The Future of Government: Trends and Emerging Conditions

"Ten years ago government was widely viewed as an instrument to solve problems; today government is widely viewed as the problem," noted an influential review of the future options for the federal budget by the Brookings Institution. Former McGovern campaign manager Colorado Senator Gary Hart puts the problem of big government back to the people: "You can't get the Federal Government off your back until you get your hand out of its pocket." California Governor Jerry Brown says that you can't understand his budget-cutting administration unless you understand the message of E. F. Schumacher's book Small is Beautiful. Finally, Jimmy Carter told the Democratic convention in his acceptance speech that: "I have spoken a lot of times this year about love. But love must be aggressively translated into simple justice."

What might happen to government in the next ten to twenty-five years? I will review two approaches to the future and the trends they suggest, and three conditions which could affect the direction of those trends and their impact on the government. My approach will be to examine two views of the future, one from the perspective of the federal budget, the other from the images provided by an overview of major futurist works. Both approaches raise questions about how the agenda of the government will be shaped. The following sections review: (1) activities to place on the institutional agenda the discussion of a shift in our societal paradigm and its implications for policy, (2) the growing interest within government for a more systematic consideration of the future, and (3) trends in citizen participation.
The images of the future I selected were supplemented by the small but growing body of literature on the future of the government. Most textbooks on government or some aspect thereof end with a consideration of what the future holds. Other important sources are the various statements of important trends, such as that included in Appendix A wherein Joseph Coates, a leader in the technology assessment movement, gives sixty long-term trends which he suggests will form the basis for the future.

The topic at hand is obviously a broad one. In this paper, however, I will focus on some selected emerging trends and conditions which I think are likely to affect what the government will do and how it will do it.

**VIEWS OF THE FUTURE FROM THE FEDERAL BUDGET**

Most cities and states have some growth and development policy, some land use or comprehensive plan; most national governments do as well. The United States is one of the few nations in the world which does not have a growth and development policy to guide its future directions. It is also a nation where policies are frequently made in relative isolation from each other. In the absence of mechanisms to set coordinated policy, the major mechanism which the federal government has for coordinating national policy and setting national priorities is the federal budget process.

In 1921 Congress gave the president authority to prepare and submit a unified budget. Congress did not then realize how powerful a tool the budget would be for the president, particularly since he also received the power to clear all requests for legislation from his executive branch. Congress, however, was reluctant to give itself a mechanism which involved as much discipline as does the budget. Nevertheless, the constitutional challenge by President Nixon in impounding appropriated funds, as well as a concern (particularly in the Senate) to involve Congress more effectively in setting national priorities, led to the creation in 1974 of a congressional budget process.

The budget process forces the simultaneous consideration of all spending decisions, and presumably of their underlying purposes. This is important for the consideration of the future, because funding decisions often initiate expenditures and programs the effects of which may be felt for several years.

What view of the future is provided by the examination of the federal budget? A major source of information for this is the report Setting National Priorities, published annually by the Brookings Institution. This year’s volume, which makes projections for the next ten years, gives a picture of the major options viewed from where we are now. This particular publication
is also important because it is being used as one of the major background documents for the formulation of the Carter administration's policy.

**Trends in the Federal Budget**

For the first 140 years of the republic, until the 1930s, federal spending never exceeded 3 percent of the gross national product (GNP), except during wars and their immediate aftermath. Until the 1930s spending for civilian purposes never significantly exceeded 1 percent of the GNP. With the New Deal programs of the 1930s, domestic spending rose to 5 percent of the GNP and remained at that level until the 1950s, with total government spending rising to about 18 percent; in 1970 it had risen to 20.5 percent, and by 1975 to 22.5 percent. This latest figure is affected by the increased federal spending on unemployment and other measures caused by the recession. This growth in the budget shows three major trends:

First, the total federal budget, adjusted to remove the passing effects of recession, has grown only slightly faster than the national economy over the past twenty years. Second, the stability of the total budget in relation to GNP masks two divergent trends—a continuing fall in the relative size of defense spending and a steady rise in the relative size of domestic spending. Third, a major part of the growth in domestic spending has arisen from legislation creating new programs or expanding the scope and coverage of old ones, with no liberalizing new legislation, the growth of spending would have been much smaller.

Budget projections, however, suggest that these trends cannot continue. In fact, the freedom to begin new programs enjoyed during the 1960s will be severely curtailed: "Without a significant further reduction in the real level of defense spending or an increase in the share of GNP devoted to federal spending, little leeway is left in the next five years to expand domestic programs or to inaugurate large new ones." The Carter administration intends to keep federal spending at 21 percent of the GNP—yet that still means relative scarcity is upon us. The possibility remains of adjusting priorities within the overall budget. National defense and social welfare are particularly instructive in terms of the Brookings study.

**National Defense**

To provide an adequate defense posture, the authors of the Brookings study call for a new consensus on defense policy. A basic element of that consensus is an end to the decrease in the share of federal spending going to
defense. While sketching out areas where savings are possible, they note that: "Other sectors of the defense budget should receive more emphasis. In general, this means that defense spending will have to increase in real terms for at least five years." This projection is based on the fundamental assumption that there will be no nuclear exchange between the major powers. A major condition of the modern world is that it hangs in the balance of terror caused by the existence of nuclear weapons. Although weapons will spread to smaller countries and the possibilities of nuclear terrorism will continue, there is nevertheless little likelihood that the United States and the USSR will become engaged in nuclear war.

There are, however, other plausible events which might seriously affect U.S. involvement and subsequent expenditures:

1. Upheaval in eastern Europe and weakness in western Europe might generate spreading European conflict.
2. A Korean war might confront the United States with a choice between intervention and inaction — possibly resulting in Japan's loss of confidence in the United States.
3. An Arab-Israeli conflict might prompt Soviet intervention that only U.S. action could offset.

Poverty, Equality and Welfare Expenditure

The authors of the section on income security policy also recommend increases in spending in their areas, although not with explicit figures and with more caution than their counterparts writing on defense. They note that the federal government has made substantial progress in the last twenty years toward three of the four objectives of income security policy:

— protection for precipitous losses in economic well being because of unemployment or other involuntary disruptions of work has greatly expanded.

— access to goods and services, such as health care and housing, which society agrees are indispensable, has been substantially improved for the lower income population.

— major reductions in income poverty have occurred. Poverty as conventionally measured has been cut in half — from 22 percent to 12 percent of the population during the last 17 years. Using a broader definition of income which includes in-kind transfers, it is likely that this figure will drop to 5 percent if recovery from the recession proceeds.
The fourth objective of income security policy, narrowing income differentials, has not been effected, however. After some improvement between 1929 and 1949, the distribution of income has remained highly uneven and remarkably constant.

While avoiding the term, the authors of the study argue for a negative income tax system on the grounds that it would allow more efficient pursuit of the first three goals, and the reformed tax and transfer system would also allow for a conscious and more effective redistribution policy.

Libraries are not mentioned explicitly in the Brookings report, but the general implication is: don’t expect much.

**VIEWS OF THE FUTURE FROM THE FUTURIST LITERATURE**

The federal budget provides a hard look at the government, yet the budget is not concerned with the wider view of what might happen in society in the future which could affect the budget. Most futurists are less constrained in their speculations than budget specialists, and they can provide some wider conceptions of trends in society.

**Scenarios**

One useful review of several major descriptions of the future contained in research reports, nonfiction, and science fiction was prepared for the Environmental Protection Agency by the Stanford Research Institute (SRI). The study, entitled *Alternative Futures for Environmental Policy Planning: 1975-2000*, begins with a standard caveat of futures research—that the study is meant to provide a frame of reference for policy-making rather than policy decisions. The report focuses on four driving elements—energy, values, food, and climate—and builds these into ten scenarios. These scenarios are meant to bound the domain of uncertainty by encompassing the spectrum of plausible future. Appendix B contains a summary of each scenario.

The SRI report notes that the ten scenarios, despite wide-ranging individual variations, represent three basic themes:

The first theme, industrial success (Scenarios 1, 6, 7), is that of relative success within the limits of the industrial age paradigm. Despite the difficulties experienced, the United States and world societies generally succeed in discovering, organizing, and using human and material
resources to address political, social, and economic problems and to produce an economically viable and equitable environment that incorporates individual liberty and opportunity for self-fulfillment in some stable relationship with the biosphere. These results are achieved, albeit imperfectly, through the medium of the political, economic and social forms now existing in the developed countries. No major value change nor significant institutional change is experienced, although former values and institutions, of course, evolve and are modified during the experience.\textsuperscript{11}

In the prime example of this theme, entitled "Hitting the Jackpot," the optimism of Herman Kahn is vindicated. Science produced the answers, nature was kind; wise corporate business leadership acted responsibly; government stayed out of the way.

The second theme, industrial failure (Scenarios 2, 5, 8, 9), expresses the relative failure of these same institutions. Resources are either not found or prove inadequate in the face of mounting problems, and the problems themselves are exacerbated. Generally speaking, nations of the world become poorer, less equitable societies that provide less individual liberty and opportunity for self-fulfillment, and that exist in a less stable and decreasingly viable relationship with the natural environment. However, the major institutions and the industrial-age values they incorporate remain dominant. Neither alternative values nor reformed institutions develop. The industrial-age system functions but less efficiently and less happily.\textsuperscript{12}

This failure to respond is typified in the scenario entitled "Dark at the Top of the Stairs." Hard times forced people to live with reduced levels of energy consumption. This condition was brought about by the gradual withering of the industrial state and the slow, grudging acceptance of more frugal lifestyles. In the 1990s the climate worsened, forcing energy consumption up and the standard of living even lower. At the end of the century, the free market industrial world was marked by near-exhaustion, economic stasis and pessimism, but also by social peace enforced by authoritarian regimes.

The third theme, industrial transformation (Scenarios 3, 4, 10), is one in which the industrial-age paradigm, during the course of the next twenty-five years, is drastically changed and, in effect, transcended. The paradigm's potential for further success is outweighed by its inherent limitations. A new paradigm, exemplified by the adoption of so-called "frugal" values, incorporating the Buddhist economic principle of maximum personal satisfaction with minimum consumption or, in culturally more familiar terms, Emerson's ideal of "plain living and high thinking,"
emerges. Social and economic institutions are developed that are simpler and interdependent and that, reversing current trends, involve more people in self-sustaining activities. Despite the occurrence in some scenarios of considerable trauma during the period of transition, this is a successful theme. Individual satisfactions over all dimensions are generally high, and the new social and economic institutions incorporate the principles of harmony between human activity and the natural environment.\(^{13}\)

The scenario "Toward the Jeffersonian Ideal," for example, is fostered by a rapid evolution in values leading to a transformed America by the year 2000. A new scarcity compelled people to live more frugally; and the exterior simplicity and interior richness of their lives seemed a very rational and appropriate adjustment to a pressing situation. A visible minority strove for economic self-sufficiency and others for a voice in the management of more traditional economic enterprises. Both groups formed a confident citizenry, skeptical of "experts," and became in every way more resilient and self-reliant.

**Transformation of the Industrial Paradigm**

The implicit distinctions among these three themes is the degree to which there is a "transformation" in the societal paradigm, or world view, which affects the basic way in which persons perceive, value, think, and act. Another group has defined a paradigm as:

the general conceptual orientation of a people.... A conceptual orientation results in, and is the result of, our noticing and paying attention to some aspects of reality and not to others. The realities we notice, and in the presence of which we live, are, then, a function of the elements of our conceptual orientation—the dominant concepts, metaphors, images, logic and decisions—rules by means of which we experience and handle reality.\(^{14}\)

What is the industrial world view that may be transformed? The SRI report states that the industrial paradigm has been characterized by the progressive organization and division of labor into standardized tasks, the replacement of men by machines in the performance of those tasks, and the joining of science and technology to further that development. The report notes that the successes of the industrial age have been numerous: a remarkable increase in the material standard of living, better nutrition, prolonged life span, nearly universal education, highly advanced transportation systems, communications media that serve a "global village," etc. Nevertheless:
These successes have also spawned problems. Health care improvements have caused overpopulation problems, scientific breakthroughs have created weapons of mass destruction, affluence has contributed to environmental pollution, communications technologies are used to invade our privacy, and so on. Practically all serious problems of the industrial age seem to be the result of success—which, in turn, suggests that these problems may not be satisfactorily resolved within the context of the industrial paradigm whose very success creates these problems. An illustration of the "failure of our success" may be found in the fact that the industrial paradigm, premised on the search for abundance, seems to be creating a "new scarcity" of:

- Energy
- Materials
- Natural fresh water
- Arable land
- Unpolluted living environments.

The values of the industrial paradigm—as characterized in Kahn and Wiener's "long term multi-fold trend"—are rational, individualistic, secular, materialistic, mechanistic, and scientific. The values leading to the paradigm shift (those inherent in the "frugal sector" of the population), which will lead to the transformed or postindustrial paradigm, are:

a blending of rational and intuitive, a desire to voluntarily simplify the external aspects of life in order to secure a greater internal/inner life, enhanced cooperation/participation, a more holistic/systemic perspective expanding to future generations, and a Taoist sense of ecology extending beyond concern for only the physical environment to include the psychic environment as well.

A comparison of the views on future technological and economic growth implicit in the transformed and extended industrial paradigm is given in the SRI report. In Kenneth Thompson's paper the issue of shifting values was raised. The shift in the societal paradigm may be the major cause of what we are currently experiencing.

AGENDA SETTING

"It is imprudent to derive a political prediction from a social vision alone."

While social and economic trends can lead to some accurate forecasts, predictions of political actions are more difficult, because of the organiza-
tional structures and processes in government and because of the human element involved. At any given time, the structure and processes of the government will present a particular menu of issues or choices. Nevertheless, the institutional agenda of the government — those concrete items scheduled for active and serious consideration by the decision-making body — might not correspond to the wider systemic agenda of society. The systemic agenda includes those political controversies that are viewed as falling within the range of legitimate concerns meriting the attention of the active population.

The transfer of ideas in good currency (such as those involved with "frugal values") to issues on the institutional agendas of Congress or the executive branch is a complex process. Some aspects of this process make it difficult for new issues to be considered.

1. There is only a limited number of issues which can be dealt with; in Congress, for example, only about one-tenth of the proposals introduced are ever seriously considered by committees.

2. Of this limited number of issues, a certain percentage is composed of older issues which are topics of constant consideration or are periodically reevaluated. The relative scarcity reflected in future budget decisions is likely to contribute to a more crowded agenda by encouraging a closer look at programs already in existence to determine their effectiveness. This is the basic idea behind the movement in Congress to establish the "sunset" concept — whereby a program is terminated after a certain time period unless positively recreated.

3. Decision-makers themselves play an important part in setting the institutional agenda. Ideas and the programs in which they become embodied need legislative "champions" or entrepreneurs. The necessary resources and incentives for becoming an effective issue entrepreneur are not distributed equally among all members of Congress or the executive branch; thus, a smaller number of key leaders have a disproportionate ability to set the institutional agenda.

A certain time delay is usually required for a change in the systemic agenda to be reflected in the institutional agenda, and this lag will be greater in periods of severe system discontinuities, e.g., during depression, war and technological change. Experts on the agenda-building process have pointed out that "the viability of a policy is a direct function of its ability to cope with the problem of lag between the two types of agendas and to keep the magnitude of the lag within tolerable limits." What are some of the forces acting on the link between these two agendas? Several emerging conditions should be noted, because their impact on this agenda-setting process could prove to be very important to the future
of government. First is the emergence of a variety of groups which could broadly be interpreted as transferring values of the "frugal sector" into demands for public policy. The second condition deals with a growing concern within the government, particularly Congress, for a more systematic consideration of the future impact of its current policy-making. A third and divergent set of conditions will deal with citizen participation.

**PUTTING THE EMERGING PARADIGM ON THE INSTITUTIONAL AGENDA**

One of the forces shaping the future of government is a myriad of groups disseminating aspects of what I've called "frugal values." Several groups work on putting these issues on the institutional agendas of various levels of government. These groups have diverse backgrounds, operating styles and degrees of permanence. Their origins have been affected by several forces, including the public interest advocacy of Ralph Nader, the *Whole Earth Catalog* and related publications, and the environmental movement. Some of the issues that these groups deal with include a concern for a simple lifestyle, limiting or redirecting growth, encouraging intermediate or appropriate technology, economic populism, and the paradigm shift itself. In addition to these change-oriented groups, there are counterpart groups beginning to use similar tactics to encourage current industrial values.

Simple Lifestyle

In the United States a simple lifestyle is not necessarily a simple matter. There is a variety of technical and scientific questions which are useful for enhancing the quality of life with a lower standard of material goods. A very important group in providing analysis and specific alternatives for a simpler lifestyle is the Center for Science in the Public Interest. A spinoff from Ralph Nader's organization, this band of scientists and others has produced a variety of popular descriptions of the possibilities for a simpler and higher-quality life, e.g., a nutrition scoreboard to rate foods, lifestyle and energy indices to rate appliances, and *The Contrasumers: A Citizen's Guide to Resource Conservation.*

Another group, Alternatives (part of the Interaction Coalition), has put together *The Alternative Christmas Catalogue.* Believing that both celebration and giving are important parts of life, they feel that "giving has gotten out of hand" in our society. In a real sense, "give until it hurts" best describes our current practices:
Materialism, pollution, the rate of depletion of the Earth's resources, and the continuation of colonialism are the fruits of our celebration process. The alternatives of celebrating simply, making gifts, buying from self-help craft groups, diverting money to people- and Earth-oriented projects, represent a new philosophy of giving. This is what The Alternative Christmas Catalogue is all about.\textsuperscript{27}

Redirecting Growth

A Center for Growth Alternatives, premised on the notion that "we can't grow on like this," was established to examine the various approaches and implications of low-growth and no-growth strategies.\textsuperscript{28} Their newsletter considers various legislative proposals and also gives specific examples from around the country of good and bad examples of growth. An example of the latter is the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project, "the most massive earth-moving job in this hemisphere since the Panama Canal," whose price tag ($1.36 billion) and likely adverse environmental impact have aroused local opposition.

In the middle of the no-growth controversy is the question of employment, particularly for the poor. Environmentalists for Full Employment (EFE) is a group established to confront that question.\textsuperscript{29} One major legislative question which EFE faced was the Humphrey-Hawkins proposal for full employment discussed below.

Intermediate Technology

E.F. Schumacher's book Small is Beautiful has created great interest in more appropriate forms of technology. An important function of groups interested in intermediate technology is to maintain an ongoing network of people committed to similar objectives. Therefore, some newsletters often devote much space to what various groups around the country are doing to further the cause. One such operation is Rain — The Journal of Appropriate Technology. The attitude expressive of the evolving paradigm mentioned above is shown in the journal's introduction to an annotated bibliography on architecture entitled "Spirit and Space":

It often seems that spiritual concerns are something foreign and far-removed from the pressures of every day life — and they usually have been in our culture. Yet the whole purpose of all our frenzied activity is to somehow make us happier. And the most important thing about getting happier is feelings — about ourselves, toward others, about our
world. Funniest thing, once we remember why we're doing things —
good feelings and feeling good — we suddenly realize that reverence
and respect and love in how we do things are more important than
frenzy and quantity. More and more, that is happening in how people
are making the places where they live.\textsuperscript{30}
The same issue of \textit{Rain} also discusses the potential development of a Na-
tional Center for Appropriate Technology by the federal government as part
of the 1976 Community Services Administration authorization. This would
fund appropriate technology researchers to work with community action pro-
grams on projects with direct impact on the poor.

Another group with an assertive approach to appropriate technology is
the Institute of Local Self-Reliance. It sees itself as working toward "the
goal of creating a new value system and a new distribution of economic and
political power." To help accomplish this, the group produces the news-
letter \textit{Self-Reliance} "to give this movement a voice, both to report on prac-
tice and to weave a theory of localism which strikes at the root of questions
of power, of efficiency and of responsiveness."\textsuperscript{31} Articles treat issues such as
"the battle for municipal garbage" and the land trust concept for commu-
nity ownership.

\textbf{Economic Populism}

The hard times of recent years and the likelihood of their continuing
have hurt the lower and middle classes most of all. When people realize this
situation and begin to value the limiting or controlling of urban or national
growth, they become more concerned with the mechanisms for distributing
wealth within the diminishing pie. This concern has resulted in a wave of
economic populism, including much attention to the distribution of wealth
within the United States by the federal government. This was ended in the
1940s with the advent of war.

A group whose agenda includes economic populism is the Conference
on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. This coalition of progressive
and radical politicians and activists has annual meetings and produces a
series on alternative legislation. While one of their authors notes that "it
seems certain that economic issues and questions of public control over
capital will be a major part of an alternative politics agenda for some time
to come," he admits that it receives only a small amount of attention among
politicians, and that the conference group will have to expand its members-
ship, particularly to include more minority and large city politicians.\textsuperscript{32}

The People's Bicentennial Commission, described by Edward P. Mor-
gan of ABC news as "a small but impressive band of patriots, blessed with
what appears to be a mix of seriousness and good humor," has developed a program for economic democracy and has used opinion surveys to show that there is widespread popular support for several measures, such as citizens on corporation boards.38 The Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives is also examining in great detail some of the major possibilities in the area of economic populism.34

Another major agenda-setting effort in the area of economic populism has resulted from the work of Ralph Nader and his associates on the question of federal chartering of corporations. The Senate Commerce Committee held hearings in 1976 on the related issues of the rights and responsibilities of corporations. Nader's Public Citizen group expects federal chartering to be one of their major issues during the next few years.35

Discussing the Paradigm Shift Itself

Given the fact that the "paradigm shift" or transformation is an "idea in good currency," and considering the multitude of activities of the above groups and others, it is not surprising that the efforts of some groups are directed toward the paradigm shift itself.

Earthrise, a small but influential group among futurists who might be sensitive to the paradigm shift, publishes a newsletter on developments in the futurist area. Their issues have increasingly been concerned with the questions of images of the future and the search for a new paradigm, and Earthrise has developed a series of presentations describing the various aspects of alternative paradigms.36

The Lindisfarne Association, founded by historian William I. Thompson in Southampton, New York, studies paradigm shifts toward what is seen as emerging planetary awareness. Thompson describes this planetary culture as a: "Pythagorean synthesis of science, religion, and art; it is spiritual ecstasy and political economy, pre-industrial magic and post-industrial technology, myth and history. In short, planetary culture is an embodiment of transcendence."37

The Princeton Center for Alternative Futures has also been concerned with the new paradigm.38 Hazel Henderson, codirector of the center, will debate Barbara Hubbard, another woman futurist with the Committee for the Future, in June 1977 about the paradigm shift. The debate is part of the activities of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future described below.

What is the likely impact of these groups on the future of government? That impact will depend on several factors, including the increase in the number of people who adopt "frugal values" in the coming years; the extent
to which shortages and scarcity are felt; the degree to which these groups and their constituencies gain political power; and the degree of competition or cooperation on the part of more established sectors of society, particularly the business community.

One indication that the public interest groups—particularly in the environmental area and those aimed at limiting growth—have had some impact is the response by business leaders in establishing regional public interest law centers. The purpose of these groups is to counterbalance what they view as the disproportionately large impact that vocal “minority” leaders, such as defenders of the environment, have had on public policy decisions. In California the Pacific Legal Foundation was founded in 1973 on the belief that the interests of significant segments of the public in economic development, highway and dam construction, and more rapid use of natural resources are not adequately represented. Therefore, it has been fighting to permit more intense construction development, greater timber harvesting and grazing on public lands, and broader use of certain pesticides. In addition, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has established a new lobbying organization called Citizen’s Choice to foster economic conservatism. This group is calling for cost-benefit statements before new agency regulations can go into effect, prohibition of public employee strikes, and the restriction of food stamp distribution to families at or below the poverty level.

Libraries can play an important role in networking this information. Networking has become a common professional term among librarians as well as among many of these groups. In fact, Byron Kennard, chairman of the National Council for the Public Assessment of Technology, has proposed that local libraries become the focus for a more active means for networking. Local groups often have time, energy and innovative ideas, but lack funds to communicate effectively with their counterparts or other resource persons. Kennard suggests that the federal government provide communities with toll-free WATS lines. These would be installed in local libraries and be made available to legitimate community groups, thus providing a significant increase in their ability to network information easily.

TOWARD A GREATER CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE FUTURE IN THE GOVERNMENT

Another condition which might have an important effect on the future of the government, particularly on how the government provides conscious and coherent direction to the nation, is the increasing concern for the future from various sectors within the government. This has been manifested by
hearings on the future, by a concern with the operations of Congress itself, by the creation of a futures network within Congress, by legislative proposals, and by the creation of a federal advisory committee to examine the overall mechanisms for coordinating policy.

Hearings on the future have become more frequent during the 94th Congress. For example, Senator John Culver held hearings within the Public Works Committee on “Choosing Our Environment: Can We Anticipate the Future?” Culver, one of the leaders in an active group of futurist members of Congress, has obtained testimony from several of the best-known futurists, such as Alvin Toffler and Robert Theobald. Senator John Glenn has generated much attention for his symposium for the Government Operations Committee on “Our Third Century.” Senator Hubert Humphrey sponsored both hearings and a major study project on the future of U.S. economic growth, which included spokesmen from both the present (or postindustrial) and the transformed industrial perspectives.

On the House side, Congressmen George Brown and Robert Leggett have held hearings on “Long Range Planning in the Federal Government.” These are an outgrowth of an earlier series of hearings by Congressman John Dingell on “Growth and Its Implications for the Future.”

There also has been increasing attention paid to the internal policymaking processes by which Congress consciously or unconsciously directs the future. One significant indicator of this interest is the creation of the Office of Technology Assessment. Realizing that the secondary or unintended effects of a technology are often more important than its original purpose, Congress created this office to consider in depth the consequences of selected actions before they are taken. A Futures Research Group has also been created within the Congressional Research Service.

A major statement of this concern by congressmen themselves is the “foresight provision” of the House Rules. In 1974 the House of Representatives gave each of its authorizing committees an explicit foresight responsibility: to monitor trends, events, and conditions and to perform futures research and forecasting in their policy areas. Thus, added to committee oversight (looking backward to see how effective programs are to implement) was the responsibility to look ahead more systematically. The response to the foresight provision has been a slow but steady increase in the number of committees complying with its intention. This concern for foresight also exists in the Senate. Both the Commission on the Operation of the Senate and the Senate Select Committee on Committees are considering how to improve this aspect of the Senate’s operations.

On an informal but very important level is the establishment of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future. Founded by Congressman
Charles Rose and directed by Anne Cheatham, the clearinghouse now provides more than 500 members of Congress with information on futurist developments of interest on and off Capitol Hill. The goals of the clearinghouse are "focused on the need for Congress to look forward at the consequences of decisions made today, to involve citizens in the processes of government, and to realize the importance of foresight hearings" for committees.49 As mentioned earlier, the divergent approaches within the futurist movement to the industrial and transformed paradigms will be aired in a June 1977 discussion sponsored by the clearinghouse between Hazel Henderson of the Princeton Center for Alternative Futures and Barbara Hubbard of the Committee for the Future.

Working with the clearinghouse is the Committee for Anticipatory Democracy (a group of prominent citizens and futurists), which was founded by Alvin Toffler to encourage more foresight in government and effective citizen involvement. In September 1975 the committee sponsored the first legislative seminar on futurism for Congress, entitled "Outsmarting Crises: Futures Thinking in Congress."

In addition to this information sharing, several bills which would affect the government's consideration of the future have been introduced. Two of these would move the federal government toward national planning. The first, the Humphrey-Javits planning proposal, S.1795, would establish a system for setting economic goals. The second, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, S.50, would have a similar effect, although it is focused on the particular goal of full employment. The 1976 election, coupled with the high rate of unemployment, resulted in much heated discussion of the merits of the Humphrey-Hawkins proposal. In terms of the paradigm shift discussion, the full employment bill is an industrial paradigm attempt to ensure an adequate income to the poor through guaranteed employment. Even some traditional domestic liberal analysts such as Charles Schultze, however, have pointed out that in its current form, the bill would force the government into undesirable inflationary spending. Environmentalists for Full Employment, one of the groups mentioned above, supported the concept of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill but criticized it for lack of consideration of alternative plans for full employment, particularly those which would include less capital-intensive and less energy-intensive projects, e.g., decentralized energy production from renewable resources, environmental monitoring and cleanup, public transportation, recycling, and solar heating and cooling.51

Another source of proposals for restructuring the way the federal government makes national policy will be provided by the Advisory Committee on National Growth Policy Processes, a group created by Congress to suggest mechanisms by which the nation could consciously set national growth and
development policy. The committee will make recommendations for improvements in the executive branch and in Congress, and will probably recommend the creation of a National Growth Policy Commission to monitor the direction of the major trends in the country and to make recommendations regarding coordinated national policy.52

How are these developments likely to shape the future of the government? Given the perceived interest of President Carter in planning and in more coherent policy-making, it is likely that he will lend his support to some improvements. His positions, as well as the degree to which the various approaches to national planning and national growth policy will be merged and coalitions formed, are uncertain, however. In Congress, the degree to which the mechanisms — and more importantly the political leadership — develop to facilitate more coordinated policy-making is yet to be determined. The budget process has moved Congress toward more coordinated policy and is likely to continue as a growing force in congressional policy-making.53

ANTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND UNVOTE:
DIVERGENT TRENDS IN CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

What is the future of the citizen's relation to the government and its direction? In this area there are divergent trends, including one toward lower turnout rates at elections, and the other toward increased citizen involvement in defining long-range goals for city and state governments.

The major recent work on American voting behavior contradicted the findings of its predecessor. In 1960 The American Voter left the impression that party identification was one of the dominant features of the American political landscape.54 After the elections in the 1960s and in 1972, however, the authors of The Changing American Voter claimed that "it is clear that the party-based electoral system of the late Eisenhower years is no longer with us"; but, they hasten to add, "it is less clear what will replace it."55

One of the problems with the "changing American voters" is that they are, to a certain extent, a declining breed. One of the directions for change is no voting at all. On November 2, 1976, some 53 percent of the eligible voters turned out to give Jimmy Carter a slim 51-48 percent popular vote margin. This turnout followed widespread publicity predicting a close election, yet 47 percent of the eligible voters did not take part.

What do we know about these nonvoters? A study of some 1,500 non-voters surveyed in July 1976 showed them to be distrustful of and disaffected from the major political and economic institutions, political leadership, and
the media. Those surveyed most frequently agreed with the following reasons for their nonvoting:

1. Candidates say one thing and do another;
2. It doesn’t seem to make any difference who is elected because things never seem to work out right;
3. Watergate proved that elected officials are only out for themselves;
4. All candidates seem pretty much the same.

Those interviewed also agreed, by an 11-1 margin, that “what the country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.”

In an interview on the subject, Bill Moyers felt that the American public is terribly bored by the American political process as it has come to run: “People need to be excited once again by politics and the ordinary run of it seems to turn more and more people off to any personal involvement. Americans are among the most unentertained society in the history of man because all of their entertainment is so artificial and contrived—and so is conventional politics.” One response to this nonvoting is to make it a positive virtue. The authors of Unvote for a New America, for example, argue that the government has broken its contract with the people and therefore the people should not vote; instead, they should prepare for the coming constitutional revolution.

While voters are sitting elections out, citizens in various cities have become involved in defining the future goals and policies of their governments. These people realize the meaning of “anticipatory democracy,” the treatment Alvin Toffler prescribed for “future shock.” Some twenty cities and states have had some exercise of this type. These activities (e.g., Hawaii 2000, Alternatives for Washington, Goals for Georgia) take a variety of forms, but they all involve statements about the likely and desirable future that can be developed through citizen participation. Alternatives for Washington, for example, was initiated by Governor Daniel Evans so that the future of the state would not be “imposed... by the personal interests of an elite nor the impersonal force of history”; rather, it should “be determined by all of the people of the state if they are willing to take time and devote the effort to the task.” Initially, a task force of 150 met to consider directions and to identify the range of desirable alternatives; 2,400 additional citizens then took part in a Delphi survey of trends and developments. Approximately 2,000 other citizens met at ten locations around the state to discuss the goals, policies and options for alternative futures. Finally, the general public was allowed to vote for their preferred future through the use of ballots in Sunday newspapers which had been explained on statewide television broad-
casts. The governor described the response as clearly indicating "a preference for a future Washington emphasizing agricultural development and the protection and utilization of our unique land base." A report on the project noted the discontent among citizens with their involvement in the normal policy-making channels and the frustration of the state's politicians over nonvoting. According to the report, while Washington's future looks promising, its citizens are nonetheless worried about the pace of change and are: unsure of their ability to sustain the quality of life of the State. They have expressed through the Alternatives program a vision of what they want their life to be, and they have begun to translate this vision into proposals for the resolution of current issues and the design of concrete measures to move the State toward chosen goals.61

Earlier, I mentioned the importance of the institutional agenda. Citizens groups such as those described may provide an important source of input from the average citizen and allow earlier perception of issues raised by a shifting societal paradigm and thus translation of issues into policy options. In terms of democratic participation, this may be more important than electoral participation.62

TRANSFORMATION, PLANNING AND THE CONSTITUTION

One of the implications from the foregoing discussion is that the U.S. government will move toward a consciously set national growth policy, or national planning. Among members of Congress, President Carter, and even segments of the business community, there is mounting interest in planning reforms. Such reform would affect not only the nature of federal policy but would extend to the agenda-setting process.

Other factors will affect the shape of future national planning efforts. These include: (1) the attitude and style of political leaders, (2) the role of public interest groups (particularly those concerned with frugal values and the paradigm shift), (3) the increasingly future-oriented frame of mind of the general public, and (4) the degree to which equality in society is accepted as a goal.

The first factor, the attitude and style of politicians, could certainly influence future efforts. An innovative policy-planning process is one of the policy conclusions from the SRI study of alternative futures. It states:

The plausibility of great social change, coupled with uncertainty as to the exact timing, nature, and dimensions of that change, suggests the
need for an innovative policy-planning process that would acknowledge uncertainty, embrace error, engage in goal-setting, foster first-hand experience in futures exploration, and engage in boundary-spanning thinking.\textsuperscript{63}

From a more staid foundation in the federal budget, Schultze and Owen also call in the Brookings report for frankness in policy-making. The need to develop more complex alternatives will require that "government leaders also display more candor in defining the hard and complex choices that lie ahead — eschewing either easy retreats or the exaggerated promises that incur growing public mistrust."\textsuperscript{64} If there is to be more effective policy-making, political leaders must adopt a higher standard of advocacy. The second important factor is the activity of groups to translate the requirements of frugal values into public policy demands. Acceptance of these values by other parts of the general public will vary according to the degree of scarcity at any given time. Most of these groups focus on their local communities and only secondarily on the federal government. Many of them remain indifferent to discussion of national planning, and some are even opposed. The personal examples they provide and the solutions they develop should not be ignored, however, and these groups may yet explore the relationship between self-reliance and government protection.

Furthermore, there is a need for the general public to anticipate problems before they reach a crisis stage, if difficult choices and determination of growth policy are to be effective. As one Congressman stated: "Forcing the country to meet problems before they reach a crisis stage necessitates a discipline that isn't in the personal or political lives of the people."\textsuperscript{65} The anticipatory democracy exercises may play an important role in making citizens aware of the significance of their choices.

Another issue is the degree to which income redistribution is an accepted goal. As noted earlier, there has been virtually no improvement in the inequality of wealth in the United States in the last twenty years. The trickle-down system for the distribution of wealth may have produced a significant lowering of the percentage of people in poverty, but it has not changed the distribution of wealth across income groups.

Most of the work done in the late 1960s and early 1970s contains an optimism about continued growth. The events of the last few years and the current indication for the future hold this optimism in question. In an insightful work on the future of government, Zbigniew Brzezinski viewed the future as a plentiful extension of current resources which would allow the inauguration of a technetronic era. At the same time, Brzezinski realized that an absence of economic growth (specifically, an economic recession) would bring:
calamitous consequences for the stability of the American social order. Much clearly depends on the expanding economy's capacity to absorb and ameliorate existing tensions. . . . This is particularly true of poverty and race relations, in which even social good will be powerless to accomplish much in the event of a significant economic slow-down.66

Is the trickle-down system of distributing benefits of the economic system viable or desirable?

During the scarcity of the depression years, greater equality of wealth was a more accepted goal, and improvements were made. If this scarcity recurs, the types of issues raised by groups such as the Conference of Alternative State and Local Public Policies may be important to the federal government as guidelines for the elaboration of a national growth policy, which includes economic equality as a planning goal.

Another topic relevant to the future of the U.S. government concerns the origin of that government. From 1776 to 1789, structures and processes were designed with a view to the protection and enhancement of certain values. The era was a preindustrial one. The Constitution it produced carried the nation through the Industrial Revolution and onto a road yet untraveled in the history of man. Yet, the period from 1976 to 1989 provides an opportunity to consider again the best structures and processes to protect and enhance life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.67

In closing, I would like to return to the image used by Shera of the librarian as the lantern bearer carrying what light there is against the wind and into the darkness. The United States may or may not be on the edge of a shift in societal world view. Relative scarcity, however, is likely to be an ongoing fact of life for an America schooled since World War II in increasing abundance. As librarians carry the lantern, I would urge that the light include the lessons from creative and successful responses to scarcity and the problems of justice that accompany it.

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11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
13. Ibid., p. 4.
15. Stanford Research Institute, op. cit., p. 179.
16. Ibid., pp. 182-83.
17. Ibid. Taoist ecology is defined as a recognition “that each organization and individual has an innate sense for growth and development that is to be freely expressed and not manipulated” (p. 234).
18. Ibid., pp. 182-83.
22. In the 94th Congress from January 1975 through October 1, 1976, 24,283 measures were introduced. This counts public and private bills and represents 3 percent of the measures introduced. See Daily Digest. Congressional Record, 94 Cong., 2 sess. (1976), CXII, No. 152, p. D1397.
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33. The Peoples Bicentennial Commission, 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. In addition to their newsletter Common Sense, the PBC has several publications. Americans for a Working Economy is another group encouraging economic democracy (c/o Public Media Center, 1910 N Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)
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42. U.S. Senate. Committee on Public Works. Subcommittee on Environmental Pollution. Choosing our Environment: Can We Anticipate the Future? (Hearings before the Panel on Environmental Science and Technology of the Sub-
50. The text of the major speeches from this symposium appears in U.S. Senate. Congressional Record, 94 Cong., 1 sess. (1975), CXXI, no. 143, p. S16827-28; no. 144; and no. 145.
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58. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 83.
62. Cobb and Elder, op. cit.
APPENDIX A

LONG-TERM TRENDS FORMING THE BASIS FOR THE FUTURE

General Long-Term Societal Trends
1. Economic prosperity, affluence, and inflation
2. Expanding education throughout society
3. Rise of knowledge industries and a knowledge-dependent society
4. Relative decline in common knowledge of the physical world
5. Urbanization/metropolitanization/suburbanization
6. Rise of the middle-class society
7. Cultural homogenization—the growth of a national society
8. Growth of permanent military establishment
9. Mobility, a) personal, b) physical, c) occupation
10. International affairs and national security as a major societal factor

Technology Trends
11. The centrality and increasing dominance of technology in the economy and society
12. Integration of the national economy
13. Integration of the national with the international economy
14. The growth of research and development as a factor in economy
15. High technological turnover rate
16. The development of mass media in telecommunications
17. An awareness of the finitude of resources

Trends in Labor Force and Work
18. Specialization
19. Growth of the service sector
20. Relative decline of primary and secondary employment
21. Growth of information industries, movement toward an information society
22. Expansion of credentialism
23. Women, blacks, and other minority groups entering the labor force
24. Early retirement
25. Unionism
26. Growth of pensions and pension funds
27. Movement toward second careers and midlife change in career
28. Decline of the work ethic

Trends in Values and Concerns
29. General shift in societal values
30. Diversity as a growing, explicit value
31. Decline of traditional authority
32. The growth of anti-authoritarian movements

33. Increasing aspirations and expectations of success
34. Growth of tourism, vacationing, and travel
35. General expectations of high level of medical care
36. General expectations of high level of social service
37. The growth of consumerism
38. Growth of physical culture and personal health movements
39. Civil rights, civil liberties expansion for blacks, Chicanos, gays, and other minorities
40. Growth of women's liberation movement

*Family Trends*
41. Decline in birth rates
42. Shifts in rates of family formation, marriage, divorce, and living styles
43. The growth of leisure
44. The growth of the do-it-yourself movement
45. Improved nutrition with the consequent decline in the age of menarche
46. Protracted adolescence
47. Decline in the number and significance of rights of passage, birth, death, marriage, etc.
48. Isolation of children from the world of adult concern

49. The acculturation of children by other children
50. The growth of a large aged population
51. The replacement of the extended family by the nuclear family and other living arrangements

*Institutional Trends*
52. The institutionalization of problems. This is the tendency to spawn new institutions and new institutional mechanisms for dealing with what were in the past personal, private, or nongovernmental responsibilities.
53. Bureaucratization of public and private institutions
54. Growth of big government
55. The growth of big business
56. Growth of multinational corporations
57. Growth of future studies and forecasting and the institutionalization of foresight mechanisms and long-range planning
58. Growth of public participation in public institution and private institution decision-making
59. The growing demands for accountability and the expenditure of public resources
60. Growth of demands for social responsibility
SUMMARIES OF SCENARIOS OF THE FUTURE

Scenario 1 — "Hitting the Jackpot"

Basically, this is the Kahnian future. Science produced the answers; nature was kind; wise corporate business leadership acted responsibly; government stayed out of the way. The present time of troubles was merely a temporary aberration on the long term multi-fold trend line. The general, increasing, and more widely extended level of prosperity during the 25-year period placed no excessive strain on the environment: the prosperity of the period enabled the repair of whatever minor damage was done. By 2000 the highly complex and interdependent world economic system demanded a form of world government, and this same system increasingly demanded and established world rules for regulation of the environment.

Scenario 2 — "Not-So-Great Expectations"

Energy, climate, and food availability are the controlling variables in this scenario. Reduced availability of the first, worsening of the second, and a per capita decline in the third produce a depression situation by the mid-1980s. Major economic and social institutions in the industrial free market countries survive, however. A major factor in their survival is the emergence of a large minority of so-called "frugal" people who develop an alternative and supplementary economy and society which reduces the strain on traditional institutions. By the 1990s a societal adaptation is underway leading to economic recovery under less affluent but satisfactory conditions. The result by the early years of the next century is a more temperate, resource-conserving, environmentally-sound industrial system offering scope for the exercise of industrial age values on a reduced scale. Very importantly, despite the domestic turmoil that accompanies the transition period of the 1980s, no large scale international conflict or disharmony occurs.

Scenario 3 — "Apocalyptic Transformation"

The belief in unbreakable links among economic growth, energy, and affluence led the United States to bet its future on new technology making new resources available to sustain growth. By the mid-1980s the nation lost its

The Journey of the Economy

The problems of the late 1980s were made worse by deteriorating climate. By 1990, however, a new ethic based on a more frugal way of life gained strength and grew very rapidly throughout the 1990s as people saw this group making do quite well in the face of adversity. By the year 2000 the "frugals" were in the majority and the United States had been transformed.

Scenario 4 — "Journey to Transcendence"

This scenario is the story of evolution and transformation. The old, growth-dependent order slowly eroded as it faced the limitations of a finite earth. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s the leadership doggedly persisted in trying to make the "American Dream" work but with diminishing success. A new order, guided by a more humane image of man, slowly emerged in the midst of the decay of the old. With ever increasing success its adherents learned how to translate its aspirations into practical realities. At the turn of the century the visible success of this new frugal sector had drawn most of the remnants of the old order to its side.

Scenario 5 — "The Center Holds"

The most significant among the variables controlling this future is the continued dominance of achievement values, even while energy shortages threatened, the climate worsened and living standards declined. Throughout the 1980s the big business, big agriculture, big government systems of the industrial countries were threatened, appearing at times to be totally inadequate to meet the needs of the societies they directed; yet they remained in control. There was public revulsion against the rising criminality and terror tactics of desperate survivor groups and their associated intellectual revolutionary apologists and sometime leaders. The frugal sector, which tried to go its own way without taking part in the repression or promotion of violence, was condemned by both the revolutionaries and the conservative achievers. With important technological breakthroughs and a cycle of good weather worldwide in the 1990s, the achievers successfully restored, in great measure, the world system of the 1970s. The new system, however, was more centralized, more highly regulated, and more authoritarian than that of 25 years earlier.

Scenario 6 — "The Boom Years"

In the late 1970s attempts to control growth in response to the energy crisis resulted in a deep and extended recession — large numbers of people had to reduce severely their standards of living. This recession increased the propor-
tion of people seeking a frugal way of life in the 1980s. At the same time new energy technology and resources were applied effectively to end the recession and speed recovery. By the late 1990s, the United States was back on its historic track of ever-growing affluence and mastery over the world around it. The promise of comfort proved irresistible to many of those who had sought the frugal path, so that by 2000 the frugals were a relatively small minority.

Scenario 7 — “The Industrial Renaissance”

An extended recession through the early 1980s was brought on by inept efforts to control energy consumption. Growth was indeed curbed but at a high economic and social cost. The need for control was largely eliminated in the late 1980s by the advent of new technology, leading to a period of high growth. That growth was facilitated by the large numbers of people who had opted out of the consuming system during the recession. By the late 1990s the technological elite, in recognition of the finite nature of the earth, were making efforts — this time successfully — to control growth. At the same time, those who had opted for a more frugal way were again drawn into the mainstream.

Scenario 8 — “The Dark at the Top of the Stairs”

In the late 1970s, efforts to control the demand for energy brought on a decade-long recession. By 1990, people learned to live with reduced levels of energy consumption. However, this was accomplished through the gradual withering of the industrial state and the slow, grudging acceptance of more frugal life styles. In the 1990s the climate turned for the worse, pushing energy consumption up and the standard of living even lower. The end of the century marked the free market industrial world with near exhaustion, economic stasis and pessimism but with social peace, enforced by authoritarian regimes. Socialist industrial countries, better prepared by experience for these conditions, were little better off, but did not share the sense of trauma and defeat. Third world countries were left to their own resources and displayed a variety of social and economic conditions. Some were materially better off. Others, especially Latin American and African dependencies of the industrial nations, simply relapsed into primitive conditions in which cities became Calcuttas and the countryside reverted to primitive agriculture.

Scenario 9 — “Mature Calm”

Even in the 1970s many people realized the need to control growth or even limit it. The period from 1975 to 2000 was a time of learning how to do
that task well. The results of inept control in the late 1970s were so bad — a deep and extended recession — that very large numbers of people just gave up on the system and opted out, seeking their own self-sufficient way of life. Aided by the need to provide for fewer numbers and an improving climate, the social managers of the late 1980s and early 1990s finally got the situation in hand. They were so successful that by 2000 many of the dropouts returned to the fold.

Scenario 10 — “Toward the Jeffersonian Ideal”

A rapid evolution in values leads to a transformed America by the year 2000. More and more people came to realize the necessity of tempering our desire for affluence with an appreciation for the limits of the earth and the needs of its people. The process of transformation was not without some disarray, particularly in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when there was little consensus on how to control growth, let alone whether it was desirable to do so. However, from the mid-1980s on, both the ability and the will to manage growth carefully increased.

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Response

The ideas presented in Clement Bezold’s paper are very thought-provoking but perhaps difficult to grasp. His paper should be read very carefully, as should as many items as possible in his bibliography. In preparation
for this assignment, without having read Bezold’s paper much in advance, I wondered how to begin talking about the general term government — so I went to the dictionary.* The dictionary defines government as “administration, public policy and political clout or the office, function or authority whereby political power is exercised.” Because that definition was not particularly inspiring, I looked up the word politics — which soon referred back to government. Finally, I put the book down after deciding that a dictionary or textbook approach is something you could undertake on your own. Instead, my definition of government — the future of government, major trends and emerging conditions — will come from my vantage point on Capitol Hill and from talking to ALA members in the field who deal with government at every level.

A sense of frustration occurs in trying to define politics, too, until one realizes that although politics may be a science dealing with government, policies or affairs of government, politics is first and foremost the art of the possible. Working with those involved with the legislative process requires the ability to cope, persistence, and awareness of the need to compromise. That is how our laws are made.

Compromise has a pejorative connotation in the minds of many people, but actually it is a good word, a very legitimate word. If we didn’t have compromise in the political arena, very little — if anything — would ever be accomplished. As quite often happens, people confront one another head on, coming from different political orientations, and it’s only after they have argued it out — night and day, in the case of the new education amendments approved by Congress this fall — that they finally reconcile their differences. (The last session of the House-Senate conference committee on that bill concluded at 4 a.m. September 29; the bill then had to be brought down to the floor the next afternoon. That is what is called “going down to the wire.” Meanwhile, we were all cliff-hanging, awaiting final action on the higher education amendments which had been slowly wending their way through the legislative process for the last two years.) Thus, compromise is really a very important element in government, whether one is looking at future trends or at what is happening right now. We have to be prepared to deal with unexpected twists and turns.

No matter what the sponsors of legislation may say and no matter how measures are introduced, unforeseen circumstances may force bills off course or alter them dramatically. Sometimes, despite the best-laid plans and hard work, even the principal sponsor will end up repudiating and even voting

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* Incidentally, another volume we should all consult is Edwin Newman’s new book *A Civil Tongue*. I understand it has a chapter entitled “Paradigm Lost.” A reading of that may help in negotiating Bezold’s paradigm shifts.
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against the final version of his or her bill. In 1972, for example, Edith Green, chairperson of the House Postsecondary Education Subcommittee, spoke against final passage of the higher education amendments which she had first introduced (in a different form) two years earlier.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes is credited with the statement: "The light of law has not been logic, but experience." This is also true of the legislative process, where many decisions are made on the basis of very little logic. There is, however, much emotion and a lot of horse-trading. There are many factors and forces that have a bearing on the way in which laws are developed. For instance, we cannot legislate morals. A classic example is the Volstead Act. History tells us that Prohibition was not only a failure, it was a disaster. The important thing is to learn from experience.

There are many issues which require thoughtful consideration and evaluation. As Bezold mentioned, approximately 24,000 bills were introduced in the 94th Congress, and of that number just under 600 bills became public law. Congressional action on even that 2 percent (which is about the average proportion of public laws to initial proposals) generated massive amounts of paper, research, and projections into the future. Research and surveys are essential to the process, of course, but so are a touch of intuition and a sense of timing. (A good crystal ball wouldn't hurt either to help sort out the wheat from the chaff, or to help discern what really will become a priority in the eyes of Congress.)

Thompson made the statement that there is no such thing as objective response to change. I think the same concept might well be applied to the legislative process. There is no such thing as one precise way to pass a law, regardless of all the fine theories and findings that may be put forward as justification during the course of hearings. We must have action, reaction, interaction — and after a good deal of what may be seen as erratic action by Congress and reaction from the public, we may or may not get a law. The evidence of need may be insufficient, or the timing may be wrong. I always like to point to the fact that it took more than ten years to get the Library Services Act passed. The bill was first introduced in January 1946. Hearings were held; it passed one body and died in the other. (As you know, legislation remains in existence for the 2-year period of a Congress through the first and second sessions, and then dies if not enacted into law.) The library bill struggled along for ten years. Support kept building for it, and it finally won congressional approval and was signed into law June 19, 1956. The point here that cannot be stressed too much is the importance of persistence.

Looking to the future, when we see federal program opportunities being developed, we must make every effort to consider them in relation to some of our library goals. We must determine how those program proposals might
best be utilized for the improvement of library services. We cannot afford to sit and wait for someone to hand us a grant; we must actively pursue them. We have to take time to look ahead and to think seriously about the future role of libraries. Participation in this institute provides a great opportunity to do this, and Bezold's comments and bibliography do provide a wealth of thought-provoking material. These thoughts, however, should be viewed in the light of political reality, by keeping in mind that politics is the art of the possible. Among other things, Bezold referred to low growth, no-growth strategies, and to self-reliance. These concepts are not new to us in the library world; they make up the story of our lives.

Jesse Shera pointed out that the library is a creature of society, that the goals of a library are the goals of society. This creates a dilemma. Because we are a creature of society, we are dependent upon society's making its needs known to us. We can anticipate a great deal when we look to the future, but our ability to follow through with long-range planning and implementation is hampered when we return to our libraries only to be confronted with reduced budgets, curtailed hours and staff cutbacks. At this point we must speak out and communicate much better than we have. Our public relations programs should say that we are more than willing to do what we can, whatever needs to be done to serve the community better. The public, however, must know our needs. Libraries need to have expanded, not reduced, hours. Libraries are not a frill. In one way or another we must get some of the best minds in the country to appreciate the library's dilemma in trying to be responsive to public needs for expanded service while competing for survival with other vital community services.

I would like to mention a few pieces of legislation that have some immediate implications for librarians. First is the copyright revision bill. The bill took twelve years to work its way through legislative channels. After dying and being reintroduced in varying forms from one Congress to another, it was finally approved and signed into law October 19, 1976 (P.L. 94-553). It still has an interesting future in terms of its implementation, however. The law does not take effect until January 1, 1978. After that, the Register of Copyrights is required to report to Congress at 5-year intervals on how the provision on library photocopying is working in terms of striking a proper balance between copyright holders' rights and library users' needs. I urge all of you to write to your representatives or senators for a copy of the laws (House Reports 94-1476 and 94-1733) which contain the guidelines for classroom copying and guidelines for the educational use of music. Unfortunately, there are no easy answers to questions of what may or may not be copied. If something is not permissible under Section 108 (library photocopying), it may be permissible under Section 107 (fair use). You owe it to yourself
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and to library users to become familiar with the new copyright law before it goes into effect in order to take full advantage of its provisions. As a first step, you may want to get a copy of the November 15, 1976 issue of ALA Washington Newsletter (available for $2.00 from American Library Association, 50 E. Huron, Chicago, Ill. 60611), which highlights the main provisions of the law and includes excerpts and the guidelines from the two reports I mentioned.

The second piece of legislation that deserves attention is P.L. 94-482, the Education Amendments of 1976. This law deals with the extension of the Higher Education Act, but also includes several other significant amendments to the Vocational Education Act and to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It should be read and interpreted thoughtfully—and, I might add, exploited. For example, a new Title II-C relates to research libraries. This is something for which ALA fought and eventually gained support; it is based on a proposal of the Carnegie Policies Studies group. Title II-C authorizes federal grants to eligible research libraries to augment their collections in order to encourage greater sharing of their resources with other libraries throughout the country.

Another bill enacted this year with potential for library participation is the Educational/Broadcasting Facilities and Telecommunications Demonstration Act (P.L. 94-309). Among other things, it establishes a demonstration program to encourage experimentation and utilization of nonbroadcast telecommunications equipment, such as cable television and communications satellites. This is only a small program, authorizing $1 million in expenditures, but it is a beginning. Meanwhile, ALA is also a member of the Public Service Satellite Consortium, which is investigating other opportunities for such demonstrations.

Finally, I would like to call your attention to one more law which perhaps holds the greatest potential of all for libraries and librarians to assess where we are and where we should be going in the future. It is P.L. 93-568, which calls for a White House Conference on Library and Information Services. This is something ALA has been working on for years. (Remember what I said about persistence?) In more recent years, the ALA Council formalized the idea with the adoption of a resolution in 1972 calling for a White House conference in 1974. It wasn't until January 1973 that a bill was introduced in Congress—and that took two years to win approval. The president signed it into law December 31, 1974. For the past two years, we have been fighting for funding and trying to get the president to name members to the required advisory committee and to call the conference. Slowly, things are falling into place. This is an idea whose time has come.

More important than the national-level conference is the series of state-
level conferences which must precede it. You all have a role to play in your respective state conferences. Get involved. Find out what is going on in your own state, but keep in mind that this is not a conference for librarians. We spend too much time talking to ourselves. This is a conference for users, potential users, lay people, people who need libraries and may not know they need them. We must involve a substantial cross-section of people in society, including legislators and other decision-makers. We must use this process to educate and to inform people about libraries, to inventory national library resources and services, to draw up our blueprint for future library and information services, and to muster the necessary support to implement those plans. We have our work cut out for us; now we need to get on with it.