone other than the owner could be legitimately driving it or the owner could be driving but could deny it. This point often arises in the cases of violators attempting to flee the police and necessitating high speed chases.

Teenage drivers present more than their share of problems. In spite of their disproportionately heavy participation in crashes, parents are often resentful over arrests of them. The police, some of them feel, should be out chasing "real" criminals instead of harassing youngsters for youthful indiscretions. Thus are the seeds for resistance to law and order planted early.

Before the citizen cries against what he might feel to be "police brutality," he should thoroughly examine the situation. What did the officer really do? What was the provocation? What might have happened had not a certain measure of force been used or threatened?

Armored trucks are looked upon as dangerous means of dispersing crowds and police departments are criticized for purchasing them. Overlooked is the
fact that their most prevalent use is in
dealing with dangerous criminals or
madmen who have armed themselves
and barricaded themselves in build-
ings to threaten anyone who comes
near.

Dogs used by police are often re-
garded as the epitome of brutality.
Yet last year State Police dogs were
used in 217 tracking missions seeking
lost children or others who might have
died of exposure; dangerous criminals
at large and ready to resist arrest; and,
escaped convicts who present definite
menaces to society.

Stopping at the scene of a crash is
not in any way helpful to the police
but a source of danger and conges-
tion. Sometimes a passerby may be of
help, as a physician. Truck drivers are
often helpful in setting out flares, di-
recting traffic and other pertinent
activities. The average citizen, how-
ever, would do much better to stifle his
curiosity and leave the scene.

There is still considerable public
confusion as to the responsibilities and
duties of the State Police, Highway
Department and Division of Motor
Vehicles. Although a cordial and co-
operative relationship exists between
the three, each is an entity of state
government. At one time, the State
Police were a part of the Division but
in 1942 the General Assembly separ-
ated the two, making the State Police
also a separate agency of state govern-
ment.

The main mission of the Division is
the collection of revenue through the
gasoline and other taxes. Apart from
this, it controls the driver licensing
program and the registration of motor
vehicles, in which the State Police do
not directly participate. The uniformed
personnel of the Division who admin-
ister the license tests are license ex-
aminers of the Division and not state
troopers.

The Highway Department is con-
cerned with the construction and
maintenance of highways.

Confusion is understandable due to
the phrase "motor vehicle" but the
State Police are solely responsible for
the operation of the Periodic Motor
Vehicle Inspection Program.

Anyone who thinks he has informa-
tion he believes might be of definite
interest or use to a police officer or is
sincerely seeking advice or legitimate
information might well confer with
him. On the other hand the officer is
totally disinterested in Uncle Theobald
getting a ticket he did not deserve last
month, the contention that the state
speed limits are unrealistically low or

Above, a trooper and his car.

Center, often maligned, State Police dogs were used in 217 tracking missions last
year.

Below, helicopters play an important role in the work of the Department.
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PAGE TWENTY
VIRGINIA RECORD
the complaint that commercial drivers are immune from arrest, particularly when he is off duty and trying to relax. He also gets very tired of joking requests to arrest friends and such remarks as, "Better behave, we've got the law here," on social occasions. Such terms as "cop," "pig," "bull" and "flatfoot" are just as distasteful to him as "shyster" and "quack" are to others.

When one feels he has a justifiable complaint against an officer, he should present it openly through proper channels and give the officer the chance to present his side. The individual should first ask himself searchingly if his resentment does not really spring from a proper arrest or summons, or a warning or other action which he would condone had anyone else been the recipient. Warped public complaints do nothing for the police or for law and order.

The Traffic Law Violator

• The traffic violator should realize that he is given a consideration no other lawbreaker receives. A person charged with any other type of misdemeanor than a traffic violation is placed under physical arrest and taken before a justice of the peace. The chances are overwhelming that he will be required to post bond and be held in custody until he does or until his trial date.

The traffic violator, except in such serious cases as drunken driving, is given a summons upon his promise to appear in court and permitted to go his way. When he signs the summons form, he is only acknowledging that he is required to appear in court at a specified time and promising to do so. Many unpleasant situations have developed through a driver refusing to
The Virginia State Police

(from page 15)

state's rate of traffic deaths for each 100 million miles of travel was 19.9 and the national counterpart 15.6. Last year Virginia's rate was 4.3 and the nation's 5.0.

The Department's communication system is acknowledged as one of the best in the nation. It now ties in with the National Crime Information Center and the National Law Enforcement Teletypewriter Service.

There has never been a broad charge of collusion, corruption or inefficiency against the department. Virginia has been remarkably free of organized crime which speaks well for the fiber not only of the State Police but all Virginia police agencies.

The Virginia State Police have come a long way since that spring day in 1922 when the eight license inspector took to the muddy roads in their Model-T's.
Within this structure, not above it, the "presidency" itself is more like a committee among other committees than the locus of personal leadership. The presidential committee, the enormous staff of "advisers," is concerned with packaging the president for presentation both to the public and to the other committees whose cooperation must be cultivated. While congressional committees and congress itself are the most obvious restrictions on the power of the president's prestigious committee, various "special interests" must also be considered, and consensus causes decisions and courses of action to be influenced, if not determined, by political considerations in today's narrow meaning of party advantage and promotion of personal position (as re-election).

When members of Congress and the Senate are also busily engaged in finding, in order to advance their personal political fortunes (some taking any stand, no matter how bizarre, to show opposition to the president's stand), instead of the desired "checks and balances" for which the governmental structure was originally designed, government by committee is reduced to checks—particularly checks on any programs designed to promote what Jefferson called "public happiness." The president's committee is bogged down with all the others in an inertia resulting from the amalgam of checks which separate the total structure of power from the human needs of the people.

Haynes Johnson, after traveling across country for six months in writing the American Diary column for the Washington Post, wrote, in a summary of his impressions, "Everywhere there is evidence that America is in the midst of a kind of a revolution it has not experienced before. Not over labor and capital, not over race, not over political theories... or ideologies, but over personal attitudes and values. Never, in over a decade of extensive travels throughout the nation, have I encountered so many people asking so many serious, intensely personal and searching questions—about their jobs, their wives or husbands, their children, their country, their aspirations, their future. Americans have changed. They have re-examined some of their most deeply held values—about the worth of their material comforts, their desire for their children to "succeed" or even automatically to go to college, their old visions of the good life in the city or suburbs, their su-
precise confidence in their country’s rightness—and rejected many of them.”

Mr. Johnson identifies numbers of the individuals he talked with, who represent all strata in all parts of the country, and has not drawn his conclusions from the rebellious young or black. The representative citizens might not be aware that their civilization has entered a painful, and possibly crucial, transitional phase, but they sense the depth and complexity of the problem of their loss of the old values and the old faiths, and they recognize the separation of the controlling powers from such concerns. Since they are not expecting Nixon, or any president, to get to the root of the problem, their uneasiness and searchings seem to make the daily analysts’ minute focussing on Nixon appear peripheral to what is really central to this transitional time for America.

Just about two hundred years ago, in the 1774 Virginia Convention which anticipated the Declaration of Independence, the then young Jefferson wrote in a paper that their ancestors on leaving Great Britain exercised “a right which nature has given all men . . . of establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness.” To Jefferson, a Virginian formed in Virginia’s great age of participatory government, “public happiness” implied the citizens’ right of access to the public realm—to be, as Jefferson wrote elsewhere, “a participator in the government of affairs.” In the nation’s drift toward the present combines of power, focussed in the amorphousness of the central government, the citizens cannot feel themselves participants in the government of affairs. There is the central combine of power, composed of many dehumanized elements, and there are the individuals outside it.

It now seems a long time ago when enlightened men of affairs looked back admiringly on the Greek ideal of government. Aristotle’s political philosophy identified politics with—of all things—ethics. As Norton E. Long wrote in his book, The Polity, “The
The appeal of the Greek view of citizenship lies in its recognition that political institutions are not mere instruments for the achieving of results but institutions infused with value. While the efficiency of the governmental process in coping with problems common to all political orders is an inevitable and major consideration, the Greek view of citizenship regards the capacity of a political order to provide significant roles for the realization of the citizens' moral potential as a major criterion of its value.

It might be said that our technologically advanced nation, with its vast size and conflicting diversity, is too unlike the Greek city-states for the Greek political ideal to be practical. But looking at the human results in our eminently practical technological society, with our practical men running practical politics in a system divorced from ethics, it might be well to glance at Norton Long's point on the role of citizens. He discusses "an evaluation of local, state and national governments in terms of their capacity to provide ethically significant roles for citizens. Local and state governments would have worth... as valuable means to widen the possibility of active civic life. A major purpose of these governments would be to attract and hold the active participation of citizens who might well be lost in the undifferentiated, apathetic mass of a centralized nation-state." (not his italics.) Written nearly ten years ago, in 1962, the last line could be paraphrased to read "citizens many of whom have been lost in the undifferentiated, apathetic mass of a centralized nation-state."

It was in the years since 1962 that the nation has experienced black riots, campus rebellions and mass demonstrations. In that decade gifted young persons have turned their ambitions and their energies toward public denials of the values of the current American society. Jerry Rubin, an intensely ambitious Ohioan who began brilliantly on a newspaper along the conventional lines of American success, abandoned the conventional rewards to make de-
liberately a career of being a "revolutionary." He's a theatrical revolutionary, talking and posturing, and can scarcely expect to accomplish anything beyond gaining a personal, transient fame. But the point of Rubin's "career" is that he, as a representative of thousands, could choose to direct his ambition toward making a public spectacle of himself as a defier of American values with the assurance that this was a quick way to ego gratification. Along the same line, the gifted, ambitious Daniel Ellsberg could be apotheosized by reversing the old slogan, "my country right or wrong," to read, "I am the sole keeper of the nation's conscience and the judge of the national interest."

What possibly could Nixon do to change the mood underlying these symptoms? Conceivably a man could be elected president who, caring nothing about his political future or the advantages of his party, would try to provide significant roles for the realization of the citizens' moral potentials. But if such a political man exists in the nation today, both parties have successfully kept him hidden. However, it does seem that the columnist would serve the country much better by letting their readers in on the separation between the presidential office and the quiet revolution taking place in the minds of citizens. Then, Americans might be encouraged to look to themselves, as they did during the generations when the republic was built, and not toward a packaged product in the White House to lead them out of their spiritual wilderness.

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Joe H. Young, Business Manager
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