

has replaced elitism; education for social mobility has replaced education for social service; the "multi-university" has replaced the focused curriculum; facts have replaced belief; agnosticism and socialism have replaced Judeo-Christian principles and democracy.

The inevitable products of this new university, Mr. Lawler laments, are college graduates with a basic distrust of and distaste for free enterprise, tradition, our cultural heritage, and God. Since graduates assume positions of leadership in society, their biases have infused and damaged society.

In partial remedy (one of several outlined in the book) Mr. Lawler advocates the separation of diverse educational philosophies into distinct institutions among which prospective students can choose. In this way focus of interest will be assured and a clear debate between opposing ideals possible.

Eileen M. Gardner

**Deregulating Labor Regulations.**  
By Daniel C. Heldman, James Bennett, and Manuel Johnson. (Fisher Institute.)

Why is it that those who specialize in the deregulation issue have avoided labor relations? After all, the product of labor is a commodity, and as such it is subject to the forces of competition. Thus the notion that wage rates need rectification by collective action is nonsense.

The authors do not deny that some objectives might be unachievable except through collective action. But the fact that problems of social cost require some independent authority to fix charges to attract adequate investment is irrelevant to attempts to redistribute income by fixing the price of labor through minimum wage laws, by indirectly restricting supply through hour rules, or other scarcity-contriving subterfuges.

Although the authors assert that "the unskilled worker bears the brunt of the regulation rather than reaping the benefit," they could have established more clearly the

way interference in the pricing of services is poverty-creating. Free-market wage rates are determined by workers' perceived alternatives. They are set not through collective bargaining but through the process of firms' offering each worker enough wages to attract him from alternative value-producing activities. Because wage rates set by the market are consistent with full employment and maximum production, any mandatory negotiations intended to "improve" that situation must be impoverishing. A worker's alternatives protect him from exploitation and ensure a just price for his services. But because of the principle of exclusivity, the worker who creates more or superior products is often unable to reap the rewards. The value of his labor is distributed to his colleagues.

The authors are inevitably brought to the dilemma that confronts all critics of organized labor. They recognize that labor unions act antisocially, yet they seem to consider the union movement sacred. They go out of their way to assure union hierarchies that their jobs will be secure even if the Wagner Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Clayton Act, and the other laws created by political pressure to contrive labor scarcities were repealed. They say deregulation "would greatly broaden the scope of labor unions in representing employees if unions could adapt to the changed circumstances of a deregulated environment." But the whole purpose of unions is to fix a higher price for labor services than that the free market would determine. And the means is the strike, the threat of a strike, or some other form of violence. In any free society, all private coercion, whether peaceful or not, needs to be eradicated.

William H. Hutt

**Consequences of Party Reform.** By Nelson W. Polsby. (Oxford University Press.)

After the Democratic Party's debacle of 1968, sweeping party reforms were implemented with the intention of broadening participa-

tion in the political process, particularly in the nomination of presidential candidates. These changes, especially in the areas of campaign finance and delegate selection, have had a number of unintended and unwelcome consequences, argues Nelson Polsby in his latest book. The reforms have had dire consequences for the Democratic Party, the nature of party competition, and the presidency itself.

Federal subsidies to presidential candidates, restrictions on other sources of campaign money, and the parties' loss of control over delegate selection—these three changes have resulted in a vastly different nomination process and a different type of presidential candidate. Professor Polsby states that primaries now dominate the nominating process, forcing candidates to mobilize factions in each state rather than concentrating on building a broadbased coalition. This, he argues, naturally forces candidates to build their own personal organizations in each state, weakening the national parties' influence over the political process.

Instead, outside groups and the media are allowed to play a much larger role in the process than previously. Professor Polsby believes that this has made elections chancier, more unpredictable, more susceptible to outside influence, and less equitable. The final result is a candidate who has the ability to appeal to and mobilize an electoral faction, but not one who is necessarily able to govern. An obvious example is Jimmy Carter.

Finally, Professor Polsby makes a number of suggestions to reform the reforms. He advocates a "mixed" nomination system, where state situations would dictate whether state conventions, primary elections, or interest groups were allowed to dominate the process in each state. The result, he argues, would be a president with a more complete and enlightened understanding of what is necessary to govern successfully. *Consequences of Party Reform* is vital reading for anyone concerned with how we choose our leaders.

Robert Valero

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